CEYLON COINS AND CURRENCY

H. W. CODRINGTON

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WITH SEVEN PLATES

ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
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Director of the Colombo Museum.

Series A. No. 3.

CEYLON
COINS AND CURRENCY

By H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S., B.A. (Oxon.), F.R.N.S.

WITH SEVEN PLATES.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

AE. .. Copper or bronze.
A.I.W. .. Ancient Indian Weights, E. Thomas.
AR. .. Silver.
A.R.E. .. Annual Reports of Epigraphy, Madras.
A.S. .. Archæological Survey of Ceylon.
AV. .. Gold.
B.M.C. .. Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum.
B.M.C., Pers. .. Catalogue of the Coins of the Shahs of Persia.
B.P.B. .. Nederlandsch Indisch Plakaatboek (Batavia).
C. .. Cohen's Médailles Impériales.
C.A. .. Ceylon Antiquary.
C.C.A. .. Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, &c.
C.F.E. .. Currency of the Farther East, J. H. Stewart Lockhart.
Colo. Mus. .. Colombo Museum.
C.S.I. .. Coins of Southern India, Sir W. Elliot.
D., Diam. .. Diameter.
Ep. Carn. .. Epigraphia Carnatica.
Ep. Ind. .. Epigraphia Indica.
E Z. .. Epigraphia Zeylanica.
fl. .. florin, guilder.
G. .. Geiger's Mahávaṁsa or Grogan.
G.C.H.C. .. Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection
gld. .. guilder.
gr. .. grains.
H.C.P.B. .. Collection of Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S.
H.W.C. .. Collection of author.
I.M.C. .. Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum.
in. .. inch.
Ind. Ant. .. Indian Antiquary.
J.R.A.S. .. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.R.A.S., C.B... Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.
l. .. left.
Mhv. .. Mahávaṁsa.
Num. Chron. .. Numismatic Chronicle.
Obv. .. Obverse.
penn. .. penning.
P.E.P. .. Collection of Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S.
r. .. right.
R.C. .. Resolutions of the Dutch Council.
RD. .. Rixdollar.
R.D. .. Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon, T. W. Rhys Davids.
Rev. .. Reverse.
R.M.M. Cat. .. Royal Mint Museum Catalogue.
S.I.I. .. South Indian Inscriptions.
st. .. stuiver.
T. .. Monnaies Byzantines, J. Tolstoï.
Wt. .. Weight.

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INTRODUCTION.

The only work dealing with Ceylon numismatics as a whole is Professor Rhys Davids' "Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon," published in 1877. This is now out of date, and, though papers on particular epochs have been published, notably by Messrs. J. Still and P. E. Pieris, in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the need of a work embracing the whole history of coinage and currency in the Island has long been felt. The present book is intended to supply this deficiency.

Coins struck in or for use in the Island have been described fully, as have those found locally, unless already published, when the references have been given to the books or papers describing them.

The Appendices contain the principal documents on which my conclusions have been based.

Coins purchased in Colombo are so noted, as it is possible that they may have been brought of recent years from India.

The system of transliteration employed is that of the Ceylon Government, with the exceptions of ච and ඡ, which are rendered by c and ch; the *anusvára* in Sanskrit and Pali texts is represented by ṁ. Names of places in the text have been given as commonly used, and those of kings as familiar to the people.

I wish to record my indebtedness to Lord Chalmers, late Governor of Ceylon, for enabling me to obtain extracts from the Government archives. My thanks are also due among others especially to the Director of the Colombo Museum and to Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, W. H. Biddell, Leslie de Saram, and P. E. Pieris for placing the contents of their cabinets at my disposal; to Mr. H. C. P. Bell for his assistance in the matter of inscriptions; to Madugalle Siddartha Thero of Malwatte Vihare for his industry in obtaining and his help in translating the various Sanskrit, Pali, and Sinhalese texts in the Appendices; to Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, late Government Archivist, for the extracts from the Dutch records; and to Sir J. H. Marshall, Director-General of Archæology, India, Messrs. H. Krishna Sastri and G. Venkoba Rao, the late and present Assistant Superintendents for Epigraphy, Madras, Mr. J. Allan of the British Museum, and Dr. Henderson, late of the Madras Museum, for information freely given. Without the assistance so generously rendered this work could not have been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. Finally, I have to thank my wife for her help in preparing the manuscripts, in checking the proofs, and in preparing many of the casts.

The plates have been prepared by Messrs. Goutagny and Lescuyer. To the Government Printer acknowledgment is due for the care given by him to the production of this book.

June 30, 1921. H. W. CODRINGTON.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

P. vi. Read : Colombo.
P. 10, last line. Read : gadyáṇa.
P. 11, line 25. Read : chronicle.
P. 11, line 3 from bottom and *passim*. Read : Dágaba.
P. 29, lines 8 and 6 from bottom. Read : Eláḷa.
P. 46, lines 4 and 2 from bottom. Read : ·53.
P. 61, line 3. Read : Kṛshna.
P. 63, line 22. Read : Aralagam Vila.
P. 70, line 42. Read : predecessors.
P. 72, line 3. Read : couch.
P. 86, line 41. Read : section.
P. 91, Note 3. Read : Fernão.
P. 95, Note 2. Read : Do Couto.
P. 96, line 33. Read : rix-dollar, being.
P. 97, line 24. Read : *taṇgam massa.*
P. 97, line 27. Read : Do Couto.
P. 120, line 25. Read : ducats.
P. 152, line 17. Read : the half fanam at $\frac{1}{4}$*d*., .
P. 156, line 5. After "trunk," add "has."
P. 159, line 41. Read : 689–695.
P. 161, line 2 from bottom. Read . coinage ; all.
P. 165, line 8. Read : Mint, Surat.
P. 167, line 3. Read : Rájávaliya.
P. 168, last line. Read : period.
P. 172, line 1. Read : *Paraṇgipaṭṭa.*
P. 172, line 2 from bottom. Read : Cochin, current.
P. 173, line 7 from bottom. The "sami" has been taken for the broad-bladed *kaṭár* dagger.
P. 193, line 24. Read : Vilevewa.
P. 198, line 20. Read : massak.
P. 200, line 6 from bottom. Read : Tripiṭaka.
P. 217, line 15. Read : ducaten.
Pp. 250, 251. Transpose supplements to pages 36 and 37.
P. 254, line 41. Read : caroo-.
P. 255, line 6. Substitute full stop for comma after "anchor."
P. 256, lines 10 and 15. Read : oitavos.
P. 265, line 6 from end. Read : vyfjes.
Supplementary Plate, line 4. Read : Mediaeval.

CEYLON COINS AND CURRENCY.

CHAPTER I

METROLOGY.

I.

In Manu and the older law books the weights laid down were : for gold the *suvarṇa* of 80 *guñjás* or 144 grains, for silver the *dharaṇa* of 32 *guñjás* or 57·6 grains, and for copper the *paṇa* or *kársha* of the same weight as the *suvarṇa*. The gold and silver standard weights were each divided into 16 *máshas*, the *suvarṇa-másha* being 9 grains and the *rúpya-másha* or *máshaka* 3·6 grains.

The value of the *guñjá* or *rati* (*abrus precatorius*) according to Cunningham is 1·83, or for practical purposes 1·8 grains.

The *kársha* is the Indian counterpart of a weight widely spread in the ancient world, and represented by the Babylonian gold shekel of about 130 grains, which occasionally was as heavy as 146·5 or even 156·5 grains, and by the Egyptian kedet of 136–156 grains, with an average of 146. This weight was divided differently i each country. The equivalent of the Indian name is found in Old Persian and Susic (karsha, karasha ; kursham, kursaum) applied to the weight of ten gold shekels. With these may be compared Hesychius' Κέρσα Ἀσιανὸν νόμισμα and Κόρσιον, νόμισμα παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις, τὸ χερσαῖον λεγόμενον, the "kúrs" of Eastern Turkestan, now the Chinese silver "shoe," the Syriac qárúshá, and possibly the Arab-Turkish qirsh, now used of the piastre.[1]

The silver *dharaṇa* agrees in weight, though perhaps not in origin, with the so-called "Phœnician" drachma, the supposed basis of the Persian and Phœnician silver shekels, of which it was the third and fourth part respectively.

The *paṇa*, as coined, differed widely from Manu's standard, varying with the country of origin.

2. The older weight systems tended to merge into one for all metals. In the North this, in its simplest form, appears in the Amarakoṣa of about A.D. 700 (*vide* Tables). Six and eight *guñjás*, however, as well as five, were reckoned as a *másha*, and all were sometimes doubled, when the *guñjá* was the so-called "emerald *rati*" of 3·6 grains ; thus, for instance, the "jewellers' *másha*" was one of 6 double *guñjás*, each of 4 heavy *yavas* or barley-corns.

The *kársha* was usually divided quaternarily into 4 *ṭaṅkas* and 16 *máshas*, the same principal being applied to the silver *kársháphaṇa* :—

	1 *Kársha*	=	4 *Ṭaṅkas*	=	16 *Máshas*	each of—
	Gr.		Gr.		Gr.	
I. ..	57·6	..	14·4	..	3·6	.. 2 single *guñjás*
II. ..	144·0	..	36·0	..	9·0	.. 5 do.
III. ..	172·8	..	43·2	..	10·8	.. 6 do.
IV. ..	230·4	..	57·6	..	14·4	.. 8 do.

The *kársha* of 172·8 grains is discussed below. No. IV. is that which prevailed in the North Its *ṭaṅka* is identical with Manu's *dharaṇa*, of which word it became a synonym ; the *kársha* or *suvarṇa*, though in use in Alberuni's time (*c.* A.D. 1030), has been supplanted by the *tola*, but is still preserved in the tical of Burma and Siam.

[1] Über die babylonischen, assyrischen und altpersischen Gewichte, H. Weissbach, Z.D.M.G., LXI., 379 ff. ; Aramaic Papyri, Sayce-Cowley, 1906 ; Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka, E. Sachau, 1911 ; Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins, G. F. Hill, p. 30 ; Ind. Ant., XXVII., 37. "Qirsh" is usually derived from "groschen," but no explanation is given for the application of the name of a small German coin to a Turkish piece originally struck as the equivalent of the dollar.

43–21–500

3. Another mode of unification appears in (*a*) Kalinga and (*b*) Magadha according to Sárngadhara and Mahávira respectively, the last-named author confining its use to silver. In both the *kársha* of 80 *guñjás* is equal to 2½ *tankas* or *dharanas*, but the *másha* varies :—

	Kársha.		*Ṭanka* or *Dharaṇa.*		*Másha.*		*Guñjá.*
(*a*)	1	=	2½	=	10	=	80
	Gr.		Gr.		Gr.		Gr.
	144	..	57·6	..	14·4	..	1·8
(*b*)	1	=	2½	=	40	=	80
	Gr.		Gr.		Gr.		Gr.
	144	..	57·6	..	3·6	..	1·8

4. Before discussion of the metrology of the South, certain monetary systems prevalent in the North may be considered. For Magadha in the sixth or fifth century before Christ the Buddhist scriptures make the *kahápaṇa* to consist of 20 *másakas* and of a number of *kákaṇikás*, in all probability eighty. Cáṇakya or Kauṭilya, minister of the Maurya Candragupta, who came to the throne about B.C. 321, prescribes in his Arthaṣástra (ed. R. Shamasastry, Book II., Chap. 12) the coinage of the *paṇa*, its half, quarter, and eighth in silver, and of the *máshaka* and the *kákiṇí* with their halves in copper. This *paṇa* is presumably one of 16 *máshakas*, and therefore the *dharaṇa* of 57·6 grains. The text on weights from the same work quoted in Appendix C, though clearly corrupt, seems to refer to an alternative one of 20 silver *máshakas*.[1] In the fifth or sixth century A.D. Nárada seems to imply that the *kárshápana* in the East was a coin of account, equal to twenty, or, according to some texts, sixteen *paṇas*. At a much later period the cowry currency of this region as well as of the old North-Western Provinces retained the same features ; thus, 80 cowries equal 20 *gaṇḍas*, 4 *boris* (*kákiṇís*), or 1 *pan*, 16 of which, or alternatively 20 in Orissa, go to the *kaháwan* or *kárshápaṇa* (Cunningham, Coins of Alexander's Successors, in Num. Chron., 1873 ; 'Aín-i-Akbarí, Ed. Blochmann and Jarrett, Vol. II., p. 136 ; H. M. Elliot, Glossary of Terms used in the North-Western Provinces of India, 1845). Further, for the West in the twelfth century the Lílávatí gives the *dramma* as consisting of 16 *paṇas*, each of 4 *kákiṇís* or 80 cowries.

5. For the reasons given in the next chapter, the Buddhist *kahápana* would seem to be the eldling or *purána* ; it was therefore identical with the silver *paṇa* of Kauṭilya, who is credited by tradition with a re-coinage of *kahápaṇas* (*vide* Chap. II., section 1). Presumably the Eastern *kaháwan*, being also styled *kapárḍaka-puráṇa* or " cowry-eldling " (Ep. Ind., XII., No. 3), was originally the same, and corresponded roughly with the *dramma*, though this was of less weight. Thus, the copper *máshaka* and the *pan* of account, being the sixteenth of the eldling, were the equivalent of the silver *máshaka* of 3·6 grains, and consequently Nárada's *kárshápaṇa* of 20 *paṇas* and the Orissa alternative *kaháwan* should represent 72 grains of silver, which, as will be seen, is the Southern unit of weight. This would seem to point to the same value for the much earlier Buddhist *kahápaṇa*, but in all these cases the calculation by twentieths instead of by sixteenths may have been due originally to a variation in the weight of the local copper *máshaka* or *paṇa*, or in the ratio between copper and silver.

II.

6. For the South, according to Nárada, the *kárshápaṇa* was of silver as opposed to the Eastern money of account, and consisted of twenty *máshas*, each of four *kákiṇís*. The monetary system is closely connected with the metrological, and in one or the other or in both we find all over the South a unit consisting of 20 *rúpya-máshakas* or 40 *guñjás*. This reckoning appears from the Puvarasankulam inscription (Appendix D, 14) to have been applied to land in Ceylon as early as the third or fourth century of the present era. The unit as a weight accordingly should be of 72 grains, and is a heavy *dharaṇa*.

7. The *paṇa* or *aksha* of the tables, 7·2 or 9 grains in weight, is a distinct sub-unit. This clearly appears from the Canarese denominations, which style the *máshaka*, *guñjá*, and seed of paddy *aḍḍa* " half," *hága* " quarter," and *vísa* " sixteenth," respectively, and from the Coḷa method of expressing the fractions of the *mañjáḍi* (S.I.I., II., Pt. I., p. 36, Note 1 ; see *káṇam* in the Tables). The weight of 9 grains connects this sub-unit with Manu's gold *másha*. The Southern tables are thus a combination of the old silver weights and the *suvarṇa* of 144 grains with its sixteenth part, the *másha*, the change in the designation of which into *paṇa* was, perhaps, due to the analogy of the silver *máshaka*, the equivalent of the copper coin of the name and of the Eastern *paṇa*, or more

[1] Two *dharaṇas* appear in Burma, where the tical or *kársha* (section 2) is divided into 2 *hkwe*, 4 *mat* (*tanka*), 8 or 10 *mu*, 16 or 20 *pe* (*másha*), 64 or 60 *yue-gyi* (adenanthera pavonina), and 128 or 120 *chyin-yue* (abrus). Reckoning from this last the *mat* should weigh theoretically 57·6 or 54 grains, but the weight of the tical is 252 grains. The Siamese tical of 236 grains is nearer the correct weight of the *kársha* of table No. IV.

Nunes in 1554 mentions various ticals in the neighbourhood of Pegu ranging from 177·1 to 208·8 grains. The Malacca weights as given by him are : 320 *kundari* (*guñjá*, Tamil *kunri*) = 64 *kupang* = 16 *mas* (*másha*) = 4 *paval* (*tanka*) = 1 *táhil* or tael (*kársha*). The tael weighed 636·3 grains, and, though consisting of 16 *mas* it should be the *kársha*, roughly corresponds in weight with the *pala*. The *kupang* is the gold *pana*, the Sinhalese *aka*.

probably because it or rather the coin representing it, the fanam, was the gold equivalent of the silver *paṇa* or *kárshápaṇa*,[1] for the cowry-eldling, the *dramma*, and the gold *paṇa* of the Deccan all consist of 64 or 80 *kákiṇis*. The *dharaṇa*, however, remained the practical unit, and its double the *suvarṇa* or *kársha* either dropped out or survived in the tables as the fourth part of the varying *palam*. The chief methods of amalgamation seem to have been two, if not three, in number. By one method, exemplified by Sinhalese usage and by Mahávíra (Appendix C), the *paṇa* was the eighth of the *dharaṇa* and consisted of 2½ *máshakas* ; here the heavy *dharaṇa* was combined with the usual gold *másha* or one-sixteenth of the *suvarṇa*. The second method had a *paṇa* equal to 2 *máshakas* only, and therefore weighing 7·2 grains, a feature which must have been due to the division of the *suvarṇa* into twenty on the analogy of the *dharaṇa*. The modern Canarese and Telugu tables seem to be a combination of this method with the usual reckoning of Manu's *dharaṇa* in *guñjás*.

8. In the Tamil country the heavy *dharaṇa* was called *kaḷatti*[2] or *kaḷañju*, the name of the Molucca bean (*Cæsalpinia bonduc*), the weight of which ranges up to 45 grains or so, and occasionally even reaches 54 grains, thus being roughly equal to ten *mañjáḍis*. Sir Walter Elliot held that this seed was the original of the eldling, of which the average in the South was between 46 and 50 grains (C.S.I., p. 50). The standard, however, of the eldling is now known to be the *dharaṇa* of 57·6 grains. The connection between the seed and the heavy *dharaṇa* is discussed further in section 10. The word *kaḷañju* also came to imply "weight"; Hemádri, for instance, attributes to Kauṭilya the statement that the *mañjáḍi* is a kind of *kalañja* (Appendix C), and the section of the Malayalam Kanakkusáram dealing with weights is headed "*Kaḷañcu*," while in the same language "scales" is *kaḷañcukól* (*cf.* Skt. *dharaṇi*). The Tamil designation passed into Ceylon. In Sanskrit the usual equivalent is *niskha*, a name also applied to the *gadyáṇa*, and in one instance *kṛshṇa-káca* (Ep. Ind., V., No. 5, D ; A.R.E., 1908, No. 90).[3]

9. The twentieth part of the heavy *dharaṇa* or *kaḷañju* is the *adenanthera pavonina* seed, in Tamil *mañjáḍi*, in Canarese *maṁjáḍi*, and in Telugu *maṁjáḍi* or *maṁcáli*, which is used in the South in preference to the *abrus*. Though averaging in India about 4·5 grains and sometimes running above 5, it was identified, as is clear from the tables, with the *rúpya-másha* ; Buddhanaga writing in Ceylon in the twelfth century definitely states : "The *másaka* is the twentieth part of the ancient *kahápaṇa* ; in the world it is also called *mañjeṭṭhi*" (Appendix A, 12). The *kaḷañju* presumably has always varied, as is still the case, with the *mañjáḍi* seeds employed from the correct equivalent of 72 grains up to 80 or more. The smaller unit derives its name from its "bright red" colour and from a Northern source (Skt. *mañjishṭha*, Sin. *mañḍeṭa*, *maḍeṭa*, perhaps borrowed at the same time as *kaḷañju*).

In the Canarese and Telugu countries the term *mañjáḍi* appears to be now confined to the diamond trade ; the values of a set of weights are given by Elliot (C.S.I., p. 48, Note).[4] The twenty-*mañjáḍi* weight, the highest in the set, is not known by a special name, and the word *kaḷañju* no longer seems to be in use in any Dravidian language, except Tamil and its derivative Malayalam. It is found, however, in Hemádri (Appendix C) possibly with reference to the diamond weights, and also in the Yuktikalpadruma (*ibid.*).

10. This work gives 30 *guñjás* or *mañcális* = 10 *rúpakas* = 1 *kalañja*. Here the *mañcáli* must be the so-called "little mangelin," the *abrus* itself, calculating from which the *rúpaka* will be 5·4 and the *kalañja* 54 grains. The form *mañcáli* indicates a Telugu origin for the table and *rúpaka* may represent *rúka* the name of the fanam in that language ; and so the *kalañja* possibly is the *gadyáṇa* of 10 fanams, each of which, being of 5·8 grains, is reckoned, instead of at 3·2 *guñjás*, at the more convenient figure of 3. On the other hand, the weight of the coins in the Kodur find bearing a legend "in characters of the very early Pallava or Chalukyan type" is about 53 grains (Madras G. O. No. 1,196, Kodur Treasure Trove). Now the *mañjáḍi*, as used in the diamond trade, sometimes is as heavy as 5·74 grains, and this weight taken with that of 5·79 for the Chinese candareen, also the *adenanthera pavonina* seed, suggests some connection with Manu's *mána* of 5·76 grains, the tenth of the silver *dharaṇa* and the hundredth of the *pala* or *ṣatamána*. If the *mána* was originally weighed by the *adenanthera pavonina*, the tenth of the *kaḷañju* seed, it is possible that this last was employed in the South as the rough equivalent of the *dharaṇa* or eldling as current in those parts. The Telugu weight of 54 grains may be a survival

[1] *Cf.* Kauṭilya's silver *paṇa*, in weight a *dharana*. Hence, perhaps, the Tamil abbreviation "*pa*" for *kaḷañju*, the heavy *dharana*, may represent "*pana*."

[2] Cunningham was of opinion that the "gold coin called Kaltis" of the Periplus was the *kaḷatti* (Coins of Ancient India, p. 2). The "Kaltis" is distinctly assigned to the mart Gange on one of the mouths of the Ganges.

[3] The *kaḷañju* in Travancore at 30½ *panavidais* to the *tola* is 77·4 grains, or, according to Gundert, at 12 gold fanams 69·6—70·2 ; as apothecary's weight at 12½ gold fanams it is 72·5—73·2. At Tinnevelly 1½ = sovereign weight, or 82·1 grains each ; at Tanjore for coral, 72 grains ; at Jaffna 66·6, and as apothecary's weight 72—72·9 grains.

[4] According to Tavernier's Indian Travels, p. 140, the "mangelin" (Tel. *maṁcáli*), the diamond weight used at Raolconda in Visapour, weighed 7 Paris grains or 5·74 grains Troy. At Golconda and Goa it was equal to 4·5 and 4·1 grains, respectively. At Surat, according to Fryer, it was about 4 grains. At Tanjore at 30 the *tola* it is 6 grains ; anciently in Jaffna it was a brass weight equal to $\frac{12}{16}$ carat or 5 grains, but is no longer used in the diamond trade.

of this practice. The name naturally would be transferred in course of time to the heavy *dharaṇa* of 20 *máshakas*. If this theory be correct, the equation of the *mañjáḍi* with the silver *máshaka* must be later in date than the common use of the *mána* (*cf.* A. Weber, Vedische Angaben über Zeittheilung und hoher Zahlen, Z.D.M.G., XV., 1861).

In the later Sinhalese tables the weight of 6 *akas*, called *ṣáṇa*, is also of 54 grains. This may be a coincidence; the *ṣáṇa*, according to the Northern tables, equalled 4 *máshas* or the fourth part of the *kársha*, and so in Ceylon may have been taken as the quarter of the *huna* of 3 *kaḷañdas* or 24 *akas*.

Among the Tamils the *kaḷañju* has now been practically superseded by the pagoda weight.

III.

11. In the Canarese and Telugu countries the unit of weight in the middle ages was the *gadyáṇa*, which is almost certainly of foreign and Persian origin.

The weights of the Graeco-Persian standard had the following values :—

		Gr. Gr.			Gr. Gr.
Tetradrachm	..	345·68—346·30	Drachma	..	86·42—86·57
Didrachm	..	172·84—173·15	Obol or Danake	..	14·40—14·42

This standard was employed in the coinage of the Greek kings of India and of the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian dynasties, and upon it were struck the silver hemidrachms or *kahápaṇas* of the Kshatrapas of Ujjain and Surashtra, which were copied by the Andhras and later by the Guptas till the end of the fifth century. The full weight, however, was much reduced in the coins, the majority of which approximate to Gardner's "lighter Babylonic standard with a stater of 152–142 grains" (A History of Ancient Coinage, p. 174). The Parthian drachmas, recorded in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1919, p. 15, seem to follow this standard; the heaviest weighs 73·7 grains. They, perhaps, were issued in the eastern provinces of the empire.

12. Nárada, after dealing with the coinage of the East and South, describes the usage of the Panjab, in which he agrees with Bṛhaspati :—"A *kársháparṇa* has to be taken as equal to an *aṇḍika*; four of these are a *dhánaka*; twelve of the latter are a *suvarṇa*, which is called *dínára* otherwise."[1]

According to Caraka, the *aṇḍika* was equal to 4 *yavas* or barley-corns, or, in other words, was of the weight of a silver *máshaka*. Nárada's *kársháparṇa* therefore should weigh 3·6, his *dhánaka* 14·4, and his *dínára* 172·8 grains, the two latter exactly corresponding with the normal Persian danake and didrachm. The *kárshá-paṇa* is perhaps the gold equivalent of the silver hemidrachm. The unique gold coin of Aṭhama agrees with it in weight (3·4 gr.; Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Vol. I., No. 399).

13. Alberuni[2] makes the *suvarṇa* to consist of 16 *máshas*, 64 *aṇḍis*, 256 *yavas*, 1600 *kalás*, or 6400 *pádas*, and to be equal to $1\frac{1}{3}$ *tola*. This last is given as the equivalent of 3 dirhams, ten of which make seven mithqáls, and therefore weighs $2\frac{1}{10}$ mithqáls, or 142·8—151·2 grains. Six *máshas* make a *drañkshaṇa* (in the Arabic text dr-ksh-m), which weighs $1\frac{1}{20}$ mithqál, or 71·4—75·6 grains. The *suvarṇa* is identical with the *kársha* of 230·4 grains mentioned in section 2, but has been reduced to 190·4—201·6 grains; the *tola* and its half, the *drañkshaṇa*, correspond with the Persian didrachm and drachma. A similar diminution in weight is still found in the "emerald" or jewellers' (double) *rati*, Hemádri's *máshaka*, which is only 3·04—3·375 grains in lieu of 3·6 (C.S.I., p. 49, Note). In the following paragraphs the figures (*a*) represent the full weight at 1·8 grains the *guñjá*, and (*b*) the reduced weight of Alberuni.

A similar table is given for metals other than gold and silver in the Deccan by Mahávíra in the Gaṇita Sára Sañgraha (of the ninth century) :—9600 *pádas* = 2400 *kalás* = 96 *aṁṣas* = 24 *bhágas* = 4 *drakshúṇas* = 2 *dínáras* = 1 *satera*. Here the *aṁṣa* (*a*, 3·6; *b*, 3·15 gr.) is Alberuni's *aṇḍi*; the *bhága* (*a*, 14·4; *b*, 12·6 gr.) is the danake; the *drakshúṇa* (*a*, 86·4; *b*, 75·6 gr.), the *dínára* (*a*, 172·8; *b*, 151·2 gr.), and the *satera* (*a*, 345·6; *b*, 302·4 gr.), the drachma, didrachm, and tetradrachm or stater respectively. Mahávíra's *dínára* apparently was a copper coin, as 720 were the wages of twenty men for carrying a palanquin over 12 *yojanas* (p. 153).

14. In Magadha according to a table attributed to Sárñgadhara, with a *másha* of 6 (double) *guñjás*, or "emerald *ratis*," we find 384 *yavas* = 96 *guñjás* = 16 *máshas*, *hemas*, or *dhánakas* = 4 *ṭañkas*, *dharaṇas*, or *ṣaṇas* = 2 *kolas*, *dhaṭakas*, *drañkshaṇas*, &c. = 1 *kársha*, *suvarṇa*, *aksha*, &c., the three higher weights corresponding with the Persian hemidrachm, drachma, and didrachm doubled. Caraka gives a similar table for Magadha. In these

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[1] Minor Law Books, XXXIII., p. 231, of Sacred Books of the East series. For Bṛhaspati, see *ib.*, pp. 316, 317.

[2] Alberuni's India, I., p. 162 (ed Sachau).

the *másha* (10·8 gr. × 2), with which the *dhánaka* is identified, is, as usual in the Indian system, the sixteenth of the *kársha*. The Káshmir *tola* also was composed of 16 *máshas* or *dánis* (dániqs) each of 6 *ratis*, and thus should weigh 172·8 grains ('Aín-i-Akbarí, Vol. III., p. 354).

Sárṅgadhara also gives for Kalinga a mixed table of weights based on the single *guñjá* of 2 *yavas*. After mentioning the *valla* of 3 *guñjás*, he gives two distinct tables according as the *másha* is (i.) of 7 and (ii.) of 8 *guñjás* :—

	(i.)		(ii.)	
	a Gr.	*b* Gr.	*a* Gr.	*b* Gr.
1 *másha*	12·6	10·4—11	14·4	11·9—12·6
4 *másha* = 1 *ṣáṇa* or *ṭaṅka*	50·4	41·6—44·1	57·6	47·6—50·4
6 *másha* = 1 *gadyáṇa*	75·6	62·4—66·1	86·4	71·4—75 6
10 *másha* = 1 *kársha*	126·0	104·1—110·2	144·0	119·0—126·0

15. In the Table of Weights given in the Lílávatí of Bhaskara Ácárya, who was born at Bidar in the Deccan in A.D. 1114–5, in addition to the weights of the Amarakoṣa from the *guñjá* to the *pala*, we again find the *gadyáṇa* of 16 *vallas* or 48 *guñjás*, each of two large barley-corns, its half the *dharaṇa*, and in addition the *dhaṭaka* of 14 *vallas* or 42 *guñjás*. The *gadyáṇa* is clearly the Persian drachma of 86·4 grains full weight, and the *dhaṭaka* the lighter *gadyáṇa* of Sárṅgadhara. The above table is still in use in Surat and in the whole of Gujarat, where we find 96 *ratis* = 32 *vals* = 2 *gadiánas* = 1 *tola*. The *gadiána* is now 90 grains or more in weight, and is thus slightly heavier than the full value of the Persian drachma. But this raises the *valla* far above the actual seed of the name, which only weighs 4·55 grains (A.I.W., p. 11), calculated upon which the lighter *gadyáṇa* is 63·4, and the heavier 72·8 grains. The present value of the Gujarat *gadiána* may be due to the influence of the Mughal *tola*.

16. How far this weight system extended southwards is uncertain. The Bombay *tank* of 72 grains (Prinsep's Useful Tables) and the Satara *ták*, both used in the pearl trade, as well as the Surat jewellers' *tank* of 61·6 grains, consist of 24 double or " emerald " *ratis*, and thus correspond with these *gadyáṇas*. In the Konk. ı, exclusive of Surat district, and in Maharashtra the modern northern table of 96 *guñjás* = 12 *máshas* = 1 *tola* prevails, but *valś*, either 48 or 40 to the *tola*, are combined with it in the northern parts of both countries, and it is therefore possible that the system of the Lílávatí once prevailed there also. The same northern table is now found in districts in the so-called South Mahratta country, where it is clear from the evidence of the inscriptions that the Canarese weight system was in use in the Middle Ages, and its vogue in the Konkan and Maharashtra may be due to Muhammadan rule. For the South Konkan the Kharepatan plates of A.D. 1008 prescribe the levy of one *gadiyáṇa* of gold from every ship from foreign lands and one *dharaṇa* of gold from every ship from Kandamuliya (Ep. Ind., III., No. 40), which shows that the weights of the Ratnagiri district followed either the Lílávatí or the Canarese systems, in both of which these denominations occur, though with different values. In Kanara, judging from the money of account in use in the Novas Conquistas of Goa (Aragão, Moedas, III., p. 95 ; see sections 18 and 20), the weight system was a modified form of the Canarese, and this may also have been the case in the Dharwad district and the western parts of Mysore, in which *drammas* were current in the tenth century (Ep. Ind., XIII., No. 14 ; Ind. Ant., XI., pp. 223, 258 ; Ep. Carn., I., Mandya, No. 14, and VII., Sorab, No. 479).

Traces of the Persian weight system seem to appear as far south as the Tamil country, where 12 *mañjádis* now make one *taṅkam*, varying from 43·2 to about 50 grains according to the seed ; it is thus theoretically half of the Bombay pearl weight of the same name, and is the *dharaṇa* of the Lílávatí. In the early eleventh century 12 *akkams* were reckoned as a Coḷa *kásu* (S.I.I., II., Pt. I., No. 6). " *Akkam* " is the Sanskrit *aksha*, a synonym of *kársha*, and so may be Nárada's coin of 3·6 grains full weight ; but it is also another name for *paṇa*, which in the South was the tenth or eighth of the heavy *dharaṇa* or *kaḻañju*, and so appears in the Ceylon tables. The *kásu* coin, the unit of the Coḷa currency, in the early Middle Ages was in weight, judging from the *Uttama Colan* piece (C.S.I., No. 151), not the whole, but the half of the *gadyána*, and from the time of Rájarája I. the half of the *kaḻañju* ; and just as these were divided into 10 *paṇas* and *kánams* (*vide* Tables, Note 1), so it may be presumed that the *kásu* was similarly divided into 10 *akkams*, possibly coins of silver. By Rájarája's reform, discussed in section 23, the *kásu* was raised from half of the *gadyáṇa* of 58—60 grains to half of the *kaḻañju* of 68—72 grains, and consequently 12 of the current subsidiary coins instead of 10 became equal to the new unit of the coinage.

The old Tamil reckoning of gold by *káṇams*, however, in many cases fits in, not with the *gadyáṇa* or *kaḻañju*, but with the Persian weights ; thus, sums of 12, 24, 54, 108, and 1008 *káṇams* precisely equal 1, 2, 4½, 9, and 84 drachmas, or 2, 4, 9, 18, and 168 hemidrachms. In three instances 5, 200, and 1000 *káṇams* represent ½, 20, and 100 *kaḻañjus*, while in two others 4½ and 8½ weighing 30·6 and 61·2 grains agree exactly with no known system, but may have been intended for the half and whole *gadyáṇa*.

17. In Pahlavi the obol is named dáng (Pers. dánk or dának, Arab. dániq, dánaq), the drachma jójan or déram (Pers. diram, Arab. dirham), the didrachm dínár (Pers. Arab. dínár), and the tetradrachm or stater astér or astár (Pers. astír). A second astér, twelve of which equalled thirty (Sassanian) jójan of full weight, is the Persian didrachm, also known as stater (Old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, D. H. Jamaspi, Bombay, 1867, p. 74; Pahlavi, Gujarati, and English Dictionary, J. D. Minocheherji, III., 755). The *drańkshana* or *drakshúṇa* is spelt " dr-ksh-m " by Alberuni; it possibly may be a corruption of " drachma " through some non-Iranian language. *Dramma* passed into Sanskrit through an Iranian medium (J.R.A.S., 1920, p. 152).

The name *dínára* cannot have been introduced into India until the Roman aureus had become well known in Persia; its application to the didrachm seems to indicate that it supplanted " stater " as the name of the standard gold coin, whether identical in weight with the aureus or not. Thus, the gold coin of Ardashir I. (A.D. 226–240) weighing 131 grains (E. Thomas, Sassanian Coins, p. 135) is the Attic didrachm. The transference of the name to the heavier didrachm weight surviving further east naturally followed. The average of the Persian dínár between A.D. 275 and 380 is about 111 grains, the silver drachma ranging between 58 and 66 grains; by the reign of Sapor III. (A.D. 384–386) the gold coin had been assimilated to the Constantinian solidus.

18. The Sassanian silver drachma is the original, both in weight and type, of the large class of Indian coins, which go by the name of *gadhaiyá* or *gadhiyá*. These were current in Rajputana, Gujarat, and Malwa, and were also issued under the name of *dramma* in the ninth century by Bhojadeva of Kanauj, and two centuries later by the Ṣiláháras of the Konkan (Rapson, J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 122). The weight of this class of coins is identical with that of the lighter *gadyáṇa*; in the tables it is often treated as the *dharaṇa* of 57·6 grains (*vide* section 20).

The Money Table of the Líláwati makes the *nishka* equal to 16 *drammas*, or 256 *paṇas*. With this agree the Ráshṭrakúṭa inscriptions of Gujarat. *Drammas* occur in Maharashtra in the eleventh century under the Yádavas (Ind. Ant., XI., p. 128), as well as in the tenth in Dharwad district and in certain parts of Mysore (*vide* section 15); in the Konkan they are mentioned also in the twelfth century. In Bhatkal in Kanara, according to Barbosa, a silver " dama " was still current in 1516 (Hobson Jobson, *s. v.* pardáo), and in the Novas Conquistas of Goa the " dramó " survived as a money of account, the tenth of the pagoda, taking the place of the *haṇa* in an otherwise purely Canarese system. With the exception of those issued by the Ṣiláháras, the type and weight of these *drammas* is uncertain. A Gańga dynasty record (Ep. Carn., I., Mandya, No. 14) of the Ṣaka year 829 shows that the local coin of the name was of base metal; under the Kádambas of Goa the silver coin seems to retain the weight of the Persian hemidrachm (I.M.C., I., p. 314), and the " dama " of Bhatkal was of the same metal.

Dramma survived as the name of a coin in the Páṇḍyan kingdom as late as the thirteenth century, if the Tamil form *tiramam* was not adopted direct from the Arabic dirham or rather from the modern Persian diram.

Coins on the standard of the Sassanian drachma were issued in gold by the Eastern and Western Cedi and Candella dynasties, as well as at Kanauj in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

19. The gold *gadyána* coin of the Deccan averages some 58 grains, the heaviest reaching 60·1 grains. This became the standard coin of the Peninsula, even in the extreme South at least in the tenth century, where the old Coḷa *Uttama Colan* piece above mentioned is of this weight. The Tamil name was *kaccáṇam* (*gadyáṇa*). It survived in the *kumarakkaccáṇam* tax both in the Coḷa and Páṇḍyan countries in the eleventh century (A.R.E., 1916, p. 119; Travancore Arch Series, III.); the same tax *kumara-gadiáṇaka* is found in the documents of Govinda Candra of Kanauj (A.D. 1116; Ep. Ind., IV., No. 11, D) and others of the same dynasty.

What the ancient standard of the Deccan was is very doubtful. The Wai silver coins are apparently based on Manu's *dharaṇa*;[1] the metrology of the Andhra lead currency still awaits explanation, but in some cases would seem to be based on the unit of about 45 grains used further south (*vide* Chap. III., section 20). The alloy pieces of Vishamasiddhi, the Eastern Cálukya Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana (A.D. 615–633) range from about 45 to 50·2 grains; one in the British Museum, slightly larger than the majority, and one, smaller, at Calcutta, weigh 60·5 and 32·5 grains respectively, perhaps struck on the standard of the Sassanian drachma. The mediæval unit of the Deccan, spelled *gadyaṇa*, is first mentioned in a Cálukya inscription probably dating from the eighth century (Ind. Ant., VII., p. 286), and may have been introduced from the North by that dynasty. In this and other early inscriptions the name may refer to the weight and not to the coin. It is, of course, possible that the weight, though not the name, may be derived from the half of the Gupta aureus of 118–120 grains.

20. The modern Telugu money reckoning divides the pagoda or *varáha* into 2 *máḍa*, 4 *pávu*, 8 *cávalamu*, 16 *dugulamu*, and 32 *béḍa*. The Canarese pagoda is also divided similarly into 2 *honnu* or *pratápa*, 4 *dharaṇa*, 8 *cavala*, and 16 *dugula*, and the fanam or *haṇa*, 20 of which went to the pagoda in the Vijayanagar period, into

[1] These were of three varieties:—A, 110 gr. (oblong); B, 108 gr.; C, of three sizes, a. 105–99 gr., b, 58–45 gr., c. 23–21 gr. (O. Codrington, On some old Silver Coins found near Wai, in J.R.A.S., Bombay, Vol. XII.).

2 *adda*, 4 *hága*, 16 *vísa*, and 64 *káṇi*. A combination of the fractions of the pagoda and fanam results in the same table as the Telugu, the *haṇa* being identical with the *cavala*. Now, the *béḍa* and *hága* are the *guñjá*, and consequently the " *varáha* " should weigh 57·6 grains ; it was, therefore, originally the *gadyáṇa* coin, which has given its name to the later pagoda, the real *varáha*, of about 53 grains. The District Gazetteers show that the Tamils also now divide the pagoda weight in the same way into 32 *kuṉṟimaṇis*, and sometimes into 8 or 10 *paṇaviḍais* or fanams. In the Salem district it is still 56·4 grains.

The mediæval Canarese money reckoning, however, was similar to the old Southern tables, and gave 40 *hága* = 20 *aḍḍa* = 10 *haṇa* = 2 *dharaṇa* = 1 *honnu* or *gadyáṇa* (Skt. *nishka*). That of the Goa Novas Conquistas according to Aragão has 40 pagós = 10 dramós = 2 prataps = 1 " pagode mixany." Both of these yield, at the full weight of 1·8 grains for the *hága*, a value of 72 for the *gadyáṇa*. But the coins average about 58 grains ; the fanam consequently falls to about 5·8, and its quarter to about 1·4 grains.

The present tables of weights are allied to these old money tables, the pagoda being equal to :—

Canarese ..	36 *gurugunjás* or *hágas* =	18 *mañjádis* or *aḍḍas* =	9 *hanas*	
Telugu ..	36 *guriguñjás* or *pátikas* =	18 *aḍḍigas* =	9 *cinnamus* or *rúkas*	

and for the Tamils also according to the Madras " Manual of Administration," Vol. III., *s. v.* Niray :—

36 *kuṉṟimaṇis* = 18 *mañjádis* = 9 *paṇattúkkams*

The pagoda is here correctly reckoned at 9 instead of 10 fanams of about 5·8 grains each, and at 36 *hágas*, since four of these theoretically go to a fanam.

21. The mediæval money reckoning seems to postulate a *kaḻañju* or *gadyána* weight of 72 grains, identical in name with the *gadyáṇa* of Surashtra, the half of which was also a *dharaṇa*. In the tenth century the 58-grain coin existed side by side with the *kaḻañju* in the Coḷa kingdom, and Mahávíra makes his gold *dharana* to consist of 8 *paṇas* or 40 *guñjás*, which gives 72 grains full weight. But his tables, which also include Magadha weights for silver and Graeco-Persian for base metals, may not represent the actual usage of any one country in the ninth century, and in any case the tendency must have been for the standard coin to supersede the older unit, with a consequent reduction of the *haṇu*, whether its eighth or tenth part, from 9 and 7·2 to 7·2 and 5·76 grains respectively.

22. We thus see that there were four or five main weight and money systems in use in the Peninsula : (i.) In Maharashtra and the Konkan there was possibly the heavy *gadyáṇa*, perhaps of 72 grains, with its half the *dharaṇa* and its sixteenth the *valla* of 3 *guñjás* ; the coinage included *drammas*, 16 of which, according to the Líláratí, went to the *nishka*. (ii.) In the Tamil country we find the *kaḻañju* of 20 *mañjádis* equal in theory to 72 grains. The Coḷa coinage seems to have been brought into line with the weights in the eleventh century. (iii.) Between the two was the Canarese light *gadyáṇa* of two *dharanas* of the same weight as the coin of the name. The fractions, however, followed the Southern system, which perhaps once existed in the Deccan in its entirety. (iv.) The monetary system of the country behind Goa and perhaps Kanara, which agreed throughout with the Canarese, substituting the silver *dramma* for the gold *haṇa*. And possibly (v.) the Telugu weight of 54 grains.

23. In the Coḷa kingdom the gold coin, as we have seen, apparently followed the *gadyána* standard ; its half perhaps may be the " old *kásu* " of inscription No. 629 of 1916 (A.R.E., 1917). A reform appears to have been carried out by Rájarája I. (A.D. 985–1012), who assimilated the coin to the current standard weight. His inscriptions at the great Rájarájeṣvara temple in Tanjore mention the " stone (used in) the city and called Aḍavallán " and the " *kásukal* called Dakshiṇa Meru Viṭaṅkaṉ " employed for weighing gold and jewels respectively, as well as standard measures of length and capacity. Considerable accuracy was obtained, for jewels were weighed by fortieths of a *mañjáḍi* (S.I I., II., No. 1, ff., and No. 7). That standard weights were not confined to the capital is shown by the Tirumukkudal inscription of the third year of his successor Rájendra Cola I., in which gold coins are said to have been weighed by the stone or *niṟaikal*, and by that of the fifth year of Kulottuṅga Coḷa I. (1070–1118) at Conjeeveram, which mentions the weighing of gold by " the true standard of the city " (A.R.E., 1915, No. 176 ; S.I.I., III., ii., No. 68).[1] Rájarája's reform seems to have been extended to the whole of the Coḷa empire, including its feudatories. Thus, the gold coins of Cálukya Candra of Vengi (A.D. 1000–1012) agree in weight with Rájarája's *mádai* as early as his fourth year (Ind. Ant., XXV., p. 321, ff.), while in Orissa, conquered by the Kálinga king Anantavarman *alias* Coḍa Gaṅga (acc. A.D. 1078), the son of a Coḷa princess, the *máṛha* was of 40 *ratis*, and the coin representing it is said to have been reduced to 61 grains only as

[1] For the use of standard weights in much earlier times *cf.* Kauṭilya's Arthasástra, Book II., Chap. 19 : " Weights shall be made of iron or of stones available in the countries of Magadha and Mekala ; or of such things as will neither contract when wetted, nor expand under the influence of heat " (R. Shamasastry's trans., Bangalore, 1915, p. 128.

late as the fifteenth century (*vide* Tables, Note). The weight of Rájarája's coin is found also beyond the limits of his empire, for example, in the gold pieces of the Western Cálukya Jagadekamalla and of the Kádambas of Goa (I.M.C., I., pp. 313, 314). The *ádavalaṁ gadyáṇa* of the Koṅgáḷvas in the eleventh century (Ep. Carn., I., Coorg Inscr., No. 49) as opposed to *gadyáṇa* perhaps refers to the Coḷa reformed gold coin.

24. Under the Hoysalas in the first half of the twelfth century we find a new standard of about 63 grains, apparently reduced from the Coḷa weight; the Vengi *Śri Coḷa-náráyaṇa* gold pieces of 61·5 grains may follow this (Ind. Ant., XXV., p. 321, ff.). Towards the end of the century and later a similar diminution of the *gadyáṇa* itself is found, the Kalacuri and Yádava coins (C.S.I., Nos. 87, 88) and punch-marked gold coins inscribed *Bujavíra* in thirteenth century characters, now in the British Museum, running up to some 54 grains; this standard, however, may have had a continuous existence in the Telugu country (see section 10). In the Canarese country the *honnu* of 10 *haṇas*, once the *gadyána* or *pratápa* itself, became a money of account, and accordingly in 1290 in the reign of Hoysala Narasimha Deva we find mention of a double *gadyáṇa*, presumably the old unit of the coinage (Ep. Ind. Carn., III., Tiramakudlu Narasipur Taluq, No. 27). After the Muhammadan irruption, this became crystallized under the Vijayanagar dynasty, whose *gadyáṇa* or *varáha*, about 53 grains in weight, was composed of 2 *pratápas* or 20 fanams, the Canarese *honnu* and the Tamil *poṉ* being a money of account of 10 fanams, while the *dharana* in consequence became the quarter of the coined pagoda. This, however, was by no means universal as the number of fanams in the pagoda and consequently the ratio between this coin and the *poṉ* varied from place to place. The Telugu application of the term *máḍa* to the half pagoda has a similar origin; in 1316–17 the *Gaṇḍagopála máḍai* of Nellore was only equal to 5 *paṇam* (Ep. Ind., VII., No. 15), and therefore the half of the old coin of the name.

IV.

25. On turning to the tables annexed to this chapter it will be seen at once that all, whether of India or Ceylon, have a close family resemblance. For purposes of metrology and numismatics, the Island cannot be separated from the mainland, the very names of many of the weights being derived from the Tamil, a fact sufficiently explained by geographical position, as well as by the constant intercourse between the two countries. The tables differ in the values of (*a*) the *paṇam* and its synonyms discussed above; and (*b*) the *kársham* and its equivalents. This last is always the fourth of the *palam*, and thus corresponds with Manu's *kársha* or *suvarṇa*, the designation perpetuated in the Sinhalese *huna*. In Ceylon the number of *kaḷañjus* in the *palam* varied with the article weighed from 8 to 10 or 12, and in the seventeenth century to 20. According to the Sinhalese commentary inserted in the medical work Sárártha Saṅgraha, the first kind of *palam* is used in weighing all liquid poisons, the second all spices, and the third all kinds of roots. It was this last which was employed by the goldsmiths. The different values of the Malabar *kársham* and its corresponding weights in the other tables is sufficiently accounted for by this variation of the *palam*, which probably was not confined to Ceylon; such is still found in the present commercial *tulám* and *páram*, and a similar practice existed with regard to the *áyamáni*, the first of these two weights, in Magadha in the fourth century before Christ (Arthaṣástra, Appendix C, 1).

Moggallána's table, composed in the twelfth century, is in substantial agreement with the others, but presents certain notable differences. His value of the *pala* is confirmed by the Ṭíká of the contemporary work, Vinayattha Mañjúsa, which incidentally states in the introduction that ten *kalañjas* of sugar make a *pala* (eka palaṁ náma dasa kalañjan ti vadanti). But his statement that " five *dharaṇas* are a *suvaṇṇa* (and) five of these a *nikkha* " has no counterpart in Southern usage. His table is perhaps a compilation from various inconsistent sources.

It will be observed that he differentiates the *nikkhu* from the *pala*. The equation of five *suvaṇṇas* and one *nikkha* is found in the Visákháya vatthu in the tenth century Dampiyá aṭuvá geṭapadaya, in the Pali of the Ummagga Játaka, and also in Yájnavalkya, where the *pala* or *nishka* consists of 4 or 5 *suvarṇas*. I am unable to trace the source of the *suvaṇṇa* of five *dharaṇas*.

Nishka in medical works is used as the Sanskrit equivalent of *kaḷañju*.

26. In Ceylon the seeds now generally employed by the people for weighing small quantities of medicinal preparations are those of the *máví* (Tamil *periyavellai*) variety of paddy; they are not selected for size, all of mature growth being accepted :—

Jaffna	..	1,000 seeds	593·52 gr., or	·593 gr. a seed	
Polonnaruwa	..	do.	400·32 do.	·400	do.
Matale	..	do.	461·74 do.	·461	do.

The weight of the *mañjáḍi* or *madeṭa* also seems to increase with the dryness of the locality, though it is difficult to account for the lack of weight in the Polonnaruwa specimens :—

				Gr.
Puttalam	.. Average of 70		..	4·28
	28	selected by eye	..	4·60
		selected by a goldsmith	..	4·40
Anuradhapura	.. Average of 800		..	4·08
	212		..	4·21
	20	selected by eye	..	4·64
Polonnaruwa	.. Average of 200		..	3·19
	300		..	3·20
	20	selected by eye	..	3·49
Matale	.. Average of 100	selected by a native doctor	..	3·46
	60	do.	..	3·51
Kegalla	.. Average of 100		..	3·27
	30	selected by eye	..	3·6

These last agree with Davy's experiments, by which the *madeṭa* weighed between 3 and 3·9 grains, with an average of 3·6 grains (Interior of Ceylon, p. 243). The *guñjá* or *oliñda* seed also varies, the average of 30 from Kegalla being 1·82, of 400 from Tamankaduwa (Polonnaruwa) 1·590, and of 50 from Puttalam 1·65 grains.

The weight of the *kaḷañda* as obtained from the seed tests is as follows :—

From the Paddy Seed.

Gr.				Gr.
·4617	..	..	..	73·87
·4003	..	..	..	64·05
·5935	..	..	..	94·96

From the *Madeṭa* Seed.

(1) Gr.		Gr.	(2) Gr.		Gr.
3·60	..	72	4·28	..	85·6
3·51	..	70·24	4·60	..	92
3·46	..	69·21	4·40	..	88
3·19	..	63·98	4·08	..	81·74
3·20	..	64·03	4·21	..	84·20
3·49	..	69·8	4·64	..	92·8

The light *kaḷañda* based on the paddy seed is thus slightly in excess of the lighter of the two derived from the *madeṭa*. We probably shall not be far wrong if we take the ideal weight as about 70 to 72 grains.

For the weight of the Sinhalese *kaḷañda* as actually used various tests exist, all, however, of modern times :—

(1) The Inventario do Thesouro do Rei de Ceylão of 1551 gives 52½ " calanjas " as equal to one mark; the " calanja," therefore, was 67·457, and the " mangelim " 3·372 English grains.

(2) Nunes in his Lyvro dos Pesos of 1554 gives under Ceylon: 8 grains of rice = 1 mamgelim, 20 mamgelins = 1 calamja, and states that 8 calamjas 2 mamgelins equalled in weight one portuguez. This coin, according to M. B. L. Fernandes' Memoria das Moedas correntes em Portugal (Lisbon, 1856), was 712½ grãos or 547·585 English grains. Thus, the " calamja " and the " mamgelim " were 67·603 and 3·380 grains respectively.

(3) Knox (1660–1679) gives 20 " red Berries " or " Seeds " as equal to a " collonda," of which " six make just a piece-of-eight " and twenty a " pallum " (Historical Relation of Ceylon, Pt. III., Chap. VIII.). If the piece-of-eight weighs 418–420 grains, the *kaḷañda* will be 69·6—70 and the *madeṭa* 3·48—3·5 grains. A forty-*palam* weight in the Kandy Museum weighs 8 lb. 1¾ oz. avoirdupois or 56,765·625 grains; the twentieth therefore is 70·957, and the " seed " 3·547 grains.

(4) A gold bowl in the Kandy Daḷadá Máligáwa, presented in Ṣaka 1713 (A.D. 1791) by King Rájádhirájasiṇha to secure merit for his queen, bears an inscription to the effect that it and its cover weighed 462 *kaḷañdas* 9 *madeṭas*. The bowl by itself weighs 23,547·125 grains ; the cover was said to be missing, but one used for another bowl, which, however, it did not fit, while of the exact size of the bowl under discussion, weighs 7049·5 grains, giving a total of 30,596·625 grains. The *madeṭa* and *kaḷañda* should, therefore, weigh 3·308 and 66·160 grains. The bowl and cover, however, are considerably worn, having been in use thrice daily with few interruptions since the date of presentation.

(5) The half of the stuiver piece of 1815, which weighed 137 grains, is traditionally said to have been used as a *kaḷañda* weight, which accordingly is 68·5 grains. Three Dutch East India Company duits or " challies " were and are still reckoned as two *kaḷañdas*. In 1791 160 of these coins, presumably in mint condition, were equal to the Amsterdam pound, yielding a *kaḷañda* of 71·4 grains ; with the worn specimens in actual use this approximates to the weight of the British half stuiver.

(6) In Jaffna the *mañjáḍi* is selected so that 16 go to the pagoda of 53·3 grains ; one and a quarter pagodas are reckoned as equal to a *kaḷañju*, which thus is 66·6 grains. Among native physicians it is variously counted as $\frac{1}{96}$ pound or $\frac{2}{5}$ rupee ; accordingly its value is 72·9 or 72 grains.

The weight of the Ceylon *kaḷañju* is thus remarkably uniform from the sixteenth century onwards, and, judging from the so-called " Laṅkeṣvara " coins (*vide* Chapter V.), was the same before the Tamil invasion of the eleventh century.[1] The *kaḷañju*, now sometimes in use, known to the Sinhalese as the ***Madura kaḷaňda***, is based on the heavier *mañjáḍi* of 4–5 grains ; Valentyn mentions it about 1726 as equal to 20 " mangeli," and in Dutch reckoning to 11½ (*lege* 112½) greyn or 3¾ engelzen, the *kaḷañju* thus being 89 and the *mañjáḍi* 4·45 grains. The *kaḷañju* is now generally relegated to the practice of medicine, the one-cent piece of 72·9 grains usually being employed : it has been superseded elsewhere by the pagoda and the rupee.

Tables

Amarakoṣa, *c.* A.D. 700.

5 guñjás	1 máshaka				
80 do.	16 do.	1 suvarṇa, aksha, or kársha			
320 do.	64 do.	4 do.	1 pala		
32000 do.	6400 do.	400 do.	100 do.	1 tulá	
640000 do.	128000 do.	8000 do.	2000 do.	20 do.	1 bhára

Malabar.

4 nenmaṇi (grains of paddy) or vísam	1 kuṇikuru							
8 do.	2 do.	1 mañcáḍi						
16 do.	4 do.	2 do.	1 paṇattúkkam					
160 do.	40 do.	20 do.	10 do.	1 kaḷañcu				
480 do.	120 do.	60 do.	30 do.	3 do.	1 kársham			
1920 do.	480 do.	240 do.	120 do.	12 do.	4 do.	1 palam		
						100 do.	1 tulám	
						2000 do.	20 do.	1 bháram

Old Tamil.

4 nel (paddy)	1 kuṉṟi							
8 do.	2 do.	1 mañjádi						
16 do.	4 do.	2 do.	1 káṇam [2]					
160 do.	40 do.	20 do.	10 do.	1 kaḷañju				
320 do.	80 do.	40 do.	20 do.	2 do.	1 kaisu			
1280 do.	320 do.	160 do.	80 do.	8[3] do.	4 do.	1 palam		
						100 do.	1 tulám	
						2000 do.	20 do.	1 páram

Gaṇita Sára Saṅgraha of Mahávíra (IX. cent.). Gold Weights.

4 gaṇḍaka	1 guñjá				
20 do.	5 do.	1 paṇa			
160 do.	40 do.	8 do.	1 dharaṇa		
320 do.	80 do.	16 do.	2 do.	1 kársha	
1280 do.	320 do.	64 do.	8 do.	4 do.	1 pala

Canarese (Mediæval Money).

4 vísa	1 hága			
8 do.	2 do.	1 adda		
16 do.	4 do.	2 do.	1 haṇa	
160 do.	40 do.	20 do.	10 do.	1 honnu or gadyaṇa

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[1] A roughly circular, flat, and uninscribed piece of brass, found in 1916 at Polonnaruwa, turns the scale at 35·2 grains. If it be a weight, as suggested by its appearance, the *kalañju* will be 70·4 grains.

[2] *Káṇam* frequently appears in the older Tamil inscriptions. Its value may be deduced from the Bhagamandala inscription of *c.* A.D. 1371 (Coorg Inscriptions, Ep. Carn., Vol. I., 1914), where the fine for violation of the grant for one day is 12 *káṇams* of gold, and for one week 12 *kaḷañjus* of gold of 7 *máttu* fineness. This last sum equals 168 *mañjáḍis* of pure gold ; the *káṇam* therefore was 2 *mañjáḍis*. See also S.I.I., I., p. 36, Note.

[3] Now 16 according to modern goldsmiths ; the Jaffna medical practitioners retain the *Páṇḍi-palam* of 8 *kaḷañjus*.

Orissa.[1]

4 ratis	1 ciná		
40 do.	10 do.	1 máṛha	
320 do.	80 do.	8 do.	1 pala

Abhidánappadípiká (Appendix C).

4 víha (paddy)	1 guñjá								
8 do.	2 do.	1 másaka							
20 do.	5 do.	2½ do.	1 akkha						
160 do.	40 do.	20 do.	8 do.	1 dharaṇa					
800 do.	200 do.	100 do.	40 do.	5 do.	1 suvaṇṇa				
1600 do.	400 do.	200 do.	80 do.	10 do.	2 do.	1 pala			
				25 do.	5 do.		1 nikkha		
						100 do.		1 tulá	
						2000 do.		20 do.	1 bhára

Yogárṇava, &c. (Appendix C).

8 ví-eṭa (paddy)	1 madeṭa				
160 do.	20 do.		1 kalañda		
480 do.	60 do.		3 do.	1 huna	
1920 do.	240 do.		12 do.	4 do.	1 palama
20 do.		1 aka[2]			
160 do.		8 do.	1 do.		

CHAPTER II.

ANCIENT NUMISMATICS.

The main sources of information for the period beginning with the settlement of the Sinhalese in Ceylon and ending with the rise of Polonnaruwa are the Mahávaṁsa chronical with its continuation, and the Ṭíká or commentary thereon, supplemented by a few inscriptions and the Commentaries of Buddhaghosa. The Mahávaṁsa proper was written by the monk Mahánáma in the reign of Dhátusena, A.D. 463–479 (G. 509–527), based on earlier material, the only survivor of which is the Dípavaṁsa composed at the close of the fourth century. The Ṭíká dates from a much later period, but its author had before him ancient documents now lost.

The first part of the Mahávaṁsa deals with the history of Buddhism in India. For this period *kahápaṇas* are mentioned in the account of the Vesálí heretics (cap. IV., 13), and in the Ṭíká on cap. V., 17, where Cáṇakya, afterwards minister of Candragupta, is said to have re-coined each *kahápaṇa* into eight, and thereby to have amassed 80 *koṭis* of *kahápaṇas*. In Ceylon from the reign of the first king Vijaya onwards money is mentioned usually by numbers only, *e.g.*, " a thousand," " a hundred thousand," and the like, *kahápaṇas* being understood. Authentic history may be said to begin with the reign of Deveni-pẹ Tissa, B.C. 307–267 (G. 247–207); money is conspicuous by its absence in the lengthy account of his various works. *Kahápaṇas* first appear by name in cap. XXI., 26, in which it is recorded as an act of munificence that the Tamil king Eláḷa spent 15,000 *kahápaṇas* to replace fifteen stones of the *thúpa* on Cetiyapabbata or Mihintale, accidentally broken by his chariot. His Sinhalese conqueror Duṭugẹmunu, B.C. 161–137 (G. 101–77), rewarded the archer Phussadeva with a heap of *kahápaṇas* large enough to bury his arrow set upright in the ground (cap. XXV., 99, 100), and the designer of the Ruvanvẹli Dágoba with " a pair of garments worth a thousand and ornamented shoes and twelve thousand *kahápaṇas* " (cap. XX., 14). As wages for the workmen employed on the Brazen Palace, he deposited 800,000 of gold (*hirañña*) at each of the four gates, and for those on the Ruvanvẹli Dágoba 1,600,000 *kahápanas* at each doorway (capp. XXVII., 21 ; XXX., 18). The Ṭíká commenting on the first of these two passages explains that the amount was 100,000 *hiraññas*, each reckoned at eight *kahápaṇas*, and this may be a genuinely ancient tradition.

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[1] M. M. Chakravarti, Troy Weights and General Currency of Ancient Orissa (J.A.S., Bengal, 1892). The *máṛha*, Tel. *máḍa*, Tam. *máḍai*, was one half *tola* (or 90 grains) in weight.

[2] Also 6 *akas* = 1 *ṣáṇa*.

The amounts spent by this king seem fabulous ; thus, 19 *koṭis* were expended on the Mirisveṭiya, 30 *koṭis* on the Brazen Palace, and 1,000 *koṭis* on the Ruvanveli Dágoba. Such large sums in money are incredible, and if there be no exaggeration must represent the estimated value of the work done. Such is certainly the explanation of the one *koṭi* of treasure, the value of the restored Brazen Palace completed by Jeṭṭhatissa, A.D. 267–277 (G. 315–325), and of the nine lakhs spent on the festival in honour of the Tooth Relic held by Meghavaṇṇa II., A.D. 304–332 (G. 352–379) (capp. XXXVI., 125; XXXVII.). The gift of a " thousand " by King Dhátusena for a *dípika* on the Dípavaṁsa, in all probability our Mahávaṁsa (cap. XXXVIII., 59), is the last mention of money until the reign of Jeṭṭhatissa, A.D. 623–4.

2. The inscriptions often record private gifts to the Community, and the sums specified are rarely great, except in the case of royal donations ; the largest is of a hundred thousand *kahavaṇas* (Pali *kahápaṇa*) spent by King Vasabha, A.D. 66–110 (G. 124–168). The word " *kahavaṇa* " sometimes occurs without any numeral, and it may, perhaps, be supposed that it also had the secondary meaning of " money." It is found in inscriptions of every century from the first after Christ until those assigned to the fifth-seventh centuries, and re-appears in the Mahávaṁsa (cap. LIII., 29) in the tenth century ; it may, therefore, be assumed that the use of the name was continuous, though it was doubtless applied to more than one coin in its long history. Only two varieties of *kahavaṇa* are mentioned in the inscriptions, namely, the *mala kahavaṇa* in the fourth, and the *(da)ma kahavaṇa* in the fifth century ; these are discussed below.

A symbol, consisting of a square divided by two cross lines, occasionally with a dot in each of the four compartments so formed, occurs in the inscriptions from the second to the fourth or fifth century. Though in some instances standing alone, it usually accompanies the word *kahavaṇa*, either closely or separated from it by a sentence or more. In some cases it is followed by symbols, which seem to be numerals, as in the Vilevewa inscription, where the number of *kahavaṇas* is also given in words, and in that at Ottapahuwa, where though there is no mention of *kahavaṇas*, it probably represents the cost of construction of the refectory and courtyard, the subject-matter of the record (Ancient Ceylon, p. 657, and figure 153). This symbol is supposed by Mr. Parker to be of magical significance ; Mr. H. C. P. Bell, late Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon, however, has suggested that " it may denote the standard by which the value or weight of the *kárshápaṇa* was reckoned, *i.e.*, by *pádas* or quarters " (A.S., Seventh Progress Report, p. 44). This is a possible explanation, the symbol, perhaps, being an attempt to represent the eldling.

3. We next come to the Commentaries associated with the name of Buddhaghosa, who compiled his works in Ceylon in the reign of Mahánáma, A.D. 412–434 (G. 458–480). The passages which deal with money are based on two groups of texts in the Vinaya, (1) the one defining the amount, theft of which involves expulsion from the Community (*párájiká*), and (2) the other forbidding the receipt of or trafficking with gold and silver.

(1) *Párájiká.*—Dealing with a case of theft of timber by a disciple, Buddha asked an old monk, formerly minister under the King of Magadha, for what amount stolen a thief would be sentenced to corporal punishment, imprisonment, or banishment. The monk replied " For a *páda* (quarter), or property worth a *páda.*" " Now at that time at Rájagaha five *másakas* were a *páda.*" Buddha thereupon laid down that theft of this value and above involved expulsion from the Community. Twenty *másakas*, therefore, were then equal to one *kahápaṇa.*

Buddhaghosa explains that the *páda* or quarter is to be calculated on the " ancient faultless *kahápaṇa,*" and not on the Rudradámaka and such like *kahápaṇas.*

(2) Precept against receiving and trafficking with gold and silver (*játarúpa rajataṁ*). The ancient scholium embodied in the Vinaya text explains *játarúpa* by *satthuvaṇṇa* " colour of the Teacher," and *rajata* as meaning the *kahápaṇa* and the base metal, wooden, or lacquer *másaka* " which are current," and includes both *játarúpa* and *rajata* under the common term *rúpiya*. Buddhaghosa explains *játarúpa* as a name of gold (*suvaṇṇa*) in the same way, and includes under *rúpiya* chank shells, coral, silver, and gold, following the Pátimokkha, while by *rajata* are meant *kahápaṇas* and other current money. He adds that the *kahápaṇa* is of gold, or silver, or the " common " one, *sc.* of copper, and gives at length details of the base metal, wooden, and lacquer *másaka*. This commentary is repeated almost word for word in Sáriputta's Pálimuttaka Vinaya Viniccahay Sañgaho, the Ṭíká on which gives the further interesting information that by the *másaka* made of the fruits or seeds of trees is meant the tamarind seed. A similar use of bitter almonds as money in Gujarat in the seventeenth century is recorded by Tavernier, Travels, Part II., p. 2. Buddhaghosa in summing up also explains *játarúpa rajataṁ* in a shorter way by " silver, gold, the gold *másaka*, the silver *másaka* of all the kinds mentioned," meaning that under the term " silver *másaka* " the base metal, wooden, and lacquer *másaka*, and whatever is current as money are included. In the Kañkhávitaraní, however, he states that the four forbidden things are gold, silver, the *kahápaṇa*, and the *másaka* ; this is repeated in the Khuddásikkha, a poetical work, as " the *kahápaṇa*, silver, gold nuggets, the current *másaka*."

4. The conclusions to be drawn seem to be that in the fifth century the *kahápaṇa* was of all three metals. The current coin of the time was chiefly Roman, and in all probability the *kahápaṇa* had then long ceased to connote a piece of a particular weight and had come to mean the standard coin of the day. Further, if Buddhaghosa's exposition embodies an older Sinhalese commentary, that the *Rudradámaka kahápaṇa* had, perhaps, once been current in the Island. And thirdly, that *másaka* had ceased to be the name of any one particular coin, though perhaps not so as a weight;[1] for the gold *másaka* must be the gold *kahápaṇa*, as, indeed, it is definitely stated to be in Sáriputta's Ṭíká. That this was so may be inferred from the prose of the Udaya Játaka, where the gold and silver bowls are full of gold *másakas* and the bronze bowl of *kahápaṇas*. *Másaka*, therefore, by the fifth century, must have come to signify "coin," "money," just as *salli*, *kási*, at the present day.

5. The prose Aṭṭhakathá on the Játakas enshrining the original *gáthás* is said by tradition to have been composed by Buddhaghosa from old Sinhalese sources. Whether this was the case or not, the work probably is of the fifth century, and the use of such words as *karísaṁ* (*vide infra* section 10) and *ammaṇaṁ*, Sin. *amuṇa*, shows that the phraseology has been coloured to some extent by Ceylon or South Indian usage. The work contains reference to gold *nikkhas*, and to the following denominations of coin: *kahápaṇa*, *kála-kahápaṇa*, *sísa-kahápaṇa*, half *kahápaṇa*, *páda*, *másaka*, gold *másaka*, half *másaka*, and *kákaṇiká*. These, with few exceptions, can be traced from independent sources as in use in the Island.

6. *Nikkha*, Skt. *nishka*, Sin. *nika*, is definitely mentioned as being of gold in the *gáthás* of the Dúta Játaka; anciently it was a neck or breast ornament, probably often of a recognized weight, and thus suitable for purposes of personal adornment or of currency. Manu's *nishka* was a gold *pala* of four *suvarṇas*. Moggallána in the twelfth century makes it of five and distinct from the *pala*, but his insertion of our weight into the table is his main divergence from South Indian usage, and it is very doubtful whether the *nikkha* as distinct from the *pala* ever existed in the Island. In the Middle Ages the name is usually employed as the Sanskrit equivalent of *kaḷañda*, and never denotes coin, though such was the case on the Continent.

7. The *kahápaṇa*, Skt. *kárshápaṇa*, Sin. *kahavaṇa*, later *kahavuṇuva*, *kahavaṇuva*, according to Manu, was a coin of copper, 80 *guñjás* in weight. The Nanaghat inscription of the second century B.C. (Rapson's C.C.A., p. clxxxiii., Note) shows that a silver *kárshápaṇa* was in use in the West, and the name was applied to the circular silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas: "The fact that these silver coins, though called kárshápaṇas, only weigh from 34 to 36 grains, instead of about 58 grains as would be theoretically required, is instructive. It shows that this term, when applied to a silver coin, does not necessarily denote a piece of the actual weight of 32 *ratis*, and suggests the conclusion that, in Ancient India as elsewhere, coin-denominations derived from weights may have acquired in the course of time very various meanings: *cf.* the history of our 'pound,' 'the pound sterling,' 'the Scottish pound,' &c." (*ibid.*, p. clxxxiv.). So in mediæval Ceylon the *kahápaṇa* was a coin of gold, in weight one-half of Manu's piece of 80 *raktikás*.

The *kahápaṇa* of Magadha, as represented in one of the older parts of the canon, consisted of 20 *másakas*, and is known in the Commentaries as the *níla* or "faultless" *kahápaṇa*. The Ceylon tradition, which seems to be as old as the time of Buddhaghosa, represents it as a coin of gold divided into 20 *másakas*, that is *mañjáḍis*, of the same metal, and thus equal to the *kalañda*; according to the fourteenth century version of the Ummagga Játaka it was composed half of *máḍha* gold and half of alloy. The *páda* or "quarter" of the Ceylon School was of five *másakas*. The Burmese tradition, however, in addition to a copper coin of the name, distinguishes between two kinds of *kahápaṇas* both of 20 *másas*, one of pure gold, the other consisting of 5 *másas* of gold, 5 of silver, 10 of copper, and one paddy-seed weight of bronze; this last "mixed" coin is the *níla kahápaṇa* (Appendix A, 24, 25), of which the conception may be due to a misunderstanding of Buddhaghosa's statement that the *kahápaṇa* was of all three metals. The equivalent of the Burmese "quarter" is said to be five *guñjás* of gold, that is the fourth part of the gold contents of the whole coin, which accordingly should be a *kársha* of 20 *máshas*, of 7·2 grains each. If the Ummagga Játaka version is to be trusted, five *másakas*, the quarter of the Ceylon *níla kahápaṇa*, would also contain five *guñjás* of pure gold.

A clue to the identity of the old Magadha *kahápaṇa* is given by the tradition common to Ceylon and Burma (Appendix A, 9, 24) to the effect that it was one and a quarter times the value of the *Rudradámaka kahápaṇa*. This coin, from its name, would seem to be the silver hemidrachm of the Western Kshatrapas, among whom two Rudradámans are known, the first a prince of some importance, about A.D. 150, and the second about 327–358. It was issued by this dynasty from A.D. 119 to about 388, and subsequently copied by the Guptas from *c.* 409 till at least as late as *c.* 480. Its full weight was 43·2 grains. The *níla kahápaṇa*, therefore, should be 57·6 grains of silver and not of gold, or, in other words, was the eldling.

[1] But *másaka*, as the name of a weight, may have been superseded by the Tamil *mañjáḍi* as early as the second century A.D., if *kariha* be a loan word from that language (see §10, and Appendix D. No. 12). The use of *kaḷañju* would naturally come in with that of *mañjáḍi*.

This identification is consistent with the very ancient scholium incorporated in the Vinaya text of the precepts as to silver and on trafficking with that metal (Appendix A, 2). Commenting on the words "gold and silver" in the first-named precept, it apparently confines gold to the raw or at least uncoined metal, while silver includes "the *kahápaṇa*, the (base) metal *másaka*, the wooden *másaka*, the lacquer *másaka*, which are current." A similar explanation appears in the commentary on the second precept. Again, the description of the *másaka* above given clearly applies not to a gold coin, but to one of base metal (*loha*) or a substitute therefor. The old Magadha currency thus consisted of silver *kahápaṇas* or eldlings each of 20 copper *másakas;* that this was so is rendered almost certain by the later money system of Magadha described in the Arthaṣástra (Appendix C, 1), and by the analogy of the cowry currency of Bengal and Orissa described in Chapter I.

The Ceylon tradition of the gold *kahápaṇa* is probably due to the common tendency to read familiar conditions into ancient texts. Thus, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century the pagoda was taken as representing the *níla kahápaṇa ;* the translation of "denarius" by "penny" in the English version of the Gospels is due to the same cause. The traditional view is not only at variance with the scholium incorporated in the Vinaya, but also with other ancient texts. Thus, in the Játakas there is no mention of gold coin or currency medium, except the *nikkha*, perhaps then in the form of a neck ornament (A.I.W., pp. 34, 35; and Kusa Játaka): in the prose Commentary, on the other hand, reference to gold coin is not infrequent. As an example, the "bowl full of silver" (rúpiyaṁ kaṁsa-púran ti) in the Udaya Játaka itself should be compared with the "silver bowl full of gold *másakas*" (suvaṇṇa-másaka púraṁ rajata-pátiṁ) of the prose Commentary. It may be objected that *hirañña* is used in the story of Anáthapiṇḍika in the Culla Vagga (Appendix A, 26*a*); but the word in Sanskrit, according to Monier Williams' Dictionary (new Edition, 1899), originally meant "uncoined gold *or other precious metal*," and only later "coined gold," the present authoritative interpretation in Ceylon ; in the text, perhaps, it may be rendered "wealth," "bullion."

The Commentary on the Kuṇála Játaka mentions a *kála* or "black" *kahápaṇa*, probably Buddhaghosa's "common" one of copper, and the Introduction or Nidána a *sísa-kahápaṇa* of lead (Faussböll's edition I., p. 7), which may refer to the Andhra or some kindred coinage.

8. In Ceylon the most widely spread of the early coins was the silver eldling, which for many centuries must have formed the bulk of the coinage. But, apart from the application of the name to the *puráṇa* in parts of India, and the probability that the frequently mentioned *kahápana* was this, the only silver coin in use, the direct evidence is confined to two passages :—

(*a*) The Mahávaṁsa Ṭíká on cap. XXVII., 21, already mentioned, where one *hirañña* is said to have been reckoned at eight *kahápaṇas*. The Ṭíká on cap. XXX., 20, identifies *kahápaṇa* with gold (*suvaṇṇa*), and eight times the gold *kahápaṇa* of 20 *másakas* would be Manu's *pala* or *nishka* of about 576 grains ; but there is no trace of this weight in Ceylon until much later, when it appears in the Abhidánappadípiká as equal to 10 *dharaṇas* or 200 *másakas*, that is, about 720 grains. If the *kahápaṇa* was the eldling and the *hirañña* Elliot's spherule of gold (C.S.I., p. 53), the relative proportion of silver to gold would be about 8 to 1, both the eldling and the spherule being of much the same weight. But no such gold pieces have been found in Ceylon, and it seems open to question whether these spherules are primitive. They are remarkably like Tavernier's plate of "the old *Pagod*" struck "at the time the *Rajas* were Masters of the Kingdom of Golconda . . . . these old Pagods are no-where current but in the Kingdom of Golconda" (Travels, Pt. II., pp. 4, 5). If, however, the ratio between silver and gold was 10 to 1, as was the case in Western India in the early part of the second century A.D. (C.C.A., p. clxxxv.), our *hirañña*, calculated on the eldling of full weight, will be about 46 grains, perhaps of gold dust tied up in a bag (*cf.* A.I.W., p. 25, Note 1, and p. 33). This is precisely the apparent unit of the early copper coinage (Chap. III., section 20 ; see also Chap. I., section 19). It should, however, be noted that in the sixteenth century the local ratio between gold and silver as calculated on the larin of 78·7 grains appears to have been as low as 1 to 7¼ (Chap. VIII., section 20, Note).

(*b*) Mahávaṁsa, XXXVI., 53, recording a gift by King Abhaya Nága, A.D. 237–245 (G. 285–293), of "twice a hundred thousand," *kahápaṇas* being as usual understood. The Pali reads "dvihi sata sahassehi neka vattháni gáhiya," but the corresponding passage in the Dípavaṁsa, XXII., 37, is "dve sata sahassa rúpiyá," "two hundred thousand pieces of silver." Even if this refer to the coinage succeeding the eldlings, it may be assumed that the *kahápaṇa* for a long period had been of silver.

After the disuse of the eldlings, the term *kahápaṇa* seems to have been employed of the standard current coin, such as the *Rudradámaka kahapaṇa* mentioned by Buddhaghosa. In the Veragala inscription of the fourth century (Appendix D, No. 21) a gift of twenty *mala kahavaṇa*, and in the fifth century inscription at Aralagam Vila (No. 24) dated in the twentieth year from the coronation of Mahánáma, *acc.* A.D. 412 (G. 458), another of twenty (*da*)*ma kahavaṇa* are recorded. In the latter inscription part of the letter indicated by brackets is visible, and the original must have been v, c, t, ḍ, d, or ḷ: the cerebral ḍ being used in this record for the dental as in

the name Buḍḍdasa, the restoration should in all probability be *dama*, as the word cannot possibly be a numeral. The proposed reading is derivable from the Pali *dhamma* " doctrine," *dámaṁ* " rope," "string," "wreath," or from the Sanskrit *dramma* " drachma." As *mala* must mean " wreath," " flower," it seems likely that *dama* has the same signification, and that both names were applied to some coin with a wreath as part of the design, such as the Roman issues of the fourth century, though the possibility of the word representing " drachma " cannot be excluded, especially as the successors of the Western Kshatrapa *kahápaṇas*, if not those coins themselves, were known by the name of *dramma*. As will be seen later, the currency of the Island in the fifth century was mainly composed of Roman " third brass," and we have the evidence of Cosmas Indicopleustes that the solidus was the trade coin in use at the beginning of the next century. As Buddhaghosa states that the *kahápaṇa* was of gold, or silver, or the " common " one, it seems possible that the name was attached to the solidus, the latest of which found in Ceylon as well as in South India dates from the seventh century. The gold *kahápaṇa* issued by the Polonnaruwa kings agrees with the solidus in weight, and may therefore have been influenced by that coin.

9. The half or *aḍḍha-kahápaṇa* does not appear in the inscriptions, but may be identified with the silver coins described in the next chapter, section 6.

The quarter or *páda*, in old Sinhalese *payaka*, is only found as a land measure, and is dealt with in the following section. In mediæval translations from the Pali it appears as *pala* (Appendix A, 15).

10. The *másaka* (Sin. *masaka*, later *massa*, plur. *masu*), according to the Vinaya, was the one-twentieth of the *kahápaṇa*, and a coin of small value or a substitute therefor. Though the precious metals doubtless were weighed in Ceylon, as in South India, by the *másaka*, which was identified with the *mañjáḍi* seed, no ancient inscription, definitely referring to the *másaka* as a weight, seems to have been discovered. In those few, in which the word occurs (Appendix D, Nos. 1, 12, 14), it can be referred to land; this is certainly the case in the Puvarasankulam inscription (No. 14), which gives the extent of fields in *kariha*, *masaka*, and *kana*, or in *kariha* and *payaka*, and the matter is clinched by the tenth century records at Alutvewa, Kele Diwulvewa, and Polonnaruwa (Nos. 41, 42, 37), where the subdivisions of the *kiriya* are given as the *paya*, the *massa*, and the *keṇa*. The *kiriya*, in old Sinhalese *kariha* or *kiriha*, in Pali guise *karísaṁ*, allied to and possibly derived from the Tamil *karisu*, *karisai*, *karasai*, (Can. *garashi*, *garashe*; Tel. *garise*, anglice "garce"), clearly was treated as being a *kársha* or *kahápaṇa* of land, and this probably explains Mogallána's enigmatic definition of *kahápaṇa* as *karisápaṇa* (Appendix C, 8).[1] The *payaka* or *paya* is undoubtedly the quarter (Pali *páda*); the *masaka* or *massa* presumably is the twentieth; the *kana* or *keṇa* is discussed below.[2]

11. The *kákaṇiká*, according to Nárada the fourth part of the Southern *másha* and of the Eastern *paṇa*, that is the eightieth and sixty-fourth part respectively of the *kárshápaṇa* (Appendix C, 4), appears in ancient Sinhalese as *kana* and in the mediæval language as *keṇa* or *kaṇava*. In Ceylon as a coin it appears only in translations from the Pali. The local authorities, apparently writing after it had fallen into disuse or copying Indian works, differ as to its value, some making it the half of the *másaka*, others equal to one and a half seeds of paddy. The former is the eightieth of the *kársha* of 144 grains; the latter is the sixty-fourth of the *dramma*, that is the quarter of the Deccan and Western *paṇa*. Its true weight can be deduced with some degree of certainty from the analogous land measure of the same name. From the Puvarasankulam and Polonnaruwa inscriptions (Nos. 14 and 37) it is clear that the *kákaṇiká* was less than a third of the *másaka*. The half *másaka* value, therefore, is excluded, while that of one and a half seeds of paddy does not fit in with the other Ceylon weights; and it seems most probable that, as with Nárada, the correct equation is one-fourth of the *másaka*. The Bhaisajyakalpa, however, makes it in one place the sixteenth, and in another the quarter of the seed of paddy, and so the eightieth of the *aka* or *paṇa*, with which may be compared the Canarese *káṇi*, the sixty-fourth of the *haṇa*.

The *másaka* and *kákaṇiká* seem to be the original of the Tamil fractions *má* ($\frac{1}{20}$) and *káṇi* ($\frac{1}{80}$), also used as divisions of the land measure *véli*; *cf.* *Bhú-máshaka*, the fourth of the *bhúmi* in the Champa plates of Somavarmadeva and Ásaṭadeva (Ind. Ant., XVII., p. 7).

12. The *kaṁsa*, stated by Buddhaghosa in the Kaṅkhávitaraní and by Moggallána to have been equal to four *kahápaṇas*, is found in the Sigála Játaka quoted below, in the Commentary on which, however, it is equated with the *kahápaṇa*. It does not seem to appear in Sinhalese. The name *paṇa*, as opposed to *aksha*, Sin. *aka*, is also absent, save in the Sanskrit Sárártha Saṅgraha (Appendix C), and only makes its appearance as *paṇama* in the later middle ages.

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[1] *Cf.* Old Persian *karsh*, "to drag," "to plough," *karsha*, "furrow," and also a weight of ten shekels; Sanskrit, *krsh*, "to plough," *karsha* "dragging," "ploughing," and the weight *karsha* or *kársha*; modern Persian kashídan, "to drag," "to carry," "to weigh." Moggallána's definition may be a variant of Manu's *kárshika paṇa*.

[2] In the Alutvewa inscriptions the sowing extent of high lands is calculated in *amunas*.

The silence of the Ceylon documents as to the existence of a cowry currency is worthy of notice. The Sigála Játaka has : Sippikáṇaṁ sataṁ n'atthi kuto kaṁsa satá duve ti, "There are not [here] one hundred cowry-shells, much less two hundred *kaṁsas*"; but the *gáthá* is doubtless of Indian, possibly Southern, origin.[1] A tamarind seed currency has been noted above.

CHAPTER III.

ANCIENT COINS.

The coins of the period are :—

(i.) Eldlings, *puráṇas* or *kahápaṇas* ;
(ii.) Single-die coins in silver and copper ;
(iii.) Early Páṇḍyan ;
(iv.) Coins of various obverse types and railed *svastika* reverse ;
(v.) Rectangular "Bull type" ;
(vi.) The "Maneless Lion" type, which can be fixed definitely as being in use in the reign of Mahasen, A.D. 277–304 (G. 315–325) ;
(vii.) ? Plaques of the Lakshmí and *Svastika* type ;
(viii.) Roman, the majority of which are "third brass" of Constantine the Great and his successors to the reign of Theodosius II. ;
(ix.) Indo-Roman, of native make, the best imitations being of the fifth or even fourth century, while the most degraded may date from the sixth ;
(x.) Miscellaneous, comprising among others two stray Parthian drachmas, a few Sassanian copper coins and late Gupta hemidrachms of the *Rudradámaka kahápaṇa* type.

Eldlings.

2. The punch-marked coins, called in Sanskrit *puráṇa*, "old," Englished as "eldling," are found in Ceylon as well as throughout India. They may be recognized in the "signatum argentum" offered as tribute to Alexander at Taxila, but in all probability their origin must be sought in a remoter past. The Persian Empire was bounded by the Indus from the end of the sixth century, and a money of this early type is not likely to have been initiated when a far superior model was furnished by the darics and sigli ; if the Buddhist scriptures are to be trusted, the beginnings of the eldling coinage must be anterior to the time of Gautama. Although they do not seem to have been current in the North much after the beginning of our era, they continued in circulation in the South for some two centuries later according to Mr. Vincent A. Smith (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. II., p. 150) ; Mr. Loventhal, in his "Coins of Tinnevelly," would extend the period of their use to about A.D. 300. The reasons adduced by Mr. Still (J.R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XIX., No. 58, 1907, p. 191, *ff.*) to prove the circulation of this class of money in Ceylon about A.D. 1000 appear to be inadequate ; the currency of the Island was closely connected with that of South India, and in all probability the employment of the eldling ceased in both countries about the same time.

The eldlings were manufactured by subdividing bars of metal or strips cut from a hammered sheet, the weight being adjusted where necessary by clipping the corners of each coin so formed. The obverse is usually covered with punch marks, often overlapping and clearly impressed at different times ; the marks on the reverse, on the other hand, are usually fewer in number, in the great number of cases one only, are less distinct, and frequently smaller. These archaic coins were probably issued "by local authorities—money-changers or merchants"—and were submitted by them for the approval of the local king or governor, whose stamp appears on the reverse, the punch marks on the other side, once blank, being those of the successive money-changers, through whose hands they passed in the course of circulation (Theobald, Notes on some Symbols ; Rapson, Countermarks). In Ceylon these marks are absent from the obverse of the majority of the later dumpy pieces. On none of the eldlings found locally have I been able to trace on the reverse any constantly recurring symbol which can be attributed to the Island, such as the railed *svastika* of the copper die-struck issues. I am, therefore, inclined to the belief that all the eldlings current in Ceylon were imported from India.

[1] In Tamil the empty oyster shell is *sippi* ; the live oyster is *káváḍḍi* and in Sinhalese *kávaṭṭi*. This word may be derived from Sanskrit *kapárdaka* which appears in Sinhalese as *kavaḍiya*, "cowry." For *kaṁsa cf.* Nunes quoted in Yule's "Hobson-Jobson" *s.v.* Ganza : "In this Kingdom of Pegu there is no coined money, and what they use commonly consists of dishes, pans and other vessels of service, made of a metal like frosyleyra (? spelter) broken in pieces ; and this is called gamça" (1554). *Gangsa*, "bronze," "bell-metal," is the Malay derivative from the Sanskrit.

If the Arthaṣástra is to be credited, in Magadha in the time of Candragupta there were coined, at least in theory, in addition to the silver *paṇa* or eldling, its half, quarter, and eighth, and in copper the whole and half *máshaka*, corresponding with Manu's *kárshápaṇa*, and its quarter and eighth, the whole and half *kákiṇí* (*op. cit.*, Bk. I., Chap. 12). As Cánakya, before his master's accession to the throne, is said to have amassed treasure by re-coining (see Chap. II., sec. 1), the introduction of a State mint, perhaps, may have been due to the policy of the founder of the Maurya Empire.

The standard of the silver eldlings is the *dharaṇa* of 32 *guñjás* ; in the South it is said by Elliot to have been the *kaḷañju* seed, but in practice there was little or no difference, even if the two standards were not identical.

3. In Ceylon very few copper eldlings appear to be known other than the cores of silver coins, often with traces of the coating still adhering. The majority of the silver pieces are much worn, and really good specimens are rare. The coins fall into two main classes: (1) rectangular and (2) roughly circular or oval; each of these again has a cross division into (*a*) thin and (*b*) thick. Though no clear line of separation exists, the thickness varying from that of thin cardboard to about ·12 inch, the difference between the thin and wide coins, usually covered with punch marks, which are the earliest (Pl. 1; Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, p. 43), and the thick and rather dumpy pieces or ingots, very often blank or with a few indentations (Pl. 2), is very marked. These latter are both rectangular and circular, and seem to have been made in these shapes ; the oval thin eldlings appear to have been originally rectangular, and subsequently reduced to their present shape by the process of clipping referred to. The available specimens of the thin variety up to and including a thickness of ·039 inch weigh from 14·9 (very worn) to 50·4 grains, the average of 36 being 30·5 grains ; the seventeen thinnest, however, ranging from 14·9 to 45·1 grains only give an average of 26·6. The highest weight for the available thick rectangular coins is 48·7 grains and the lowest 20·7, of which last the size is only ·51 by ·43 inch ; the average of twenty-one is 34·4 grains, as against Parker's average of 32·9 for thirteen (Ancient Ceylon, p. 472). The thick circular pieces, of which eight average 33·8 grains, vary from 26 to 43·2 grains. The total average of twenty-nine thick coins of both varieties is 34·3 grains. Inferences drawn from these and similar figures to prove the duration of the use of the eldling currency are apt to be fallacious, for the lighter coins may be the fractional pieces of the Arthaṣástra.

4. In process of time the punch marks, perhaps only in certain localities and through the State monopoly of coinage, became fixed, though their relative position slightly varied ; rectangular eldlings of this kind are figured in Loventhal's work in Pl. I., Nos. 4, 5, and 6. The only ones reported from Ceylon bear on one side (*a*) three men or a man and two women standing in a row, (*b*) a peacock on a *caitya*, and (*c*) a balance or scales (*cf.* Theobald, Fig. 9), arranged thus :—

(i.) $\overset{c\ b}{a}$: Size : ·62 × ·43 × ·078 in. Weight : 46·1 gr.

(ii.) $\overset{b\ c}{a}$: Size : ·61 × ·41 × ·118 in. Weight : 44·7 (C.A., I., iii., Pl. X., Nos, 3, 4).

On the reverse of both is symbol (*b*). Pieces with these punch marks appear in I.M.C., I., p. 138, Nos. 37–40 ; No. 37 shown in Pl. XIX., 3, is the same as (i.), and weighs 52·3 grains.

5. The double-die thick plaque, having on the obverse a dágoba and on the reverse a bó-leaf, and weighing from 77 to 83 grains, with a size of ·51 by ·33 inch (Lowsley, Pl. VIII., 1) is probably a votive offering, as is also the plaque shown in the Taprobanian of June, 1888, p. 53. Both seem to be modern. With them may be compared the crystal seal described by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in " Two Buddhist Seals " in the Ceylon Antiquary, Vol. III., Pt. 1, Pl. VII.

Single-Die Coins.

6. The next step is the union of various symbols in one die, a good specimen of which process is seen in the " Elephant and *Svastika* " double-die large copper coins. At first, however, the die was confined to one side, the reverse being either blank or punch-marked.

Silver.—The only coins known are in the cabinet of Mr. Bell, described by the present writer in the Ceylon Antiquary, Vol. I., Pt. 3, p. 178. One is a rectangular piece, ·47 × ·21 × ·11 inch in size and 25·9 grains in weight. " The design," only half of which is on the flan, " seems to be a solar emblem, consisting of a central ball or boss, from which spring, cross-wise, four lines ending in similar balls ; in each space so formed is a taurine (C.A., Pl. X., No. 5). The reverse is blank, but possibly has one indentation." On the rest " the design consists of a bull, or some such animal, in the lower half of the area, and a (?) fish, from whose back spring long rays upwards and backwards in the upper half : both objects face to the right and have before them three symbols, which

appear to be (*a*) a crescent at the top, (*b*) the sun, and at the bottom (*c*) a taurine. The die in all was clearly circular."[1] Of the four known, two have the reverse blank, one has a few indentations, and the remaining piece one, if not two, punch marks.

1.	Rectangular	Size: ·39 × ·37 × ·07 in.	Weight: 24·4 gr.	**Pl. 3.**
2.	Do.	Size: ·41 × ·33 × ·07 in.	Weight: 24·7 gr.	
3.	Do.	Size: ·43 × ·31 × ·07 in.	Weight: 25·4 gr	
4.	(?) Circular	Size: ·47 × ·07 in.	Weight: 20·6 gr.	**Pl. 4.** (C.A., Pl. X., Nos. 6–10.)

A small silver coin in the same collection is clearly of the same series, but is double-die. The obverse is the same as the preceding; the design on the reverse is, perhaps, similar to the solar emblem on the first described piece, but it is much worn. The coin is very thin, and may once have been circular; it is ·33 inch in diameter and 4·9 grains in weight. In all the above coins the design is deeply struck. The standard must be that of the eldling, the coins being halves, with the exception of the small piece just described, which may be the eighth.

7. *Copper.*—These are oblong pieces, with rounded corners, concave on one side and rough on the other. The design is now quite invisible. **Pl. 5.**

1.	Tirukketisvaram	Size: ·62 × ·51 × ·15 in.	Weight: 74·9 gr.
2.	Do.	Size: ·53 × ·39 × ·13 in.	Weight: 26·6 gr.
3.	Anuradhapura, Buddhist Rail	Size: ·61 × ·45 × ·09 in.	Weight: 24·2 gr.
4.	Do.	Size: ·62 × ·49 × ·06 in.	Weight: 21·6 gr.
5.	Do. Selacaitya	Size: ·55 × ·50 × ·06 in.	Weight: 16·5 gr.

A similar coin, but roughly circular and lenticular, was found at the north end of Vessagiriya, Anuradhapura; its diameter is ·53 inch, and weight 29·8 grains. Alleged similar pieces unearthed at Kantarodai in the Jaffna peninsula are described by Mr. P. E. Pieris in his paper on "Nagadipa," in J.R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XXVIII., No. 72 of 1919, Pl. XII., Nos. 18, 19, 21, 22, 26. Most seem to be the cores of eldlings, but one (No. 18) is distinctly concave; its size is ·62 by ·43 inch, and its weight is 28·6 grains. At Tirukketisvaram was also found a flat rectangular piece with rounded corners. One side is apparently blank; on the other is what seems to be a fish with long projecting fins, with which design should be compared that of the silver coins described above. It weighs in its broken condition 29·2 grains, and measures ·49 × ·45 × ·11 inch. From the same place come two circular coins, which may be noticed here. One is thick, flat on one side, the design on which is undecipherable, and convex and worn smooth on the other; the second is, perhaps, blank on both sides. The diameter and weight are ·57 and ·33 inch, and 31·2 and 6·2 grains, respectively.

The single-die coins found at Anuradhapura have been described by Mr. Still in J.R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XIX., No. 58, 1907, pp. 200, 201. The deductions as to their age therein set forth cannot be maintained; as, though they were discovered at the same site as the fourth and fifth century Roman coins, there is no evidence that they were actually found together.

8. The symbols appearing on the following coins are:—

(1) An isosceles triangle, base uppermost, with a short horizontal line crossing the apex and a short vertical line pendent therefrom.

(2) Variant of the last, but the triangle is on its side; in some instances a small vertical line projects from its side, either above or below.

(3) *Nandipada* symbol; a trident head, with the side prongs curved and longer than the central one, over a circle, from which it is sometimes separated by a horizontal line.

(4) Horizontal line, from each end of which rises a curved line, the two being back to back and crossed in the middle by another horizontal line. There is usually a similar line above the whole. In a few instances this is doubled, the middle line being absent.

(5) A truncated cone, inverted and crossed at the top, centre, and bottom by three bands, *cf.* Nasik, Nos. 13, 14 (Archæological Survey of Western India, Vol. IV.).

(6) Two isosceles triangles placed vertically apex to apex with a bar across the junction; the lower triangle is the smaller. From the left side of the upper there projects a short horizontal line. In a variant the symbol assumes the shape of an hour glass with a projecting line on either side of the centre, *cf.* Kuda, No. 26 (*op. cit.*).

[1] For coins with circular die and rectangular flan, *cf.* C.C.A., Pl. X., 265 and 266 of Jayadâman, A.D. 124–150, and Pl. V., GP5 of the Andhra dynasty.

"BUDDHIST CAKRAM" TYPE.

9. "In the place of a number of symbols punched on to the coin from time to time there appears at a later period a definite type, made up of a collection of these symbols struck from a die. This is usually the case in those parts of India, which were least affected by foreign influence" (Rapson, Indian Coins, p. 11). Of this description are the following rectangular coins, which, distinguished by Loventhal's so-called "Buddhist *cakram*," form one series, and are assigned to the early Páṇḍyans. Somewhat similar coins are described by this author in his "Coins of Tinnevelly."

The "*cakram*" consists of two lines forming an acute angle, the apex being uppermost: within are two crossed lines parallel to the sides of the angle which they join. All four lines end at the bottom of the symbol on the same level. This symbol but with the outer lines somewhat shorter than the inner is used by certain Tamils in the Anuradhapura District as a brandmark for cattle; a variant with the outer lines continued beyond the apex in the form of a loop or of a pair of pincers occurs in the Northern Province and represents a *makara*. Mr. Still suggests that the "*cakram*" is the same as the brandmark; he is almost certainly right. the symbol being a conventional fish, the well-known Páṇḍyan badge.

Of the following, the first is single-die:—

(1) Obv.: *Cakram*, apex between taurine on r. and (?) same symbol on l.; above, tortoise r. in rectangular frame.

Rev.: Blank.
Size: ·41 × ·31 in. Weight: 12·9 gr. Pieris, "Nagadipa," Pl. XII., 20.

(2) Obv.: In rectangular frame at bottom small elephant standing r., trunk pendent, with enclosed flagstaff and flag to r. Above, symbol consisting of two segments of a circle, the larger one above, the smaller below, the chords facing each other and connected by five vertical lines: this symbol resembles the Temple of Vesta. To its r., a square basket-like object with semicircular handle above. Symbol to upper l. is broken away; that to lower l. indistinct. The flan on the right projects beyond the die.

Rev.: *Cakram*.
Size: 1·02 × ·98 in. Weight: 205·2 gr. Broken. Pieris, XIII., 12.

(3) Obv.: In double line rectangular frame elephant as last between on l. indistinct symbol and on r. an enclosed flagstaff with flag. Above, "Temple of Vesta" between *caitya* on l. and basket on r.

Rev.: In similar frame *cakram*.
Size: 1·08 × ·98 in. Weight: 131·7 gr. Slightly broken on left. Pieris. XIII., 11. Good condition.

(4) Obv.: Elephant as last between symbol No. 1 to l. and doubtful symbol to r. Above, in high relief, "Temple of Vesta" between two *caityas*.

Rev.: In double line frame *cakram*.
Size: ·70 × ·84 in. Weight: 99·3 gr. Broken and worn.

(5) Obv.: Elephant as last; before him, "Temple of Vesta." Above to l. similar temple and to r. three-branched tree in enclosure standing upon a *caitya*.

Rev.: *Cakram*.

(6) Obv.: In rectangular frame at bottom small elephant standing l., trunk pendent, between on l. symbol No. 1, and on r. an enclosed tree; above, in centre (?) basket, in high relief, between enclosed tree to l. and *caitya* to r. Flan at bottom projects beyond die.

Rev.: In double line frame *cakram*.
Size: ·88 × ·78 in. Weight: 138·2 gr. Pieris, XIII., 9. Good. **Pl. 6.**

(7) Obv.: In double rectangular frame elephant standing l.

Rev.: In line frame *cakram*.
Size: ·47 × ·45 in. Weight: 26·9 gr.

(8) Obv.: Within line frame "Temple of Vesta," the centre of the upper segment of which is connected by a line with the frame. To lower left, perhaps, a small symbol; to lower r. symbol No. 1.

Rev.: In line frame *cakram*.
Size: ·53 × ·53 in. Weight: 29·7 gr. Pieris, XIII., 7. Good.
Size: ·47 × ·41 in. Weight: 20·1 gr. Slightly broken and worn

(9) Obv. : Tree in enclosure ; on l. small humped bull standing r. and above, symbol 6. On r. doubtful symbol below, and *caitya* above.

Rev. : *Cakram.*

Size : ·55 × ·53 in. Weight : 27 gr. Slightly broken. Pieris, XIV., 10.

Size : ·47 × ·45 in. Weight : 16·4 gr. Slightly broken and worn.

All the above were found at Kantarodai. The obverse types of these Pāṇḍyan coins have a close resemblance to the Odumbara piece, figured by Cunningham in his " Coins of Ancient India," Pl. IV., Fig. 2

ELEPHANT AND SVASTIKA.

10. The large circular coins now described were found at—

Tissamaharama	1
Mantota	—
Anuradhapura, Puliyankulam	—
Anuradhapura, E.N.E. of Abhayagiri Dágoba	Over 50
Mihintale	—
Vallipuram	3 at least
Tianaimadu	1

I.—The normal type has—

Obv. : Elephant walking l., trunk extended tail ending in a triple fork, occupying the whole of the base : above, arranged are four symbols :—

b
c d
a

(*a*) Symbol No. 2.

(*b*) *Svastika*, revolving to r., mounted on a staff and surrounded by a railing indicated by four vertical lines rising from a horizontal one.

(*c*) A three-branched tree in enclosure, each branch ending in a triple fork. The enclosure is shown by a square divided into four compartments by a vertical and a horizontal line. At each of the two upper corners is sometimes a dot or a taurine symbol.

(*d*) *Caitya* of three cells ; the two bottom ones are contiguous.

The spaces are filled up with single dots or with groups of three dots, usually placed as follows :—

(1) A group on either side of the head of the *svastika* ;

(2) A group to left top of *caitya* ;

(3) A group to left of tree enclosure ;

(4) A group on either side of the elephant.

The whole is within a double circle enclosing dots and lines. **Pl. 7.**

Rev. : Four symbols arranged
a
c d
b

(*a*) Large *svastika* as on obverse.

(*b*) *Caitya* as on obverse, but the two lower cells are divided by a space ; a horizontal line is beneath.

(*c*) Symbol No. 6.

(*d*) *Nandipada* symbol.

The spaces are filled as on obverse, usually as follows :—

(1) A group of dots on either side of the head of the *svastika*.

(2) A group on either side of the *caitya*.

The whole design is enclosed within a line circle.

On many of the coins the die is partly off the flan, leaving a blank margin on one side. The thickness of the flan varies, as does also the size of the die; a number of the coins thus have the design on the obverse compressed, resulting in a squat form of the *svastika*. These are marked in the following list with a star:—

Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
1·35 × ·098	301·6	—
1·45	267·3	Worn
*1·29	263·5	—
1·33	257·7	—
1·41	256·5	—
*1·51	251·2	—
*1·33	245·2	—
1·37	244·8	—
1·49	232·5	Worn
1·37	232·0	Very worn
1·41	230·4	—
*1·22	228·4	Broken
1·41	227	Worn
*1·35	217·9	—
1·41	210·7	Worn
1·45	202·5	—
*1·35 × ·059	199·6	Very worn
*1·24	198·7	Worn
*1·39	191·5	Worn
*1·27 × ·039	150·0	Very worn
1·22	150·0	Worn
*1·35 × ·029	148·0	Very worn

The following are from Kantarodai:—

Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
1·16	205·4	Worn
1·16	129·6	Worn; broken
·96	102·9	Worn; broken

Variants.—(*a*) As normal type, but on reverse symbol on left is No. 1. Diameter. 1·49 × ·049 in. Weight, 247·8 gr. Colo. Mus. 49.

(*b*) Parker's "Anuradhapura Coin" (Ancient Ceylon, p. 504). Obv. is complete. Above the elephant's back is symbol *a*, slightly tilted upwards on the left; close to it and over the elephant's head is the tree and enclosure. The *caitya* is in the usual position, but the *svastika,* which is squat, is placed over symbol *a* and the *caitya*. There are groups of three dots (1) to left of tree, (2) to left of head of *svastika*, and (3) to left of elephant; and single dots (1) to right of *svastika* railing, and (2) below the *caitya*. The reverse is worn. Diameter (mean): 1·47 in. Weight: 223 gr.

(*c*) Parker's "Mihintale Coin" (*ib.*, p. 505). As last. Obv.: Elephant's tail is not forked; no dots to left of elephant; two to right of *caitya*, and two to left of *svastika* rail.

Rev.: Three dots to left of *caitya*. The variations may be due to wear. Diameter: 1·31 in. Weight: 264 gr.

(*d*) On reverse symbol to right is modified; over but not touching a circle without a dot in the centre, the lateral prongs instead of being curved extend horizontally outwards and then turn upwards at right angles. On either side of the circle and beneath the angle of the prongs is a short line pointing downwards and outwards. In the *caitya* the lower cells are contiguous. Diameter: 1·41 in. Weight: 250·5 gr.

11. II.—As in normal type, but the side symbols *c* and *d* are counter-changed; the *Nandipada* symbol has a small triangle projecting on the left side covering the junction of the circle and left prong. **Pl. 8.**

Diameter 1·47 in. Weight: 285·8 gr.
Diameter 1·33 in Weight: 255·3 gr.

Variant.—As last, but with both symbols upside down. The *Nandipada* symbol sometimes has a triangular projection similar to that just described on either side. The projection on symbol *c* is to the right.

Colo. Mus. 48; fine die, corroded green. In good condition on obv., but worn on rev. Taurines on tree enclosure. Diameter: 1·35 in. Weight: 220·1 gr. **Pl. 9.**

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
Parker's "Tissa Coin" (*ib.*, p. 503)	1·27 (mean)	220	—
	1·22	282·8	Worn
Others	1·39	263	—
	1·29	233·2	Very worn
	1·37	209·7	Worn

12. A similar but smaller coin was found near the Thúpáráma at Anuradhapura with plaques (J.R.A.S., C.B., XIX., No. 58, 1907).

Obv.: Elephant as on the large coins filling the lower half of the die; above it symbol *a* with projection beneath; two dots to left of elephant's head and of symbol.

The right lower part of the coin is obliterated and broken; but it is clear that that there was no tree or *svastika* and so probably no *caitya*.

Rev.: Symbols *a*, *b*, *c*.

The die is off the flan, leaving a margin on the left. It is estimated that a little over one-sixth or even more is missing; the full weight would, therefore, be about 19·3 grains.

Diameter: ·57 in. Weight: 16·1 gr.

13. The three following are from Vallipuram, in the Jaffna peninsula:—

(i.) Obv.: Elephant standing, l., trunk pendent, in single line frame.

Rev.: In similar frame railed *svastika*, revolving r. **Pl. 10.**

Rectangular. Size: ·53 × ·43 in. Weight: 24·7 gr. Broken. Pieris, XIV., 20.

Size: ·41 × ·41 in. Weight: 15·8 gr.

(ii.) As last, but elephant to r. Rectangular. Size: ·43 × ·41 in. Weight: 12·1 gr. Broken.

In the large circular coins the size seems to bear no relation to the weight. The average of the better preserved pieces is about 260 grains.

Horse and Svastika.

14. A solitary coin of this type was found at Kantarodai. In size and general appearance it is closely connected with the large "Elephant and *Svastika*" pieces, but is comparatively thin. It is much worn and a considerable part of the flan projects beyond the die on one side.

Obv.: Within two line circles, at bottom a horse r.; above, a tree in enclosure, with group of three dots to l.

Rev.: Within a line circle, railed *svastika*; to r. a rectangle in a semicircle based on the line circle; above, and between this and the *svastika* another rectangle divided into four compartments and placed diamond-wise.

The design on the right half of the obverse and on the left of the reverse, as well as the upper portion of both faces, is illegible.

Diameter: 1·49 in. Weight: 109·4 gr. Pieris, XIII., 5.

Lion and Svastika.

15. Obv.: Maneless lion, tail curved over back, standing to r. upon (?) *caitya*. To right variation of symbol No. 1. Line circle.

Rev.: Railed *svastika* revolving to r.; apparently traces of letters to r.

(?) Rectangular. Size: ·47 × ·55 in. Weight: 25·6 gr. Thick. **Pl. 11.** From Kantarodai Pieris, XIV., 9.

Tree and Svastika.

16. Four-branched tree:—

(1A) Obv.: Four-branched tree within enclosure of four compartments, on the two upper corners of which apparently a dot surmounted by two small lines forming a right angle with the apex uppermost. To r., two symbols, No. 1 above with group of three dots on r. side, and below *svastika*. Symbols to l. off flan.

Rev.: Large railed *svastika* revolving r. between two indistinct symbols, perhaps *Nandipada* to l. and No. 4 to r. To upper r. of last a group of three dots. Under *svastika*, (?) *caitya*.

Diameter: ·94 in. Weight: 37·4 gr. Thin and worn. Found in the river bed 4 feet from the surface immediately below the Ruhunu Maha Kataragam Temple. The remainder, unless otherwise stated, are from Vallipuram.

(1B.) (*a*) (i.) Obv. : Within double-line circle within enclosure of four compartments tree with two branches at the top. The tree-top and each branch end in a group of three dots. Two branches also spring from the base of the tree at the enclosure, the l. hand with two dots at the end, the r. hand with one. To l. of enclosure symbol No. 1 ; to r. obliterated.

Rev. : Railed *svastika* revolving r. ; a group of three dots to l. of head. To l. symbol No. 1, to r. *Nandipada* with two dots above.

Rectangular with circular die. Size : ·53 × ·57 in. Weight : 41·8 gr. Pieris, XIV., 1. From Kantarodai.

(ii.) Obv. : In line circle similar tree. Symbol No. 1 to l., *Nandipada* to r.

Rev. : As last, but no dots. Horizontal line over symbol No. 1 ; symbol to r. off coin. *Caitya* below rail.

Rectangular with circular die ; obv. die placed diamond-wise. Broken.

Size : ·55 × ·41 in. Weight : 18·2 gr. Pieris, XIV., 2. **Pl. 12.**

(iii.) Obv. : In line circle similar tree as (i.) ; but three dots at ends of lower branches. Symbol to l. obliterated ; *Nandipada* to r.

Rev. : Railed *svastika ;* symbol No. 1 with two projections on r. side to r. ; *Nandipada* with horizontal line above to r.

Rectangular with circular die ; obv. die placed diamond-wise. Rev. : worn.

Size : ·45 × ·37 in. Weight : 17 gr. Pieris, XIV., 3.

(*b*) (i.) Obv. : In double-line circle four-branched tree in enclosure of four compartments. To l. symbol No. 1 ; symbol to r. off coin.

Rev. : Railed *svastika* above remnant of *caitya ;* to l. *Nandipada,* to r. remnant of symbol No. 1.

Diameter : ·68 in. Weight : 52·8 gr. From Kantarodai.

(ii.) Obv. : In line circle similar tree, but top and upper branches end in triple and the lower in quadruple fork ; enclosure divided by three vertical lines. To l. (?) symbol No. 1, that to r. obliterated.

Rev. : In similar circle railed *svastika* revolving r. between *Nandipada* with square top on l., and on r. variety of symbol No. 4 ; in it the two side lines meet, and from their junction a small vertical line springs. In lieu of the cross line in the middle is a short projection on the l. and over the whole a horizontal line.

Diameter : ·70 in. Weight : 42·3 gr. Slightly broken. Pieris. XIV., 12. **Pl. 13.**

(iii.) Obv. : Similar tree, branches ending in triple fork ; enclosure of twelve compartments. Symbols off coin.

Rev. : Railed *svastika* revolving r. To r. symbol with horizontal line above, symbol to l. off coin.

Diameter : ·62 in. Weight, 26·8 gr.

(iv.) Obv. : As last. Rev. : As last ; to r. symbol perhaps the same as on (ii.), that to l. obliterated.

Diameter : ·62 in. Weight : 26·6 gr. Broken. Pieris, XIV., 18.

(v.) Obv. : Tree as last, but enclosure of four compartments ; indistinct symbol to l., symbol to r. off coin. All in line circle.

Rev. : Railed *svastika* revolving r. Indistinct symbol on l., symbol No. 1 on r.

Rectangular. Size : ·47 × ·45 in. Weight : 21·8 gr. Pieris. XIV., 4.

(vi.) Obv. : Similar tree, enclosure not visible. To l. symbol No. 1 with short projection on l. Symbol to r. obliterated.

Rev. : Railed *svastika* revolving r.

Diameter : ·43 in. Weight : 15·1 gr.

(2) Six-branched tree :—

Obv. : Within bead and line circle six-branched tree, each branch ending in triple fork, in enclosure of twelve compartments ; to l. (?) variant of symbol No. 4, to r. symbol obliterated.

Rev. : Railed *svastika* revolving r. To l. obliterated symbol, to r. (?) pot.

Diameter : ·78 in. Weight : 62·2 gr. Slightly broken. Pieris, XIV., 13. **Pl. 14.**

(3) Eight-branched tree :—

(i.) Obv. : In line circle eight-branched tree with plain branches in enclosure of four compartments. To r. symbol No. 1 ; symbol to l. off coin.

Rev. : Railed *svastika* revolving r. ; symbol to l. obliterated, symbol to r. off coin.

Diameter : ·57 in. Weight : 22·8 gr. Pieris, XIV., 6.

(ii.) Obv. : Similar tree but in enclosure of six compartments ; to l. symbol No. 1, to r. indistinct symbol.

Rev. : In line circle railed *svastika* revolving l. ; (?) variant of symbol No. 6 with smaller triangle above on l. Symbol to r. off flan.

Diameter : ·53 in. Weight : 19·8 gr. Pieris, XIV., 5.

(iii.) Obv. : As (i.), but each of the four compartments contains a dot. To l. *Nandipada ;* symbol to r. is off the flan.

Rev. : Railed *svastika* revolving r. with line beneath. To l. symbol as last, to r. indistinct symbol, of which the upper part consists of two horizontal lines.

Diameter : ·53 in. Weight. 16·3 gr. **Pl. 15.**

Rectangular Bull Type.

17. (i.) Obv. : Within double rectangular frame enclosing dots bull standing l., (?) altar before feet. Above and in front four symbols, including *svastika*. Those on the left are over part of the bull's head, but are quite regular, and appear to be part of the design and not punched on afterwards.

Rev. : Faint frame as on obv., as if showing through the metal, but it does not correspond with the frame on the obverse.

Size. 1·12 × 1·02 in. : thickness : ·098 in. Weight : 198·5 gr.

Cast. edges showing join of mould. Colo. Mus., 230. **Pl. 16.**

(ii.) Obv. : As (i.), but no symbols and before bull a vase.

Rev. : Blank, rough.

Size : ·70 × ·70 × ·059 in. Weight : 36·4 gr. Cast : worn. Colo. Mus., 231.

(iii.) Obv. : As 2, but apparently bowl with cover before bull.

Rev. : Square frame with large dots outside ; within, a semicircle enclosing a small circle.

Size : ·72 × ·78 in. Weight · 31·9 gr Broken and worn ; thinner than last. Colo. Mus., 232.

(iv.) As last ; altar or vase before bull.

Size : ·64 × ·61 in. Weight : 10·9 gr. ; full weight may have been from 17·5 to 18·6 grains. Broken and worn ; thinner than last. Colo. Mus., 233.

The three following are from Vallipuram :—

(v.) Obv. : Within double rectangular frame enclosing dots bull standing r. ; before him flower vase.

Rev. : Within similar frame circle containing three dots.

Size : ·66 × ·68 in. Weight : 43·8 gr. Pieris, XIV., 16. **Pl. 17.**

(vi.) The same, but bull standing l. Apparently once four dots, disposed in a cross.

Size : ·78 × ·80 in. Weight : 38·3 gr. Thin., *Ib.*, XIV., 15.

(vii.) As last, but before bull vase. Presence of dots in circle doubtful.

Size : ·62 × ·61 in. Weight : 27·2 gr. Thin ; two corners missing.

Nos. (i.) and (iv.) were found at the Buddhist Rail site at Anuradhapura, where also eldlings, " Maneless Lion," and two Roman " third brass " of Arcadius or Honorius were excavated ; there is no evidence that these were all found together. Nos. (ii.) and (iii.) come from the Kiribat Vehera in the same city. These square coins are commonly called " Kurumbar " in Ceylon, an attribution without foundation. A cast copper piece remarkably like our No. (i.) is given in I.M.C., Vol. I., p. 200, and is figured in Pl. XXII., 19 ; its diameter is 1·1 inch, and weight 139·6 grains. It is unassigned, but classified as North Indian and " early." Cast rectangular coins with a bull on the obverse and a circular solar emblem on the reverse are assigned to Ayodhya and to a period between c. B.C. 150 and A.D. 100 ; they are, however, much smaller and of rough workmanship (I.M.C., I., Pl. XIX., 13).

The thin coins, especially the three from Vallipuram, resemble in fabric the " Maneless Lion " pieces, which have four dots in a circle on the reverse. A similar thin coin was found at Kilakkarai in South India, and was in the collection of the Rev. J. E. Tracy of Tirumangalam ; its diameter was ·66 inch.

Maneless Lion Type.

18. Obv. : In line circle maneless lion standing left or right.

Rev. : In similar circle four dots disposed in a cross.

These coins are either rectangular or circular, though it is often difficult to be certain of the original form in individual cases. They resemble in fabric the rectangular " Bull type " coins with the circle and dots on the reverse.

The finds are :—

(1) Anuradhapura :—(*a*) Buddhist Rail, near " Abhayagiri," *i.e.*, Jetavanáráma Dágoba.
- (*b*) " Abhayagiri " Dágoba platform.
- (*c*) Do. piḷimagé No. 1.
- (*d*) Do. building No. 28.
- (*e*) Building east of Sacred road opposite Ruvanveli Dágoba.
- (*f*) Near Eláḷa Sohona.
- (*g*) Kiribat Vehera.

(2) Tirukketisvaram (Prinsep's " Montollee," *i.e.*, Mantota).
(3) Near 11th milestone, Mannar-Madawachchiya road.
(4) Kantarodai.
(5) Kadugannawa (one).

Lion to left. **Pl. 18.**

Colombo Museum. No.	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	Source.	Remarks.
220	·76	17	(1) (*d*)	Circular ; thin. : obv. good ; rev. worn on one side.
219	·72	19·4	(1) (*a*)	Octagonal ; thin ; obv. and rev. good.
—	·66	13·9	—	Broken. Weight should be about 16·2 gr. Otherwise in good condition.
—	·62	16·2	(4)	Octagonal ; broken and worn.
—	·61	18·7	(4)	
224	·59	22·4	(1) (*a*)	Rectangular ; slightly broken : obv. fair ; rev. good.
223	·59	11·9	(1) (*g*)	Rectangular ; broken ; poor.
—	·43 × ·37	4·8	(4)	Rectangular ; slightly broken ; fair.

Lion to right. **Pl. 19.**

Colombo Museum. No.	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	Source.	Remarks.
—	·78	43·9	—	Brit. Mus. (= C.S.I., Pl. II., 58) ; circular : very good condition.
221	·74	35·7	(1) (*a*)	·039 in. thick : octagonal ; slightly chipped ; good.
—	·70	18·7	(5)	Fair.
222	·66 × ·59	20·1	(1) (*g*)	Rectangular ; thin but thicker than 219 : good.
226	·66	12·2	(1) (*b*)	Circular ; thin ; obv. very poor ; rev. poor.
227	·64	21·1	(1) (*c*)	Circular ; flaked on obv. ; rev. worn.
—	·64	15·6	(4)	Pieris, XIV., 23. Circular ; good.
225	·64	10·2	(1) (*e*)	Circular ; thin ; poor.
—	·57	29·0	(2)	Brit. Mus. (Prinsep's Essays, Pl. XXXV., 24). Circular : fair.
228	·55	4·9	(1) (*a*)	Circular ; broken ; obv. poor ; rev. very poor.
229	·51	6·3	(1) (*a*)	Circular ; broken ; obv. very poor ; rev. poor.

These coins have been styled " Pallava " or " Kurumbar," but, while comparatively the commonest of the older coins at Anuradhapura, they seem to be almost unknown in India, the only specimens found on the continent appearing to be that figured by Elliot and one in the collection of the Rev. J. E. Tracy. They may well be Sinhalese, the dynastic emblem being the lion ; if so, they may be of the third century A.D. That they were in use in the reign of Mahasen (A.D. 277–304 ; G. 325–352), who built Jetavanáráma, the so-called Abhayagiri Dágoba, is proved by the finds in the interior[1] and on the platform of that structure, as well as at the *piḷimagé*. This king " built within the boundaries of the Mahá Vihára, in the garden called Joti, the Jetavana Vihára " (Geiger's Mhv., XXXVII., 33) ; the finding of earlier coins at the Buddhist Rail site is thus explained, while the Kiribat Vehera, in which " Maneless Lion " coins as well as those of the rectangular " Bull " type were found, was also disturbed in ancient times. Our coins cannot be much later in date than Mahasen's reign, as the Roman " third brass " must have flooded the country not long afterwards : none have been found at Sigiriya or Polonnaruwa.

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[1] Seven feet below pavement level, and under a slab inside the dágoba, was found a small copper coin with an animal (? a horse), like those figured by Elliot, Pl. II., 56, 58 (" Ancient Ceylon," p. 310). This is almost certainly a " Maneless Lion " coin.

19. Of the foregoing coins the "Buddhist *cakram*" and the "Maneless Lion" have been attributed to the Páṇḍyans and the Sinhalese respectively. Of the remainder, the great majority have the railed *svastika* on the reverse. I am unable to trace this symbol on any continental coins, except on the Odumbara piece shown in Pl. IV., Fig. 2, of "Coins of Ancient India," where, however, an enclosure takes the place of the rail. It is found in Ceylon, lying on its side, in a Dambulla cave inscription of "Devanapiya Mahárajasa Gámini Tisa," *i.e.*, Saddhá Tissa, brother of Duṭugemunu, who reigned B.C. 137–119 (G. 77–59), and also in its normal position in the Gallena Viháré inscriptions of Tisa, son of Gamani Abaya, and of Tisa, son of Devanapiya Maharajasa Gamini Abhaya, *i.e.*, Vaḷagam Báhu, B.C. 104 and 88–76 (G. 43 and 28–16). In one case a horizontal line connects the tops of the two inner posts of the railing. All these coins, therefore, may be assigned provisionally to Ceylon; none are recorded to have been found in India, though pieces with the Tree type obverse, but with different reverses, are said to have been found on both sides of the Vaigai and Tambraparni rivers in the Páṇḍyan country.

The large circular "Elephant and *Svastika*" coins may be compared with the silver and copper pieces of the Kuṇindas (I.M.C., I., Pl. XX., 11, 12) of the second century B.C., and, judging from general considerations of design, may have been issued before the Christian era. The majority of the "Tree and *Svastika*" pieces have a more modern appearance, but may be presumed to be earlier than the "Maneless Lion" type; the latest probably is No. 2. The contemporaneous use of rectangular and circular coins is found as late as the fourth century under the Western Kshatrapas (C.C.A., p. 187).

20. The standard, on which the ancient copper coins were struck, is obscure. Comparatively few coins are at the disposal of the student, and too much reliance cannot be placed on the weight of any particular piece owing to oxidization and the friable nature of the metal. The mode of manufacture probably was very primitive, as is still the case in certain of the native States of India. It seems quite possible that, as with the Roman bronze, the copper coins were struck at so many to the *tulá*, and that, provided the required number was produced, little attention was paid to the exact weight of individual coins (*cf.* the two Dharmmarájaḥ coins in Chap. VII., sect. 14, No. 1). This undoubtedly was the case with the local Dutch issues, and, coupled with crude methods of work, would seem to explain satisfactorily the extreme variations of what was apparently intended for one and the same coin; for example, the large "Elephant and *Svastika*" and Páṇḍyan pieces. In the case of the latter, it is most unlikely that coins Nos. 2 and 3, almost identical in size, were current for different values; at the same time No. 6, though smaller, is their intermediate in weight. All are in good condition. Assuming that all three were intended for pieces of the same denomination and restoring their full weights by computation of the portions missing to about 224·5, 139·5, and 125·5 grains, respectively, we obtain an average of about 172 grains, which must represent the *kársha* or *kaisu*. Its quarter, the half *kaḷañju*, is a common unit of the older coinage, and seems to have been continued into the early mediæval period (Chap. VII., sects. 1, 10, 12, 14); as a coin standard, perhaps it may have its origin in the worn eldling as current in the South. If the above solution is correct, the large "Elephant and *Svastika*" coins will be pieces of one Sinhalese *huna* or three *kaḷañjus*. The values work out thus:

	Gr.	Gr.	Gr.
Eighth *kalañju* (*dharaṇa*)	8·7	10·7	14
Quarter do.	17·4	21·5	28
Half do.	34·8	43·0	56·1
One do.	69·6	86·0	112·2
Páṇḍyan *kaisu* (*kársha*)	139·3	172·0	224·4
Sinhalese *huna*	208·8	258·0	336·6

the *mañjáḍi* averaging 4·3 grains.

Cunningham's ratio of 50 to 1 for copper and pure silver (Num. Chron. 1873, pp. 198, 216) gives one *máshaka* of alloyed eldling silver as the equivalent of 144 grains of copper. The half *dharaṇa* pieces, therefore, may be *kákaṇikás*.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

PLAQUES.

(1) *Cast.*

THE chief "find" of cast plaques was unearthed in 1917 at Alutwatta, in the town of Chilaw, at least 91 whole or damaged pieces, besides minor fragments, being discovered 2½ feet below the surface of the soil in a chatty. Before this date the only ones of the type known were a very few found near the Thúpáráma and in the Kiribat Vehera at Anuradhapura. Similar plaques have also since been found at Vallipuram and Kantarodai in the Jaffna peninsula.

The shape is usually oblong, but in the broader specimens is distinctly oval. The metal is brittle and flakes easily ; there is a general tendency to split at the junction of the moulds, as if the obverse and reverse had been cast separately and then soldered together. The analysis of a small plaque weighing 21·5 grains, made at the instance of Mr. P. E. Pieris, yielded the following result :—

	Per Cent.
Lead	59·93
Copper	14·84
Silica	0·62
Iron	0·14
Nickel	A trace
	75·53

The design on the obverse is in high relief, and represents the goddess Lakshmí clad in a broad girdle and wearing earrings, besides two bracelets on the upper arms and three to five on the forearms ; on the legs below the knee are three to five rings, with wide anklets. She stands on a large lotus, and with her hands, which are pendent, grasps two stalks of the same plant, usually springing from either side of the flower beneath her feet and ending about the level of the shoulders in a small blossom, upon each of which stands a small elephant holding a water pot in his upturned trunk, the two trunks forming an arch over her head. Between the legs and the stalks are minor lotus shoots variously depicted ; one sometimes ends in a bud. The whole is in an oblong frame, occasionally double at the top, slightly rounded at the corners. At a varying distance from this appears the edge of the enclosing space, which is sometimes barrel-shaped. For the figure of Lakshmí see J.R.A.S., 1914, p. 402.

On the reverse is a large railed *svastika*, similar to that on the coins above described, revolving, except in one instance, to the right, between two symbols. Beneath are three lines, the lowest of which is often curved upwards at either end, and sometimes reaches the extremities of the railing. No frame is visible. The symbols are :—

A.—Symbol No. 4, in one case with a double line over it ; in some it has a rounded bottom. In one specimen there is no line across the symbol, but two lines over the top. In others it resembles that of the Karle inscription No. 3 ; in a few it approaches that of No. 25 at Kuda, though the connecting lines are disjointed ; while in some it is the same as symbol *c* on the reverse of the " Elephant and *Svastika* " coins in variant (*a*). The normal form is that of the Junnar inscription No. 12 (Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples, Archæological Survey of Western India, Vol. IV.).

B.—The *Nandipada* symbol, which also has many variations. The circle is usually separated from the triple fork by a horizontal line ; in a few this is absent, when the symbol is much the same as that in the Junnar inscription No. 8. In some the horizontal line seems to be merged in the fork.

The symbols should be compared with those on either side of the *svastika* on the large circular coins.

2. I.—*Svastika* revolving to the right.

(*a*) Symbols A to left, B to right. So 55 of 91 : in 7 the *svastika* on the reverse is placed in the opposite direction to the figure on the obverse, *i.e.*, top to bottom (U). The sizes are the maxima.

Size. In. × In.		Weight. Gr.		
1·37 × ·76	..	129·1	.	Fair ; slightly broken. **Pl. 20.**
1·29 × ·66	..	120	..	Good ; complete.
1·33 × ·68	..	113·2	..	Worn.
1·31 × ·62	..	105·1	..	Obv., fair ; rev., poor.
1·18 × ·53	..	94·5	..	Good.
1·27 × ·55	..	93·3	..	Worn ; edges worn.
1·29 × ·59	..	89·7	..	Good ; slightly broken.
1·27 × ·59	..	88·8	..	Fair ; rev. slightly flaked. Apparently chipped on one side
1·31 × ·66	..	88·3	..	Obv., fair ; rev., worn ; slightly broken.
1·24 × ·62	..	87·3	..	Fair (U) ; edge broken.
1·25 × ·51	..	86·8	..	Fair.
1·18 × ·59	..	84·7	..	Obv., worn ; rev., fair ; slightly broken.
1·31 × ·53	..	84·5	..	Very good ; edges worn. **Pl. 21.**
1·20 × ·61	..	83·5	..	Fair ; bottom broken just above feet.
1·25 × ·59	..	82·8	..	Poor.
1·31 × ·72	..	81·3	..	Obv., very good ; rev., worn ; slightly broken (U).
1·24 × ·59	..	80·8	..	Fair (U).
1·24 × ·61	..	80·4	..	Obv., good ; rev., almost obliterated.
1·22 × ·75	..	67·2	..	Good ; edges broken.

(*b*) B to left, A to right. So 35 of 91 : 2 U.

Size. In.	In.		Weight. Gr.		
1·29 ×	·61	..	119·5	..	Worn ; slightly broken.
1·25 ×	·62	..	105·1	..	Obv., good ; rev., slightly worn ; somewhat barrel shaped.
1·37 ×	·62	..	89·2	..	Worn ; flaked on obv.
1·35 ×	·57	..	88·8	..	Obv., worn ; rev., fair.
1·25 ×	·62	..	86·4	..	Fair ; narrow at top (U).
1·12 ×	.64	..	83·5	..	Worn ; slightly broken.
1·29 ×	·74	..	82·5	..	Obv., good ; rev., fair ; slightly broken and flaked.
1·29 ×	·59	..	82	..	Obv., fair ; rev., worn ; edges somewhat worn.
1·29 ×	·53	..	77·8	..	Fair.
1·20 ×	·55	..	76·8	..	Fair.
1·37 ×	·59	..	75·9	..	Worn ; broken.
1·25 ×	·61	..	74·8	..	Poor ; narrow at top.
1·31 ×	·62	..	74·4	..	Obv., poor ; rev., worn ; broken.
1·27 ×	·59	..	74	..	Obv., fair ; rev., worn (U) ; symbol B upside down.
1·27 ×	·57	..	72·8	..	Fair.
1·25 ×	·59	..	65·3	..	Very worn.

(*c*) Position of Symbols doubtful : all worn on reverse.

Size. In.	In.		Weight. Gr.		
1·37 ×	·66	..	124·8	..	Obv., worn ; rev., obliterated.
1·25 ×	59	..	118	..	Obv , poor ; rev., obliterated.
1·33 ×	·59	..	117·6	..	Obv., poor ; rev., obliterated ; narrow at bottom.
1·27 ×	·61	..	107	..	Worn.
1·29 ×	·61	..	101	..	Obv., good.
1·31 ×	·62	..	90·7	..	Obv., worn (U)
1·31 ×	·64	..	84·9	..	Worn ; barrel-shaped.
1·24 ×	·74	..	81·8	..	Worn ; rev., obliterated ; slightly broken.
1·22 ×	·64	..	70	..	Obv., poor ; edges chipped.

II.—*Svastika* revolving to the left.

Symbols : B to left, A to right. **Pl. 22.**

Size. In.	In.		Weight. Gr.		
1·27 ×	·55	..	74·4	..	Very good. Part of design off flan, and edges worn.

3. As has been said, plaques of similar type have been found at Kantarodai ; the size, however, usually is small, and sometimes almost minute. On most the whole of the goddess appears, though part of the *svastika* is often off the flan. On two this symbol is placed lozenge-wise, while the standing figure is foursquare with the plaque. Below the *svastika* are usually four lines of varying length, two or more of which are often connected at the ends by short strokes. The lowest line is sometimes carried up at either end in a curve. The original of this collection of lines, perhaps, may have been a *caitya* with a vertical line beneath, as on the reverse of the " Elephant and *Svastika* " coins.

Size. In.	In.		Weight. Gr.		
·55 ×	·23	..	10·3	..	Slightly broken.
·53 ×	·23	..	10·8	..	do.
·55 ×	·23	..	10·8	..	—
·55 ×	·25	..	12·2	..	*Svastika* revolving to l ; part of symbol 4 of C.C.A., p. clxxv., to r.
55 ×	·23	..	13·9	..	As last ; fine condition.
·55 ×	·27	..	14·4	..	*Svastika* to r. ; perfect.
·55 ×	·23	..	14·6	..	As last ; slightly broken.
59 ×	·29	..	14·6	..	Slightly broken.
·59 ×	·25	..	18·7	..	*Svastika* to r. ; head of goddess off flan.

Size. In.	In.		Weight. Gr.		
·72	× ·19	..	18·7	..	(?) a part split off the side.
·57	× ·27	..	18·9	..	—
·55	× ·25	..	19·4	..	—
·59	× ·31	..	20·4	..	Arch over head ; worn
·59	× ·31	..	20·6	..	*Svastika* to r.
·66	× ·37	..	20·6	..	Obv., good ; broken.
·66	× ·31	..	21·8	..	*Svastika* to r. ; fair.
·62	× ·29	..	23·5	..	—
·66	× ·27	..	23·5	..	Very worn.
·70	× ·35	..	24·2	..	Broken and worn.
·66	× ·39	..	26·1	..	*Svastika* to r. ; worn.
·76	× ·31	..	26·1	..	*Svastika* to r. ; slightly broken.
·57	× ·29	..	26·4	..	Rev., worn.
·64	× ·39	..	30·7	..	*Svastika* to r. ; symbol to its r.
·70	× ·33	..	32·1	..	Do.
·68	× ·37	..	32·4	..	*Svastika* to r. ; very worn.
·70	× ·37	..	34·3	..	Poor ; rev., very worn.
·74	× ·37	..	34·4	..	Worn.
·76	× ·39	..	41·0	..	*Svastika* to r. ; symbol to its r.
·74	× ·59	..	50·1	..	Rev., die placed lozenge-wise ; goddess complete and placed normally : worn.
·78	× ·62	..	76·0	..	Design as on last ; slightly broken.

4. III.—Of type I (*b*) is one of the three plaques unearthed near the Thúpáráma (A.S. Cat., 38) ; it measures 1·29 by ·57 inch, and weighs 71·1 grains ; it is barrel-shaped and broken in half. With it were two others, considerably damaged (A.S. Cat., 39), and the following (*ib.*, 40). This measures ·64 by ·49 inch, and weighs 41·7 grains ; it is thick and much worn, and may be cast. On the obverse is the standing figure with the feet missing ; on the reverse is a dwarfed *svastika*, the part above the cross piece being either off the flan or broken away. The rail has six posts ; beneath it are four lines, the upper two being joined at the sides. With the above was found the small circular coin described in section 12.

A somewhat similar plaque was found in the Kiribat Vehera (*ib.*, 42):—

Obv. : Standing figure as usual, but the place of each elephant appears to be taken by a group of dots. The figure is in high relief and fairly preserved.

Rev. : *Svastika* revolving to left ; the railing apparently has six posts, but is much worn. To the right under the arm there seems to be a group of three dots. The symbols cannot be determined.

Size : ·86 by ·41 in. Weight : 23·4 gr. Cast : a portion of the obverse has flaked off.

It was apparently this plaque that was found in company with three so-called "Pallava" coins at a depth of 28 feet from the surface (Still, J.R.A.S., C.B., Vol. XIX., No. 58, p. 213).

The two plaques described in this section seem to be intermediate between those of the Chilaw type and the following.

(2) *Struck.*

5. I.—The design is that of the Chilaw cast plaques. but on the obverse is a nimbus round the head, and on the reverse symbol A is always on the right, and of the same pattern as Junnar No. 12 ; in one instance it is the same as the left-hand symbol in variant (*a*) of the "Elephant and *Svastika*" round coins.

Size. In.	In.		Weight. Gr.		
1·24	× ·49	..	41·8	..	Parker, Ancient Ceylon, No. 3 (p. 475).
1·25	× ·53	..	44·5	..	A.S., 41A, Elála's Tomb ; scaled on either side.
1·12	× ·47	..	37·9	..	42C, Kiribat Vehera ; worn.
1·18	× ·47	..	26·6	..	14B, Elála's Tomb ; very thin and worn, with sharp edges ; two holes on one side.
1·14	× ·46	..	52·5	..	Parker, No. 1 (p. 474).
1·18	× ·46	..	44	..	Parker, No. 2 (p. 475). Pl. 28.
1·20	× ·55	..	35	..	Parker, No. 4 (p. 476).

There is little wear at the edges on any of the above.

6. II.—The following is of coarse workmanship, and was found in the Kiribat Vehera :—

Obv. : Standing female figure with lotus stalks in hands.

Rev. : Railed *svastika* revolving to right, between two segments of a circle, placed back to back ; the whole within an oblong frame.

Size : ·80 × ·39 in. Weight : 13·6 gr. Slightly broken.

7. III.—The remainder, forming the great majority of the plaques hitherto found in Ceylon, are best described by Mr. Still (*ib.* pp. 206–212): "The manufacture of these plaques is of the most careless description. Evidently sheet copper was sliced into strips of suitable width, which were then chopped into pieces small enough to fit the die.

" No single specimen that I have seen was well struck even on one side, and in no instance is the whole of the device clearly visible. That this is not the result of wear may be clearly seen on examination of the edges, which remain so sharp that almost any specimen would cut the skin if drawn sharply across one's finger. The corners, too, are exceedingly sharp in some instances, and quite unworn in all."

Mr. Still is in error in stating that any were found at Polonnaruwa.

These plaques fall into two series, the one with the standing, the other with the seated, figure.

(1) The standing figure with its accompaniments is a corruption of that described in section 1, the lotus flower with its stalks and elephants degenerating into a couple of staffs with an arch over the head. On a few the same symbols appear. **Pl. 24.**

Size.		Weight.	
In.	In.	Gr.	
1·53 ×	·65 ..	126	.. Parker, No. 47 (p. 487) Symbol A as in Kuda inscription No. 26 ; pierced.
1·42 ×	·72 ..	64·3	.. Parker, No. 44 ; pierced.

On the vast majority these symbols give way to a vase of flowers and a recumbent bull. The size ranges from 1·43 by ·72 to 1·02 by ·53 inch, and the weight from 75 to 13·5 grains. A large and a small size can be picked out, but the greater number are intermediate. Weight does not seem to follow size ; thus one of the smaller size weighs 69·1, and one of the larger 64·3 grains. Many of the largest are pierced, clearly for suspension from the neck.

(*a*) Large size :	1·43 × ·72 in.	Weight : 75 gr.	Parker, No. 43.
Do.	1·21 × ·70 in.	do. 58 gr.	do. No. 45.
Do.	1·45 × ·76 in.	do. 82·5 gr.	do. No. 46.

(*b*) Small size, average of 22, 1·06 by ·64 in. Weight : 69·1, 48·1, 48, 40·3, 36·5, 29·8, 29·2, 29·2, 29, 26·4, 26·4, 26, 25·9, 23·5, 23·1, 22·6, 22·5, 21·6, 21·1, 19·6, 18·7, 15·8 grains. Narrower are 22, 14·4, 13·5 grains.

(*c*) Intermediate, average of 90, 1·15 by ·69 in. Weight : 57·6, 57·1, 57·1, 55·9, 55·4, 55·2, 54·7, 54·2, 52·8, 52·8, 50·1, 50·1, 49·9 (good), 49·9, 49·9, 49·4, 48·9, 48·9, 48·9, 48·4 (broken), 48·2, 48, 48, 47·8, 47, 47 (good), 45·6, 45·1, 45·1, 44·1 (broken), 44·1, 44·1, 43·6, 43·4, 43·2, 42·2, 42·1, 41·9, 41·7 (corner off), 40·8, 40·8, 40·8, 40·8 (broken), 40·3 (broken), 40, 39·3, 39·1 (broken), 38·9, 38·9, 38·8, 38·7, 37·9, 37·9, 37·4 (slightly broken), 36·9, 36·4, 36·4, 36·4, 36·2, 36, 36, 36, 35·5, 35·2, 35 (good), 35, 35, 34·8, 34·5, 33·6, 33·6, 33·6, 33·1, 32·6, 32·1, 31·4, 31·2, 30·7 (holed), 30·7, 29·2 (broken), 27·3, 27·3, 27·3, 27, 24·2, 21·6 (worn), 20·1, 19·6 gr. (very worn). Narrower are 37·4, 34 grains.

(2) The seated figure, with one forearm raised, has traces of what may have been elephants over the shoulders. As the seat is apparently a lotus flower, the figure is in all probability that of Lakshmí. The reverse has the usual *svastika* with the flower pot and bull. **Pl. 25.**

Size.		Weight.		
In.	In.	Gr.		
1·25 ×	·76 ..	—	.. Parker,	No. 36.
1·20 ×	·82 ..	74	.. do.	No. 37.
1·09 ×	·62 ..	40	.. do.	No. 38.
1·21 ×	·71 ..	—	.. do.	No. 39.
1·24 ×	·75 ..	—	.. do.	No. 40.
1·31 ×	·74 ..	—	.. do.	No. 41.
1·50 ×	·79 ..	74	.. do.	No. 42.
1·35 ×	·82 ..	65·7		
1·16 ×	·78 ..	57·7		
1·14 ×	·74 ..	52·9		

8. Mr. Still, writing in 1907 with reference to the struck pieces described in the last section, held in opposition to Mr. Parker that the plaques were not coins, basing his contention on the great variation of weight and the unworn condition of the edges. These in the case of some two hundred specimens are such that it is impossible that the plaques could ever have been in circulation. The workmanship is coarse to a degree, and, as some are pierced for suspension from the neck, it seems likely that they were in use as votive offerings and amulets, for which last purpose the image of the goddess of prosperity and the *svastika* were eminently suited.

Though the Chilaw plaques were not before him, the same conclusions apply. Their weight varies from 129·1 to 65·3 grains, and as with the "Elephant and *Svastika*" circular coins, which range from 301·6 to 148 grains, they cannot be divided into pieces of different denominations, only one of the whole "find" being very markedly larger than the rest. The plaques, however, differ from the circular coins, of which the lowest in weight are the most worn, in that the heaviest are not those in the finest condition, while some of medium weight are practically perfect. If coins, these last should be *kalañjus*, but it is difficult to explain the higher weights. It is true that the edges of all show signs of wear; it is, however, quite possible that this is due not to currency as money, but to the friable nature of the composite metal. From the absence of a number of symbols and from the general style these plaques must be of a date subsequent to the large circular coins, and approximately contemporary with the "Tree and *Svastika*" pieces; the base metal of the period is either round or square, and it seems improbable that a people accustomed to these would adopt the awkward oblong shape. On the whole, it is likely that the cast plaques served the same purpose as their die-struck successors.

CHAPTER IV.

ANCIENT COINS: ROMAN (INCLUDING BYZANTINE).

Ἕτερον δὲ σημεῖον δυναστείας τῶν Ῥωμαίων δ' αὐτοῖς κεχάρισται ὁ Θεός, λέγω δὴ ὅτι ἐν τῷ νομίσματι αὐτῶν ἐμπορεύονται πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ἀπ' ἄκρου γῆς ἕως ἄκρου γῆς δεκτόν ἐστιν, θαυμαζόμενον παρὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου καὶ πάσης βασιλείας, ὅπερ ἑτέρᾳ βασιλείᾳ οὐχ ὑπάρχει τὸ τοιοῦτο.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, Lib. II.

Mr. R. Sewell, in his paper on "Roman Coins found in India" (J.R.A.S., 1904), distinguishes five periods in the connection between the East and Rome:—

(1) The Consulate, during which there was hardly any commerce.

(2) Augustus to Nero, who died A.D. 68. There then arose a great demand for pepper, spices, fine muslins, perfumes, pearls, and precious stones, especially the beryl. In South India no less than 612 gold and 1,187 silver coins of the period, besides other large hoards, have been found; in all fifty-five separate discoveries, mostly in the districts of Coimbatore and Madura.

(3) After the death of Nero a revulsion from luxury occurred, and trade declined until the demise of Caracalla in A.D. 217. Only 32 gold coins can be counted, and these, with the exception of three finds in Madura, not in the same locality as the last, but chiefly in the cotton growing countries. Alexandrian billon of Hadrian and Trajan have also been found on the west coast.

(4) From the date of Caracalla an almost complete cessation of trade took place, owing to the internal and external confusion in the Empire. In South and West India only one coin has been found, a gold piece of Constantius II., in Madura District, which "very possibly found its way to India after the revival of trade under the Eastern emperors." To this must be added an Egyptian billon coin of Valerian, and a few Antoniniani of Gallienus and Salonina in Mr. Tracy's collection.

(5) From A.D. 364, the date of the final division of the Empire, a slight revival set in, trade confined more or less to pepper and spices being with the south-west coast of India: while the quantities of copper coin at Madura and on the east coast seem to show that Roman agents were resident. Of gold, there have been found a few coins of Theodosius II. (A.D. 408–450), Marcian (A.D. 450–457), Leo (A.D. 457–474), Zeno (A.D. 474–491), Anastasius (A.D. 491–518), and Justin (A.D. 518–527). A solidus, apparently of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine (A.D. 614–641), was in Mr. Tracy's collection.

2. The above classification holds good for Ceylon, though, in view of the identification of the small bronze coins so common in the Island, the commencement of the last period may, perhaps, have to be put somewhat earlier. Of the first period, there is only one denarius; and of the second and third, a few coins of Augustus,

Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, Hadrian, Faustina, Lucius Verus, Commodus, Julia Domna, and Geta ; of a quantity of coins of the Antonines no details are preserved. It is noticeable that the hoards of gold and silver of the second period find no counterpart in Ceylon. Of the fourth and fifth periods, there are isolated coins of Elagabalus, Julia Mammaea, Maximin I., Philip the Elder, Postumus, Tetricus the Elder, Aurelian, Diocletian, Maximian II., Maximin II., Maxentius II., and Licinius I. ; and also imperial bronze in large quantities of most of the Emperors from Constantine the Great to Marcian, the order of frequency being (i.) Arcadius, (ii.) Theodosius I. or II., (iii.) Honorius, (iv.) Constantius II., (v.) Valentinian II., and (vi.) Constans ; the coins are, with few exceptions, " third brass." Of gold, only four solidi are now known, one of Valens, one of Theodosius II., one almost certainly of Anastasius, and one perhaps of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine, and also a tremissis of Heraclius ; there is also a semissis of native manufacture copied from a fourth century solidus. But early in the nineteenth century a pot of gold coins inscribed in " ancient Greek characters, *Konob-obryza* " was found in the north of Ceylon, apparently in the Jaffna peninsula (J. Roberts, Oriental Illustrations of the Sacred Scriptures, 1844, p. 531) : these in all probability were solidi, possibly of the Byzantine period. A solitary copper 12 nummia piece of Heraclius I. is in the collection of Mr. H. C. P. Bell.

3. The following list of finds, showing the coins sufficiently clear to be identified, with a few additions and alterations, is taken from Mr. J. Still's paper on the subject in J.R.A.S., C.B., XIX., No. 58, 1907 :—

Anuradhapura ..	" In small quantities at a number of different places." Theodosius, Arcadius, and Indo-Roman coins.
Mihintale ..	50 or 60.
Sigiriya ..	Of 1,687 coins, including 8 eldlings and 4 of the late Polonnaruwa period, 1,675 are Roman or Indo-Roman.—Helena or Fausta, Constantine I., Constantine II., Constans, Constantius II., (?) Constantius Gallus, Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II., Theodosius, Victor, Arcadius, and Honorius ; also a few Indo-Roman.
Kurunegala District ..	Alexandrian potin tetradrachms of Nero and Vespasian.
Do. ..	Shakerley estate (*v.* Watapuluwa).
Kolugala in Tumpane ..	A large number, over 220, of Constantine I. and II., Constans, Constantius II., Valens, Valentinian, Theodosius I. and II., Arcadius, and Honorius.
Ampitiya ..	Arcadius.
Kandy bazaar ..	Postumus, Tetricus senior, Constantine I. and II., Constans, Constantius II. Valens. Gratian, Valentinian II., Theodosius, Arcadius, and Hon rius.
Watapuluwa ..	1,500 small bronze. Diocletian (1), Constantine I. and II., Constans, Constantius II. Valentinian I., Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II., Theodosius I., Aelia Flaccilla (1) Honorius, Arcadius, Aelia Eudoxia (1), Theodosius II., and 18 Indo-Roman of class I. Some of these came from Mr. Trefusis' find on Shakerley estate.
Badulla ..	One Alexandrian bronze of Aurelian ; one Arcadius.
Mantota ..	" Great numbers of Roman coins of different Emperors, particularly of the Antonines " (Trans. R.A.S., I., 546 †).
Kalpitiya ..	Honorius and two others of the same period.
Udappu ..	Theodosius, Arcadius or Honorius.
Hendala ..	A solidus of Anastasius.
Colombo ..	(1) Nearly 300 ; Crispus, Constantine II., Constans, Constantius II., Constantius Gallus, Gratian, Valentinian II., Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius.
	(2) Several hundreds ; Constantius II., Valentinian II., Theodosius, Arcadius, Honorius.
Between Veyangoda and Mirigama ..	An Indo-Roman half solidus.
Balapitiya ..	(1) About 13 lb. in weight ; Constantine I., Constans, Constantius II., Valentinian II.. Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius.
	(2) " A large quantity " ; Arcadius.
Hikkaduwa ..	17 ; Constantius II., Valens, Gratian, Arcadius.
(?) Galle ..	Tremissis of Heraclius.
Gintota ..	6 ; Constantine II., Arcadius, and Honorius.
Boragoda ..	40 secured ; Constantius II., Valentinian II., Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius.
Matara ..	Maximian II.
Hiktetiya ..	300.
Na-imana ..	About 300 ; also 3,000 of the usual period (found *c.* 1918).
Kitalagama ..	80, all much worn ; legible are one of Theodosius and one of Arcadius.

Kapuhenwala, Tangalla District ..	348; Constantine I. (posthumous), Constantius, Julian, Valentinian I.. (?) Valens. Valentinian II., Theodosius I., Honorius, Arcadius, Aelia Eudoxia, Theodosius II.. and one Indo-Roman (CONCORDIA AVGG type). With these was one Sassanian or Indo-Sassanian.
Tissamaharama ..	4 of the usual period.
Batticaloa ..	5; Arcadius and Honorius.
Kalmunai, Eastern Province	Arcadius or Honorius (1).
Pandirippu, near Do. ..	One (fourth century).
Valaichchenai, Eastern Province ..	'A large number"; 300 recovered. Valentinian I., Valens. (?) Valentinian II., (?) Theodosius I., Eudoxia, Honorius, Marcian (1): also Indo-Roman (1 of Eudoxia type).
Jaffna peninsula ..	A pot of gold coins (*v. supra*).
Kantarodai in Jaffna peninsula ..	150 small bronze of the fourth century, including Constantine I. (SOLI INVICTO COMITI—ALE); (?) Constans, Valentinian, Theodosius, Arcadius, Honorius, and one Indo-Roman (seated figure).
Kalmunai in Punakari ..	4 Na-imana type (soldiers and standard).
Attikuli, Mannar District..	(?) Constantius, Theodosius, Arcadius.
Pidarikulam, Giant's Tank	Gratian; Valentinian II. or Theodosius I.

4. The finding of so many small bronze coins, usually very worn. at almost every petty port, with the noticeable exception of Trincomalee, as well as at various places in the interior, leads to the supposition that they formed the currency of the Island That this was so is proved by the fact that at Sigiriya out of 1,687 coins all but twelve were small Roman or Indo-Roman bronze. This place was the capital only in the reign of Kassapa I. (A.D. 479–497; G. 527–544), and on his death was handed over to the monks; we have, therefore, a more or less fixed date for this currency Direct Roman trade came to an end with the fall of Alexandria in A.D. 638, and the use of these coins and of the imitations dealt with below must have ceased practically before the rise of Polonnaruwa, where only one has been found; this city is first mentioned in the reign of Aggabodhi III. (A.D. 624–640), and appears to have been used as a royal residence at least as early as the time of the fourth of the same name (A.D. 673–689).[1] This gives the first half of the seventh century as the latest probable limit at one end; at the other we have the fact that the greater number of the coins are of the last half of the fourth century. That they were in long use is seen from their very worn state, the majority being quite illegible.

5. The presence of "third brass" in large quantities at Madura has been considered as a possible indication of the residence of Roman agents in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. In Ceylon, however, these coins are not confined to one locality, and it seems possible that in both countries their introduction was a successful commercial speculation on the part of the Western merchants, whose notice the practical absence of small change cannot have escaped. This currency evidently met with popular favour, as it was imitated. The Indo-Roman coins fall into two classes. The first closely adheres to the original, with the exception of the lettering, which baffled the native minters; of this class, there is the gold half solidus described below, and a certain number of small copper coins, one of which was found at Sigiriya, thus fixing the period of the use of this kind of money. As the legends of the majority of Roman coins found in Ceylon are illegible from wear, it is probable that many more of these imitations exist. The second class is known as the "Na-imana," from the place where a large find was made; they are far less skilfully executed than those of class I. They seem to be at least of four sizes, averaging about ·69, ·58, ·47, and ·37 inch, respectively, the smallest with a weight of only some 3 grains; the sizes merge into one another. The blanks evidently were cast in rows. There is no definite line of demarcation between the two classes; the design gradually deteriorates, "ending in a mere diagram of lines which bear no manner of likeness to its original" (Still, J.R.A.S., C.B., XIX., No. 58). Of the minute coins, a very few were found at Sigiriya, some at the Buddhist Rail site, and a number in the dágoba at the north end of Toluvila in Anuradhapura.

According to Mr. Still, out of 94 coins of the "Na-imana" type, 68 have the head to the right as usual in the Roman prototype, while in 26 it faces to the left. The lips are full, and the nose straight; the diadem is retained, but is often exaggerated, while in four or five it is replaced by a helmet sometimes degenerating into a cap or turban; in lieu of the legend is found a series of small stars, rows of dots or the figure I, or a serrated

[1] If the twelfth century "branch-city of Vijita," a suburb of Polonnaruwa, was identical with the Vijitapura of earlier times, more coins may be found. An old road to Anuradhapura ran through or near by the site of Polonnaruwa.

line (*ibid.*). It may be added that the cap or turban in reality is the hair above the diadem, and that either in front of or behind the head is often found a cross or other symbol. Mr. Still's observations apply in a less degree to class I., where there is a definite attempt to reproduce the legend.

The reverses may be classified thus, types (12), (13), (14), and (15), apparently being confined to class II. :—

(1) Two soldiers and standard (Constantinian family).
(1A) Emperor in quadriga (Consecratio type of Constantine I.).
(2) Emperor spearing foe (Constantius II.—Julian).
(3) Rome or Constantinople seated, of three types :—(*a*) ROMAE RESTITVTAE or FELICITAS AVGG NN of Constantine I. and VIRTVS ROMANORVM or VRBS ROMA of Gratian, Valentinian II. and Theodosius I. ; (*b*) the common CONCORDIA AVGG ; (*c*) GLORIA ROMANORVM of Eudoxia.
(4) (?) Emperor dragging captive (Magnentius—Arcadius).
(5) Victory carrying trophy and dragging captive (Valens—Arcadius).
(6) Three emperors (Theodosius I.—Arcadius).
(7) Two emperors (Theodosius I.—Arcadius).
(8) Victory crowning emperor (Honorius, Arcadius).
(9) (?) Gate of Praetorian camp (common type).
(10) " Vota " in wreath (common type).
(11) Cross within wreath or legend (Arcadius—Anastasius).
(12) Concentric circles.
(13) " Wheel diagram."
(14) Whorl.
(15) Nondescript lines, perhaps once types (1), (5), (6), or (8).

Types (11), (12), and (13) are closely connected, the original bearing a wreath. The cross, occasionally with a dot or imitation letter in each angle, or in lieu of it a star of eight points, perhaps derived from the monogram of Christ on the semisses of Leo I, Placidia, and Anthemius, and on the small silver of Anastasius, is found enclosed within one or two line or dot circles, outside of which is sometimes an imitation legend. There are also at times dots between the two circles, or else straight or curved lines connecting them ; the second variety of lines may have been taken from the form of wreath with long upward-curved leaves appearing in an exaggerated form on the tremisses of Zeno. This finally develops into a number of lines forming a wheel diagram, with a small cross in the centre. An exactly similar process has taken place with the " Concentric circles " type, which only differs from the " Cross " in having the centre circle blank or enclosing a dot, and seems to be derived from the "Cross" or " Vota " prototype. Diagrams, in which the spokes of the wheel spring from a simple dot, may be developed either from (11) or from (12). The wheel design, perhaps, was assimilated to the *dharma-cakra ;* it is very common. With this type should be compared the coin of Acyuta, King of Ahichatra, A.D. 300, figured in I.M.C., I., Pl. XXII., 8.

6. The extensive employment of the gold solidus and the state of trade at the beginning of the sixth century is set forth by Cosmas Indicopleustes, who wrote his Topographia Christiana according to Sewell in A.D. 522, or according to Yule about 545 :—

" Concerning the Island of Taprobane.

" This is the great Island in the Ocean, lying in the Indian Sea. By the Indians it is called Sieledibà, but by the Greeks Taprobane. In it is found the hyacinth stone. It lies on the other side of the Pepper Country. And round about it there are a number of small islands, in all of which you found fresh water and coconuts. And these are almost all set close to one another. The great Island, according to what the natives say, has a length of 300 *gaudia*, and a breadth of the same number, *i.e.* nine hundred miles. There are two kings on the Island, and they are at enmity with one another. The one possesses the hyacinth, and the other has the other part in which is the great place of commerce and the chief harbour. It is a great mart for the people of those parts. The Island hath also a church of Persian Christians who have settled there, and a Presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a Deacon, and all the apparatus of public worship. But the natives and their kings are

quite another kind of people. They have many temples on the Island, and on one of these temples which stands in an elevated position there is a hyacinth, they say, of great size and brilliant ruddy colour, as big as a great pine-cone, and when it is seen flashing from a distance, especially when the sun's rays strike on it, 'tis a glorious and incomparable spectacle.

"From all India and Persia and Ethiopia many ships come to this Island, and it likewise sends out many of its own, occupying as it does a kind of central position. And from the remoter regions, I speak of Tzinista and other places of export, the imports to Taprobane are silk, aloes-wood, cloves, sandal-wood, and so forth, according to the products of each place. These again are passed on from Sielediba to the marts on this side, such as Male where the pepper is grown and Kalliana, whence are exported brass, and sisam logs, and other wares, such as cloths (for that also is a great place of business); also to Sindu, where you get the musk or castorin, and androstachya; also to Persia, Homerite and Adule, and the Island receives imports again from all those marts that I have been mentioning, and passes them on to the remoter ports, whilst at the same time it exports its own produce in both directions.

"Sindu is where India begins. Now the Indus, *i.e.* Phison, the mouths of which discharge into the Persian Gulf, is the boundary between Persia and India. And the most notable places of trade are these: Sindu, Orrhotha, Kalliana, Sibor, and then the five marts of Male, from which pepper is exported, to wit, Parti, Mangurath, Salopatana, Nalopatana, Pudopatana. Then there is Sielediba, *i.e.* Taprobane, which lies hitherward about five days and nights sail from the Continent; and then again on the Continent and further back is Marallo, which exports conch shells; Kaber, which exports alabandinum; and then again further off is the Clove Country; and then Tzinista, which produces the silk. Beyond this there is no other country, for the Ocean encompasses it on the east.

"This same Sielediba then, set, as it were, in the central point of the Indies, and possessing the hyacinth receiving imports from all the seats of commerce, and exporting to them in return is itself a great seat of commerce. Here let me relate what there befell one of the merchants accustomed to trade thither. His name was Sopatrus, and he has been dead, to my knowledge, these thirty-five years past. Well, he had gone to the island of Taprobane on a trading adventure, and a ship from Persia happened to put in there at the same time. So when the Adule people, with whom Sopatrus was, went ashore, the people from Persia went ashore likewise, and with them they had a certain venerable personage of their nation. And then, as their way is, the chief men of the place and the officers of the custom-house received the party, and conducted them before the king. The king having granted them an audience, after receiving their, salutations, desired them to be seated, and then asked, 'In what state are your countries? and how go your own affairs?' They answered, 'Well.' And so as the conversation proceeded, the king put the question, 'Which of you has the greatest and most powerful king?' The Persian elder snatched the word, and answered, 'Our king is the greatest and the most powerful and the wealthiest, and indeed is the king of kings; and whatever he desires, that he is able to accomplish.' But Sopatrus held his peace. Then, quoth the king, 'Well, Roman! hast thou not a word to say?' Said Sopatrus, 'Why, what is there for me to say, after this man hath spoken as he hath done? But if thou wouldst know the real truth of the matter thou hast both the kings here: examine both, and thou shalt see thyself which is the more magnificent and potent.' When the prince heard this, he was amazed at the words, and said, 'How made you out that I have both the kings here?' The other replied, 'Well, thou hast the coins of both—of the one the nomisma, and of the other the dirham (*i.e.* the miliaresion).[1] Look at the effigy on each and you will see the truth.' The king approved of the suggestion, nodding assent, and ordered both coins to be produced. Now, the nomisma was a coin of right good ring and fine ruddy gold, bright in metal and elegant in execution, *for such coins are picked on purpose to take thither*, whilst the miliaresion, to say it in one word was of silver, and of course bore no comparison with the gold coin. So the king, after he had turned them this way and that, and had studied both with attention, highly extolled the nomisma, saying that in truth the Romans were a splendid, powerful, and sagacious people. So he ordered great honour to be paid to Sopatrus, causing him to be set on an elephant, and conducted round the city with drums beating in great state. These circumstances were told by Sopatrus and the others who had accompanied him from Adule to that Island. And, as they told the story, the Persian was very much ashamed of what had happened . . . ."

"And the king of Sielediba (gives a good price for) both the elephants that he has and the horses. The elephants he buys by cubit measurement; for their height is measured from the ground, and so the price is fixed according to the measurement, ranging from fifty to a hundred nomismata or more. Horses they bring to him from Persia and these he buys, and grants special immunities to those who import them."[2]

(Yule's translation from "Cathay and the Way thither.")

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[1] The Greek runs: τοῦ μὲν τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ δὲ τὴν δραχμὴν, τουτέστιν τὸ μιλιάρισιν.

[2] Yule's translation can hardly be correct, as Ceylon was famous for its elephants, which were royal property, and were exported to India until recent times. 'Αγοράζειν can mean "to sell" as well as "to buy." In the preceding section Cosmas speaks of the Indian kings who possessed elephants, and then deals with Ceylon; I would translate:

"But he of Sielediba [owns] both elephants which he has [sc in his country] and horses. The elephants he sells by cubit measurement . . . . But the horses they bring to him from Persia and he sells them and grants immunity from duty to those who import them."

Republican.

7. L. Antestius Gragulus, c. B.C. 124–103.

Obv. : Helmed head of Rome, GRAG

Rev. : In line circle, Jupiter in quadriga, galloping r. ; below legs of horses to r., LANTES (conjoined). In exergue, ROMA

AR. Denarius H. A. Grueber, Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum, I., p. 142-3

Imperial.

(A) *With Greek Legends.*

8. With the exception of the first, the following are Alexandrian tetradrachms of the Ptolemaic standard, unless otherwise stated :—

Tiberius, B.C. 10–A.D. 35.

Obv. : In laurel wreath :	Rev. : Palm branch ; in field :
TIB KAI ΣAP	[I] OY ΛIA L IA

AE. Diameter : ·66 in. Weight : 34·8 gr. Roman Procurators of Judæa, A.D. 24-25. G.C.H.C., p. 292, *cf.* Nos. 4, 5.

Nero, A.D. 54–68.

Obv. : Laureated head of Nero, r. ; in (?) line circle :

[NEP] ΚΛΑΥ ΚΑΙΣ ΣΕΒ ΓΕΡ [ΑΥΤΟ]

Rev. : Head of Agrippina, r. ; in bead circle :

ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.

In field to r. L^{Δ} = A.D. 57–58.

Diameter : 1·02 in. Weight : 208·3 gr. *Cf.* G.C.H.C., No. 64.

Vespasian, A.D. 70–79.

(1) Obv. : Laureated head of Emperor, r. ; in line circle :

ΑΥΤΟΚ ΚΑΙΣ ΣΕΒΑ ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥ

In field L^{B} = A.D. 69–70.

Rev. : City of Alexandria standing l., with wreath in extended r. hand, and sceptre in l. ; line circle :

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ

Diameter : 1·04 in. Weight : 215·1 gr. G.C.H.C., No. 160.

(2) Obv. : As last. Rev. : Roma, wearing crested helmet, standing l., spear in r. hand, and shield on l. arm ; line circle :

ΡΩΜΗ

Diameter : 1·01 in. Weight : 198·7 gr. G.C.H.C., No. 159.

The last three coins are from Kurunegala District.

Hadrian, A.D. 117–138.

(1) Obv. : Laureated head of Emperor, r. ; bead circle :

ΑΥΤ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΙ [ΑΔΡΙΑ ΣΕΒ]

Crescent before face.

Rev. : Eagle to r., between L^{Δ} = A.D. 119–120.

Diameter : ·96 in. Weight : 215 gr.

(2) Obv. : As last ; bead circle.

Rev. : Canopus of Osiris, r. ; wearing head dress of horns, disc, uræi, and plumes, between L E = A.D. 120–121 ; bead circle.

Diameter : ·96 in. Weight : 184·6 gr.

(3) Obv. : Bust of Emperor, r., laureated, wearing cuirass and paludamentum :

[ΑΥ]Τ ΚΑΙ [ΤΡΑΙ ΑΔΡΙΑ ΣΕΒ]

Rev. : Nilus, naked to waist and crowned with lotus, reclining l., upon crocodile, holding cornucopiæ in r. and reed in l. hand. Above, I S. Exergue, illegible.

AE. Diameter : 1·29 in. Weight : 249·8 gr. Very worn. G.C.H.C., p. 445, No. 311.

Lucius Verus, A.D. 161–169.

Obv.: Bearded and laureated head of Emperor, r.; bead circle:
Λ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕΒ
Rev.: Helios in his car drawn by four horses, l. In field above, L Z = A.D. 166–167. Exergue, blank; bead circle.
Diameter: ·92 in. Weight: 193·2 gr.

Commodus, A.D. 175–192.

Obv.: Head of Emperor, r., laureated.
[ΜΑ] ΚΟΜ ΑΝΤΩ ΣΕΒ ΕΥΣΕΒ
Rev.: Hermanubis standing r., wearing himation and modius: he holds winged caduceus in r. hand and leans with l. on palm branch. Behind him, jackal, l., with r. forepaw raised and head turned back. In field, L^K H. (A.D. 187–8).
Billon, hardly distinguishable from copper. Diameter: ·98 in. Weight: 180·4 gr. G.C.H.C. p. 486, No. 579.

Aurelian, A.D. 270–275.

(1) Obv.: In bead circle, bust of Emperor, laureated, r:
Α Κ Λ ΔΟΜ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ
Rev.: In bead circle, eagle, l., with open wings, head r., wreath in beak, between LΔ (A.D. 272–3).
Billon as last. G.C.H.C., No. 1,027.

(2) As last, but eagle between ΕΤΟΥΣ and S (A.D. 274–5). G.C.H.C., No. 1,037.

(3) Obv.: As last. Rev.: In bead circle, winged Victory, r., holding wreath, between ΕΤΟΥΣ and S.
Billon as last. G.C.H.C., No. 1,034. Weight: 89·5 gr.

Diocletian, A.D. 284–305.

(1) Obv.: Bust of Emperor, r., laureated, wearing cuirass and paludamentum:
Α Κ Γ ΟΥΑΛ ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ
Rev.: Eusebeia, wearing chiton, peplos, and veil, standing to front, head l., sprinkling incense on altar with r. hand, and holding incense box in l. In front, L^A (A.D. 284–5).
Billon as last. G.C.H.C., No. 1,084.

(2) Obv.: As last. Rev.: Alexandria standing l., holding sceptre and gathered drapery in l. hand, r. hand extended. In field to l., L^A.
Billon, *ib.* No. 1,087.

(3) Obv.: As last. Rev.: Eirene standing l., staff in l. hand, r. hand extended and holding olive branch; all between L B (A.D. 285–6).
Billon. *Cf. ib.* No. 1,091.

(4) Obv.: As last, but ΟΥΑ.
Rev.: As (2) of Aurelian, but ΕΤΟΥΣ Γ (A.D. 286–7).
Billon. Brit. Mus. Cat., Coins of Alexandria No. 2,532.

Mr. Justice Stark, in a paper "On some Coins, Ancient and Modern, of Ceylon" (J.R.A.S., C.B., Vol. I. No. 3–1847–8), mentions "a coin of lead, 75 grains in weight, having on one side a Roman head, and on the reverse an eagle standing on a thunderbolt, as in the Roman gold scrupulus," apparently an Alexandrian issue. The plate referred to in the paper was never published.

(B) *With Latin Legends.*

9. Unless otherwise stated, of bronze, and from Constantine I. onwards nummi centenionales or their halves:—

Augustus, B.C. 43–A.D. 14.

Within laurel wreath, in one line:
AVGVSTVS
Second brass. Cohen, 34.

Tiberius, B.C. 10–A.D. 35.

Livia seated on throne r., sceptre in l. hand, flower in r.
PONTIF MAXIM
AR. Denarius. C., 16.

Claudius, A.D. 41–54.

Pallas standing r., hurling javelin and holding shield, between S C
Second brass. *Cf.* C., 84.

Vespasian, A.D. 70–79.

Female figure standing l., left arm raised. Much worn.
. . . . AVGVST
Third brass.

Domitian, A.D. 72–96.

Female figure standing l., spear in l. hand.
IMP XXII COS XVII CENS P PP
AR. Denarius. C., 290.

Hadrian, A.D. 117–138.

(1) Hadrian draped, between S C, holding a rolled volume and receiving a sceptre brought him by an eagle:
PROVIDENTIA DEORVM.
Sestertius. C., 1,207.

(2) Female figure standing, removing with hands veil from face, between
HI LAR
P R
PM TR P COS III
AR. Denarius. C., 815. "Spolia Zeylanica," June, 1912, p. 145.

Faustina the Elder, *ob.*, A.D. 141.

Standing figure looking l., arm extended l. Legend illegible.
Sestertius.

Lucius Verus, A.D. 161–169.

Peace standing l., cornucopiæ in l. hand, r. hand extended. In exergue, PAX
TR P VI IMP IIII COS II
AR. Denarius. *Cf.* C., 126.

Julia Domna, *ob.* A.D. 217.

Isis standing r., foot on prow, suckling Horus.
SAECVLI FELICITAS
AR. Denarius. C., 174.

Geta, A.D. 209–212.

Female figure standing r., lance in r. hand, palladium in l.
NOBILITAS
AR. Denarius. C., 90.

Elagabalus, A.D. 218–222.

Obv.: Bust of Emperor, laureated, r.
IMP C M AV ANTONINVS AVG
Rev.: Three military standards.
COL AVR . . . .
Second brass. Weight, 159·9 gr. Colonial.

Julia Mammæa, *ob.*, A.D. 235.

Venus standing r., holding sceptre in l. hand, little Cupid in r.
VENERI FELICI
AR. Denarius. C., 60.

Maximin I., A.D. 235–238.

Fidelity, l., between two standards and S C
FIDES MILITVM
Sestertius. C., 13.

Philip the Elder, A.D. 244–249.

Emperor seated, l., in curule chair, globe in extended r. hand, short staff in l.
PM TP II COS PP
AR. (? washed). Antoninianus. C., 120.

Postumus, A.D. 259–267.

Obv.: Radiate head, r. Rev.: Peace standing l., sceptre transversely in l. hand, in extended r. hand an olive branch.
PAX EQVITVM
C., 228.

Tetricus the Elder, A.D. 268–273.

Obv.: Radiate head. Rev.: Valour standing l., holding spear and leaning on shield.
VIRTVS AVGG
C., 207.

Diocletian, A.D. 284–305.

Obv.: Radiate head. Rev.: Obliterated. Third brass.

Maximian II. as Cæsar, A.D. 292–305.

Genius standing l., holding in l. hand cornucopiæ and pouring libation from patera in r.
GENIO POPVLI ROMANI
Follis (two specimens). C., 90.

Maximin II., A.D. 308–313.

Genius l., with modius on head, pouring libation, cornucopiæ on l. arm; all between— crescent / K, B / P
GENIO IMPERATORIS
Reduced follis; mint, Alexandria. C., 52.

Maxentius II., A.D. 306–312.

Rome seated in temple. Exergue, (?) ARL
CONSERV VRB SVAE
Reduced follis. C., 20

Licinius I., A.D. 307–324.

(1) Jupiter l., wearing pallium, and holding Victoriola in r. hand and hasta in l.; before his feet an eagle, l., bearing wreath in beak. In field to r. S
IOVI CONSERVATORI
Reduced denarius or heavy nummus. C., 70.

(2) As (1). Exergue, ALE
IOVI CONSERVATORI AVGG
The same denomination. C., 109.

Constantine the Great A.D. 306–337; Augustus, A.D. 308

(1) Two soldiers guarding a standard.
GLORIA EXERCITVS
C., 250, &c.

(2) Sun standing, r. hand raised, in l. globe.
SOLI INVICTO COMITI
Weight: 60 gr. C., 546.

(3) Two Victories placing wreath on altar.
VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP
C., 636.

Posthumous issues:—

(1) Justice standing l., bearing scales in r. hand.
IVST VEN MEM
C., 314.

(2) Piety standing r., veiled, between VN MR
C., 716.

(3) Emperor driving quadriga. No legend. C. 760

"Constantinopolis."

(1) Two soldiers guarding a standard.

GLORIA EXERCITVS

C., 4.

(2) Winged Victory, l., left hand on shield, sceptre in r., foot on prow of ship. No legend.

C., 21. Also larger size, C., 22.

"Urbs Roma."

(1) Two soldiers guarding a standard.

GLORIA EXERCITVS

C., 1.

(2) Winged Victory as "Constantinopolis" (2). C., 12.

(3) Wolf, l., suckling Romulus and Remus; above, two stars. C., 17

Helena, *ob.*, A.D. 328, or Fausta, *ob.*, A.D. 326.

Security standing l., veiled, holding branch lowered.

SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE

C., Helena, 12; Fausta, 11.

Crispus, Cæsar, A.D. 317–326.

Across field, in two lines:

CRISPVS CAESAR

C., 60.

Constantine II., Cæsar, A.D. 317, Augustus, A.D. 337–340.

(1) Two soldiers guarding a standard.

GLORIA EXERCITVS

C., 114, &c.

(2) Two soldiers guarding two standards.

GLORIA EXERCITVS

C., 122, &c.

(3) Prætorian camp gate with two towers.

PROVIDENTIAE CAESS

C., 163.

Constans I., Cæsar, A.D. 333, Augustus, A.D. 337–350.

(1) Soldier armed with spear, leading a child out of a hut, behind which a tree.

FEL TEMP REPARATIO

Weight: 77·5 gr. C., 19.

(2) Two soldiers guarding a standard.

GLORIA EXERCITVS

C., 65, &c.

(3) Winged Victory, l., holding wreath.

VICT AVG

C., 119.

(4) As last, but—VICTORIA AVGG

C., 127.

(5) Two winged Victories holding wreaths and plams.

VICTORIAE DD AVGG Q NN

C., 176.

(6) In laurel wreath, in four lines:

VOT XV MVLT XX

C., 196.

(7) As last, but VOT XX MVLT XXX

C., 197.

Constantius II., Cæsar, A.D. 323, Augustus, A.D. 337–361.

(1) Emperor spearing a prostrate horse and its rider.
FEL TEMP REPARATIO
C. 45, 47.

(2) Phœnix, r., on rock.
FEL TEMP REPARATIO
C. 58.

(3) Two soldiers guarding a standard.
GLORIA EXERCITVS
C., 92, 95, &c., 102.

(4) Prætorian camp gate with two towers.
PROVIDENTIAE CAESS
C., 167.

(5) Emperor standing, helmed, holding spear in l. hand, globe in r.; star to l.
SPES REIPVBLICE
C., 188.

(6) Two winged Victories bearing a shield, on which—VOT XXX
VICT DD NN AVG ET CAES
C., 198.

(7) Two winged Victories holding wreaths and palms.
VICTORIAE DD AVGG Q NN
C., 293.

(8) In laurel wreath, in four lines:
VOT XX MVLT XXX
C., 335.

Constantius Gallus, Cæsar, A.D. 351–354.

Soldier standing l., spearing fallen horseman; shield on ground.
FEL TEMP REPARATIO
C., 9.

Julian, Cæsar, A.D. 355–360, Augustus, 360–363.

(1) Soldier standing l., piercing fallen horseman, shield on ground.
FEL TEMP REPARATIO
C., 10, but of quinarius size.

(2) Julian, helmed, standing l., with globe and sceptre.
SPES REIPVBLICE
C., 42, 43, or 48.

Valentinian I., A.D. 364–375.

(1) Emperor standing in military dress, r., holding labarum and dragging captive.
GLORIA ROMANORVM
C., 12.

(2) Victory walking l., with wreath and palm.
SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE
C. 36, but bust r.

Valens, A.D. 364–378.

(1) Obv.: Bust, diademed, r.
D N VALENS PER F AVG
Rev.: Emperor, armed, standing r., in l. hand Victory with wreath, in r. labarum.
RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE
Exergue, ANTA, ANTΔ AV. Solidus. C., 31.

(2) Emperor standing, holding in l. hand labarum, r. hand dragging a captive behind him.
GLORIA ROMANORVM
C., 11.

(3) Emperor standing and facing r., holding standard and Victory on globe.

RESTITVTOR REIP

C., 29.

(4) Winged Victory l., bearing wreath and palm.

SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE

C., 47.

(5) Victory walking l., carrying a trophy and dragging a barbarian

SPES REIPVBLICAE

C., 49.

(6) In laurel wreath :

VOT V MVLT X

C., 92.

Gratian, A.D. 375–383.

(1) Victory walking l., with wreath and palm.

FELICITAS ROMANORVM

C., 11.

(2) In laurel wreath :

VOT XV MVLT XX

C., 75.

(3) As last, but VOT XX MVLT XXX

C., 77. Also variant with bust and letters larger.

Valentinian II., A.D. 375–392.

(1) Helmed figure of Rome or Constantinople seated on throne, spear in l. hand, and globe in r.

CONCORDIA AVGGG

C., 9.

(2) Prætorian camp gate with two towers.

GLORIA REIPVBLICAE

C., 12.

(3) Emperor, r., holding labarum and dragging captive behind him.

GLORIA ROMANORVM

C., 23.

(4) Winged Victory, l., dragging captive by the hair ; monogram of Christ in field.

SALVS REIPVBLICAE

C., 30.

(5) Winged Victory, l., holding aloft a wreath.

SALVS REIPVBLICAE

C., 33.

(6) In laurel wreath :

VOT X MVLT XX

C., 73.

Theodosius I., A.D. 379–395.

(1) Three Emperors standing, Gratian and Theodosius armed with spears and leaning on shields, Valentinian, a boy, in centre with spear and globe.

GLORIA ROMANORVM

C., 24.

(2) Two Emperors standing, armed with spears and resting on shields.

GLORIA ROMANORVM

C., 25.

(3) Winged Victory, l., dragging captive by the hair ; monogram of Christ in field.

SALVS REIPVBLICAE

C., 30.

(4) Winged Victory, l., holding wreath and palm.

VICTORIA AVGGG

C., 41.

(5) Two Victories standing, holding each a wreath and palm.
VICTORIA AVGGG
C., 43.

(6) In laurel wreath:
VOT X MVLT XX
C., 68.

(7) As last, but VOT XV MVLT XX
C., p. 453.

(8) Helmed figure standing r. In l. hand Victory, in r. spear to which is fastened a trophy; shield at feet.
VRBS ROMA FELIX
C., 74.

Aelia Flaccilla, *ob.*, A.D. 388.

Empress standing, robed in stola, hands joined.
SALVS REIPVBLICAE
C., 6. Second brass.

Victor, A.D. 383–388.

Gate of Prætorian camp with two towers, between which a star.
SPES ROMANORVM
C., 3.

Honorius, A.D. 394–423.

(1) Emperor on horseback, r.
GLORIA ROMANORVM
C., 22, 23.

(2) Honorius and Arcadius armed with spears and resting on shields.
GLORIA ROMANORVM
C., 26.

(3) Honorius and Arcadius armed with spears and holding a globe.
GLORIA ROMANORVM
Cf. C., 27.

(4) Honorius, Arcadius, and Theodosius II. standing, armed with spears; the two first rest on shields, the last, smaller, in centre holds a globe.
GLORIA ROMANORVM
C., 28.

(5) Winged Victory, dragging captive by hair, walking l., and carrying trophy; monogram of Christ in field.
SALVS REIPVBLICAE
C., 32.

(6) Emperor, helmed, standing on l. and facing r., spear in r. hand, being crowned with a wreath by Victory on r.
VIRTVS EXERCITI
C., 56. In two sizes.

Arcadius, A.D. 395–408.

(1) Obv.: Bust of Emperor, full face, helmed and paludated, spear over r. shoulder and shield on l. arm.
D N ARCADIUS P F AVG
Rev.: Rome or Constantinople seated, helmed, spear in r. hand, Victoriola in l.
CONCORDIA AVGG
Tolstoï, 73–75.

(2) As Honorius No. (4). T., 98–99.

(3) Emperor on horseback, r.
GLORIA ROMANORVM
T., 100–101.

(4) Winged Victory, l., dragging captive by the hair; monogram of Christ in field.
SALVS REIPVBLICAE
T., 105–107.

(5) As Honorius No. (6).
VIRTVS EXERCITI
T., 119–123.

(6) In laurel wreath, in two lines:
VOT V
T., 128–131.

(7) As last, but in four lines:
VOT X MVLT XX
T., 132–134.

Aelia Eudoxia, A.D. 395–404.

(1) Empress seated on throne, full face; cross in r. field.
GLORIA ROMANORVM
T., 147.

(2) Victory seated on cippus, r., tracing on shield monogram of Christ.
SALVS REIPVBLICAE
T., 149, *ff*.

Theodosius II., A.D. 408–450.

(1) Obv.: Bust of Emperor facing front, helmed and paludated; in r. hand spear over shoulder, shield on l. arm.
D N THEODOSIVS P F AVG
Rev.: Rome or Constantinople seated, helmed; in r. hand spear, in l. Victoriola; star to l.
CONCORDIA AVGGΣ.
Exergue, CONOB AV.Solidus T., 7.

(2) As last, but third brass. T., 77–78.

(3) Victory standing, full face, holding wreath in either hand.
CONCORDIA AVG
T., 79.

(4) Cross in wreath; no legend. T., 82.

(5) Monogram THEOΔ in wreath. T., 83.

(6) In laurel wreath:
VOT XX MVLT XXX

Marcian, A.D. 450–457.

Monogram, surmounted by cross, in wreath.
T., 27.

Anastasius, A.D. 491–518.

Obv.: As solidus of Theodosius II.
.... SIVS PP AVG
Rev.: Winged Victory, l., holding long cross; in field to r. a star.
VICTORIA AVGG[G]
Exergue, CONOB AV.Weight: 35 gr.; much clipped.

Heraclius I., A.D. 613–641.

(1) Obv.: Diademed bust, r.
DN HRACLIUS PP AUG
Rev.: Long cross on horizontal line.
VICTORIA AUG
Exergue, CONOB AV.Tremissis. Imp. Byz. Coins in the Brit. Mus., Vol. I., Pl. XXXIII., 16.

(2) Obv.: Beardless bust, facing front, crowned; between star and crescent.
Rev.: In circle, orb surmounted by tall cross between I B; below, under a line, ΑΛΕΞ
AE. 12 nummia of the Alexandrian mint; Imp. Byz. Coins, 276–286.

AV. Obv.: Two full-face busts, that to l. large, that to r. small.
Rev.: Cross on steps.

This coin of thin gold was once in the Colombo Museum, but was lost many years ago; it is described from memory. A similar solidus found in South India was in Mr. Tracy's collection, and appears to be of the reign of Heraclius I. and Heraclius Constantine (Imp. Byz. Coins, 38–40). Ours may have been of these Emperors or of Constans II.

Constantine XIII., A.D. 1059–1067.

Obv.: Christ seated on throne.

+ IHS IXS REX REGNANTIUM

Rev.: Emperor, crowned, standing full face, in l. hand orb. in r. labarum.

+ ΚΩΝ ΒΑΣ Ο ΔΟΥΚΑΣ

AV. Scyphate solidus. Imp. Byz. Coins, Pl. LXI., 1.

10. The following gold solidus or dinár of the early Khalifs seems to be imitated from the issues of Constans II. (A.D. 641–668); it was found at Paragoda in Weligam korale.

Obv.: Two full-face busts, that to l. large with long beard, that to r. small with short beard; the crosses on the crowns replaced by balls. Legend not clear.

Rev.: Cross without transverse bar on four steps.

VICTORIA AVԿԿΔ

Exergue, CONOB

INDO-ROMAN.

11. Obv.: In circle of dashes, diademed bust of Emperor, l.; in margin, legend of imitation letters, 6 to l., 6 to r.

Rev.: In similar circle, Emperor in military habit, standing l.; in his l. hand a spear, in r. Victoriola. In margin similar legend, 5 letters to l., 2 above, and 5 to r.

AV. Diameter: ·57 in. Weight: 33 gr.

Found between Veyangoda and Mirigama; a half solidus or semissis. The prototype of this coin seems to be a solidus of Valentinian I. or of Valens, *q.v. supra*. **Pl. 26.**

Of the copper, only typical designs are described, no two coins being exactly alike:—

(1) Two soldiers and standard.

(i.) Obv.: Diademed head, r.

ITEVU • • UUC

Rev.: Two soldiers guarding a standard; legend illegible.
Diameter: ·53 in. Weight: 19·9 gr. From Sigiriya.

(ii.) Obv.: Small bust, l., apparently with crown, consisting of three semicircles rising from rim. In front, symbol (? ball surmounted by globe in crescent). Trace of legend. All in line circle.

Rev.: Two soldiers and standard, all in bead circle.
Cf. type 10 (ii.); possibly Indo-Sassanian. **Pl. 27.**

(iii.) Ná-imana Class:— **Pl. 28–30.**

Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.
·72	29	·66	22·5	·61	14·6	·53	22
·68	29·5	·66	22	·59	19·4	·53	20·6
·66	31·2	·62	23	·59	17·2	·53	19·9
·66	30·2	·62	21·6	·59	13	·53	17·7
·66	26·4	·61	27·3	·57	16·8	·53	12·5
·66	23	·61	22·5	·57	15·8	·33	3·1

(1A) Consecratio type of Constantine I., Cohen 760.

Obv.: Head veiled, r., within line circle; no legend.
Rev.: Quadriga, r., within line circle; exergue line, but apparently no legend.
Diameter: ·47 in. Weight: 7·4 gr. From the Southern Province.

(2) Emperor spearing foe.

(i.) Obv.: Bust diademed, r., and legend, all in line circle.
Rev.: Emperor spearing foe. Exergue, all in line circle.
Diameter: ·55 in. Weight: 16·8 gr. Worn, and type doubtful.

(ii.) Obv.: Bust, r.; symbol before face; imitation legend.
Rev.: Figure advancing r., spearing a small figure with arms upraised on r.; behind him, a still smaller figure.

(3) Rome or Constantinople seated.

(i.) Obv.: Head laureate, r.; remains of legend.
Rev.: Seated figure, r., in chair, holding an object in extended hand. To l. and r. imitation legend. In exergue, three imitation letters. All in bead circle.
Diameter: ·74 in. Weight: 35 gr. From Kantarodai. Imitation of ROMAE RESTITVTAE or FELICITAS AVGG NN of Constantine I. **Pl. 31.**

(ii.) VIRTVS ROMANORVM or VRBS ROMA type.
Obv.: Head diademed, r.; legend, worn.
Rev.: Figure seated on throne, facing l., r. hand raised and holding some object.
IAN......
Diameter: ·51 in. Weight: 13·3 gr.

(iii.) CONCORDIA AVGG type.

(*a*) Obv.: Obliterated; traces of imitation legend.
Rev.: Figure apparently standing; in extended l. hand globe and Victoriola; in upraised r. hand spear. On either side of figure upright of throne.
Diameter: ·55 in. Weight: 27 gr. From Kapuhenwala. **Pl. 32.**

(*b*) Obv.: Head diademed, r.
Rev.: Figure apparently standing, (?) wreath in l. hand, short staff in r. On either side symbol resembling calix of lotus, in the original the uprights of the throne.
Diameter: ·51 in. Weight: 14·4 gr.

(iv.) GLORIA ROMANORVM type of Eudoxia.
Obv.: Bust of Empress, r.
I C (E) (H)
Rev.: Figure seated, full face, on throne; cross in l. field.
Diameter: ·57 in. Weight: 26·4 gr.
As Tolstoï 146, but the obverse legend is not that of Eudoxia; apparently Indo-Roman. From Valaichchenai.

(4) Emperor dragging captive. **Pl. 33.**
Obv.: Bust diademed, r.; legend, illegible, but a fair imitation of that of Valens.
Rev.: Emperor standing r., dragging captive.
Diameter: ·51 in. Weight: 14·9 gr. Assigned to this type rather than to the next, as the figure is not advancing.

(5) Victory carrying trophy and dragging captive.

(i.) Obv.: Bust diademed, l., legend.
Rev.: Victory advancing l., and dragging captive. Small imitation letters in circumference and exergue.
Diameter: ·53 in. Weight: 16·3 gr.

(ii.) Obv.: Bust diademed, r.
Rev.: Figure advancing r., and looking backwards, spear over shoulder; all in line circle.
Diameter: ·53 in. Weight: 12·9 gr. **Pl. 34.**

(iii.) Others similar, with or without spear. **Pl. 35, 36.**

Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.
·53	..	18·2	·55	..	13·4
53	..	17·2	·51	..	12 6
·51	..	15·8	·45	..	15·8
53	..	15·3	·33	..	3·8
·51	..	14·6			

(6) Three Emperors.

Rev.: Three soldiers with spears, the middle one taller. Large lettering; line circle.

Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.
·55	..	14	35	..	2·7
·53	..	14·4			

(7) Two Emperors. **Pl. 37.**

Rev.: Two soldiers with spears and shields; legend.
Diameter: ·51 in. Weight: 16·5 gr.

(8) Victory crowning Emperor. **Pl. 38.**

Obv.: Bust, r.; (?) star behind.
Rev.: Victory on l., crowning Emperor on r.

Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.
·61	..	15 4	35	..	2·8
·51	..	16 8			

(9) (?) Gate of Prætorian camp.

Rev.: Oblong rectangle, divided into square compartments, with vertical lines rising from the two ends. There are several variants, all of the smallest size.

(10) "Vota."

(i.) Obv.: Bust diademed, r. or l.; legend.
Rev.: In one or two line circles; imitation letters. **Pl. 39.**

Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.
·55	..	15 8	·51	..	16·2

(ii.) Obv.: Small bust, r., crowned as in (1) (ii.); similar symbol in front. Traces of legend. All within two bead circles.
Rev.: In bead circle, a square from the bottom of which depend short vertical lines (in the original the legend in exergue); within, attached to the top of the square, another smaller square rounded at the bottom, containing a still smaller square with two vertical lines inside.
Diameter: ·53 in. Weight: 15·4 gr. In fabric this coin resembles the coin (ii.) of type (1). The obverse of both seems to be imitated from the Sassanian model

(iii.) Obv.: Head, r. Rev.: In upper part of area, enclosed in line circle, five large dots; in lower part rows of small dots.
Diameter: ·35 in. Weight: 4·9 gr.

(11) Cross.

(i.) (*a*) Rev.: Double rectangular frame containing cross; from bottom depend short vertical lines as in last.

Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.
·62	..	27·8	·57	..	14·5

(*b*) Rev.: In line circle rectangular frame with rounded top, containing cross; below, a horizontal line connected with bottom of frame by two vertical lines.
Diameter: ·31 in. Weight: 2·9 gr. The square wreath is derived from the wreath with a straight bottom found in some late Roman coins.

(ii.) Cross within one or more circles, or without circle: **Pl. 40, 41.**

Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.
·63	..	27·1	·59	..	17·4	·51	..	18·7
·61	..	20·6	·59	..	14·1	·51	..	9·7
·61	..	15·3	·55	..	15·3	·39	..	5·8
·59	..	24·8	·55	..	7·6	·35	..	4·4

(12) Concentric Circles:—**Pl. 42.**

Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.
·70	..	29·7	·61	.	22·5	·55	..	15 3

(13) Wheel diagram :—Pl. 43.

Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.
·61	..	19·6	·57	..	17·7	·55	..	13
·61	..	19·4	·57	..	16·3	·55	..	12·7
·61	..	15·8	·55	..	22·3	·53	..	12·4
·61	..	15·7	·55	..	17·9	·41	..	4·5
·61	..	14·6	·55	..	13·8			

(15) Nondescript lines :—

Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.
·49	..	10·1	·37	..	3·2

12. The following coins, if genuine, must be included among the Indo-Roman issues. Though apparently modelled upon the small gold and bronze pieces of the late fourth and early fifth centuries, they differ from the imitations already dealt with in not slavishly following the prototype ; the bust is definitely Eastern, and the wreath on the reverse, while retaining a semblance of the Roman band and ribbons at the base, has been developed independently. For the head, compare Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1911–12, Pl. XXXII., 11, of the Gupta period.

Obv. : Male bust, r., earring in ear, hair long ; drapery or necklace on neck ; within a double line circle, a wreath of scrollwork parting on either side of the base.

Rev. : A cross, the lower limb of which is longer than the others, a ball at the end of the upper and transverse limbs, all within a wreath of foliage, with jessamine buds, rising from a curved band, from which depend four short lines arranged in two groups ; within a double line circle, a circle of balls or dots. Pl. 44.

Only four specimens are known to have been in existence :—

(1) Colombo Museum No. 197 ; provenance, Kamanchodai tank, Negombo.
Diameter : ·74 in. Weight : 55·2 gr.

(2) Mr. H. C. P. Bell's cabinet ; provenance, Ceylon, place unknown.
Diameter : ·47 in. Weight : 51·3 gr. ; clipped (C.A., I., iii., p. 202, Plate).

(3) British Museum ; purchased at the sale of the collection of Mr. Hart in 1855.
Diameter : ·78 in. Weight : 57·3 gr.

(4) Another specimen in the same collection.

It has been suggested that these coins are the work of an enterprising Sinhalese with a view to sale to passengers ; and it is true that Nos. (1) and (2), though not (3), have been struck to all appearances from the same pair of dies. But forgeries in Ceylon always are (*a*) based on known coins, and (*b*) cast. The worn parts of the surface are not in the same relative positions in Nos. (1) and (2) ; and the trouble of making the dies and then giving the finished coins such a genuine semblance of wear would seem to be quite out of proportion to the probable profits ; for until recent years gold coins were to be obtained for little more than the actual value of the metal.

The weight of our coins is not Roman, but agrees with that prevalent in South India before the introduction of the heavier Ceylon standard ; this period, however, would be too late, and they may have been issued on the standard of the Gupta coins, the prototype of the mediæval Ceylon *kahavaṇu*.

Miscellaneous Ancient.

(*a*) *Unidentified Indian.*

13. (1) Obv. : *Caitya* of three cells ; indistinct symbol to upper l.

Rev. : Tree in enclosure of four compartments.

AE. Rectangular, cast. Reverse design set diamond-wise.

Size : ·43 × ·45 in. Weight : 36·4 gr. Worn. From Vallipuram. Pieris, XIV., 7.

(2) The following was found at Attikuli in Mannar District, and, with one exception, is the only ancient coin of the older type with a legend known in the Island. It is carefully executed and well struck. The reverse is in an excellent state of preservation, but the obverse is worn, and the coin is also very slightly broken.

Obv. : In rectangular frame, bull standing l. Before him, an altar ; above, symbols or letters.

Rev. : In similar double frame legend in Brahmi letters in two lines :

Ṣrí Mahá [Gaja]mitaḥ.

AE. Size : ·51 × ·52 in. Weight : 11 gr.

For the characters *cf.* inscription of Jaggayyapeta (third century A.D.) in Bühler's Palæographic Table No. 3.

(*b*) *Andhra.*

Obv : Elephant standing r.; over back legend :

... Sátakaṇisa.

Rev. : Ujjain symbol.

AE. Circular. Diameter : ·76 in. Weight : 50·4 gr.

(?) Ṣrí Rudra Sátakarṇi, second to third century A.D. From Vallipuram. Pieris, XIV., 22.

(*c*) *Greek.*

(1) Acarnania, Leucas, *c.* B.C. 350–250.

Obv. : Head of Apollo, l. Rev. : Prow of galley, l.

AE. Weight : about 39 gr. Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum (Thessaly) No. 68, *ff.*

(2) Seleucid ; Seleucus IV., *c.* B.C. 187–175.

Obv. : Diademed head, r., in bead circle.

Rev. : In bead circle elephant's head, l., trunk upraised ; behind ear, tripod ; above, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and below, ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ

AE. Serrated. Weight : 60·9 gr. B.M.C., Seleucid Kings, p. 33, No. 31.

(*d*) *Parthian.*

Drachma of Phraates IV. (B.C. 37/6–24/3) or Orodes II. (B.C. 4/3). This coin is much worn, and weighs 54·3 grains ; it was purchased " in Colombo from a shop, where it is said to have been sold y a villager" (Spolia Zeylanica, Vol. VIII., Pt. XXX., June, 1912).

A drachma of Vologæses II. (*c.* A.D. 62–67), with a punch mark on the obverse, is in the Colombo Museum ; it weighs 67·2 grains.

(*e*) *Indo-Parthian.*

Azes II., with Aspavarma, *c.* A.D. 10.

AE. Type : Obv. : Horseman with whip and bow. Rev. : Pallas. I.M.C., I., Pl. IX., 7. Purchased in Colombo.

(*f*) *Kushán.*

Vásudeva Kushán, *c.* A.D. 185–220.

AE. Type : Obv. : King at altar. Rev. : Ṣiva and bull. I.M.C., I., Pl. XIII., 9. Three or four specimens bought in Colombo.

Under Kushán may be included a small circular coin found at Vallipuram :—

Obv. : Standing figure, in Kushán coat, in line circle.

Rev. : Indistinct design, consisting of two thick parallel lines, one of which is curved at one end.

AE. Diameter : ·53 in. Weight : 62·9 gr. Pieris, XIV., 21.

(*g*) *Gupta.*

The following gold pieces were obtained from Colombo, and are of special interest as being the reputed original of the " Ceylon type " :—

Samudra Gupta, A.D. 326–375.

Spearman type, I.M.C., I., p. 103, No. 15 ; monetary mark 9. Weight : 117·4 gr.

Candra Gupta II., *c.* A.D. 375–413.

(1) Archer type, I.M.C., p. 105, No. 6 ; monetary mark 18 ; no staff to standard, Weight : 119·1 gr.

(2) As (1), but rougher ; standard with staff ; monetary mark 18. Weight : 120·6 gr.

Skanda Gupta, A.D. 455–*c.* 480.

Archer type, I.M.C., p. 117, No. 3 ; monetary mark 41. Broad flan. Weight : 141·4 gr.

The following is of silver and of the *Rudradámaka kahápaṇa* type :—

Obv. : Head, l. Traces of date before face.
Rev. : Peacock facing front, with expanded wings. Marginal legend :
[Vijit]ávanir-avanipati ṣrí ṣrí....
Diameter : ·61 in. Weight : 35·2 gr. Purchased in Colombo.

(h) Sassanian.

The presence of Persian traders in Ceylon is attested by Cosmas Indicopleustes in the sixth century. The occasional finds of small Sassanian copper coins among the Roman " third brass " shows that they had dealings in the Island at an earlier date also.

Yezdigerd I., A.D. 397–417.

Obv. : Bust, r., surmounted by globe in crescent ; in front, (?) fire-altar.
Rev. : Fire-altar with two attendants.

Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.	
·62	.. ..	13·3	Colo. Mus., No. 168.
·53	.. ..	12·7	

This type when worn is liable to confusion with the Roman " Soldiers and standard " type, and some of the coins classified as Indo-Roman perhaps should be treated as Indo-Sassanian.

The following was found at Kapuhenwala :—

Obv. : Bust to r.
Rev. : Apparently fire-altar surrounded by a design resembling rosette.
Diameter : ·59 in. Weight : 23 gr.

(i) Miscellaneous.

A thick silver coin, with a diameter of ·78 inch and weight of 124 grains, with an object resembling a snake on one side, is figured in "Spolia Zeylanica," *loc. cit.*, p. 145. Both sides are slightly concave. It is said to have been found in the Sabaragamuwa Bintenna.

CHAPTER V.

MEDIÆVAL CEYLON.

THE sixth and seventh centuries are the " Dark Ages" of Ceylon ; internal strife prevailed, and few, if any, contemporary records are in existence. The Mahávaṁsa, however, establishes a rough synchronism with Indian history, telling us that Máṇavamma got possession of the throne with the aid of the Pallava king Narasiha, for this monarch, Narasiṁhavarman I., defeated the Cálukya Pulakésin about A.D. 642, and claims to have conquered the Páṇḍyans and Coḷas and to have occupied Ceylon itself (S.I.I., Vol. I., 152 ; II., 343). The fifth successor of Máṇavamma, Aggabodhi VII. (A.D. 781–787), left Anuradhapura for Polonnaruwa, but the old capital was only abandoned finally in favour of the new by Sena I., whose accession is dated by Wijesinha in A.D. 846, but by the Nikáya Saṅgraha in A.B. 1362 (A.D. 819–20). In this reign Ceylon was invaded, and Anuradhapura sacked by the Páṇḍyans. In the ninth year, however, of his successor, Sena II., the incursion was avenged, the Sinhalese army taking Madura, a source of pardonable pride (Bilibewa inscr., E.Z., II., 38 ; Ellevewa inscr., A.S., 7th Report, 1891, p. 45). A period of prosperity now set in, and contemporary lithic records are not infrequent ; these, as will be seen later, are of some importance from the numismatic point of view.

Kassapa V., the author of the Dampiyá aṭuvá gęṭapadaya, a translation of the commentary on the Dhammapada, unsuccessfully supported the Páṇḍyans with an army against the Coḷa king, who in all probability was Parántaka I., the conqueror of Madura (inscr., 12th year, A.D. 918–9, A.R.E., 1906–7, paragraph 33 ; Udayendiram plates, 15th year, A.D. 921–2, S.I.I., II., 387). Under Udaya III. the Coḷas invaded Ceylon to secure the Páṇḍyan crown jewels, which had been entrusted to the Sinhalese king, but, though they drove their opponents to the South, were unsuccessful in their quest (inscr., 37th year, Parántaka I., A.D. 943–4, A.R.E., 1906–7, p. 73, paragraph 34) ; and Mahinda IV. repelled an incursion by Vallabha Rája, apparently the Ráshṭrakúṭa Kṛshṇa III. Tamil influence became predominant under Sena V., and it is noticeable that his brother, Mahinda V., came to the throne at Anuradhapura, and not at Polonnaruwa. In his twelfth year his Keraḷa mercenaries rebelled, and he fled to Rohana ; the great Coḷa conqueror, Rájarája I. (A.D. 985-1012), now saw his opportunity, and

invaded and established himself in Ceylon between A.D. 1001 and 1004 (inscr., 20th year, S.I.I., III., No. 52), but it was reserved to his successor, Rájendra Coḷa I. (A.D. 1012–1042), to complete the conquest in 1017 by the capture of Mahinda and his deportation to the Continent, where he died twelve years later in the forty-eighth year of his reign (inscr.; 6th year, Rájendra Coḷa, S.I.I., II., 92).

The North of Ceylon now became a Coḷa province, with its capital at Jananátha-pura or -maṅgalam, the new title of Polonnaruwa (A.S., 1906, p. 27; 1909, p. 27). The effectiveness of the conquest is witnessed to by the Śaiva temples at that city and by the inscriptions of Rájarája I., Rájendra Coḷa I., Rájendradeva, and Adhirájendra (A.S., 1891, p. 64, iv.; *ib.*, 1906, pp. 26, 38; *ib.*, 1890, No. 30; *ib.*, 1906, p. 26). The Sinhalese were reduced to anarchy, but vainly attempted to recover their independence (Marimangalam inscr., 29 Rájádhirája, A.D. 1046, S.I.I., III., 52), and further efforts in the same direction followed the accession of Vijaya Báhu I. (Manimangalam inscr., 4 Rájendra, A.D. 1055, S.I.I., III., 59; 7 Víra Rájendra, A.D. 1069, *ib.*, 84). This prince, taking advantage of the civil war in the Coḷa country, which ended about A.D. 1073 in the overthrow of his rivals by Kulottuṅga Coḷa I., recovered Polonnaruwa in his fifteenth year, expelled the Tamils, and re-established the Sinhalese dominion.

Parákrama Báhu I., perhaps the greatest of Sinhalese monarchs, came to the throne after civil war in A.D. 1153. After a war with Rámañña in his twelfth year (A.D. 1164–5, Devanagala inscr., Kegalla District Report, p. 73, *ff.*) this prince espoused the cause of Parákrama Páṇḍya, against his rival Kulaṣekhara, aided by the Coḷas; the Páṇḍya was killed, but the Sinhalese army entered South India and established his son Víra Páṇḍya on the throne, the edict at the same time issuing that "the *kahápaṇa* coin, bearing the superscription of King Parakkama, should be used throughout the country" (Mhv., LXXVII., 104). This expedition must have taken place between A.D. 1164–5 and 1167–8, the fifth year of the Coḷa king Rájádhirája II., as it is referred to in an inscription at Arppakkam (A.R.E., 1898–9, No. 20 of 1899). The Sinhalese probably were finally expelled or defeated in a fresh campaign shortly before or after the death of Parákrama Báhu, as Kulottuṅga Coḷa III. claims to have taken Madura, put Vikrama Páṇḍya, the rival of Víra Páṇḍya, and his son on the throne, and driven the Sinhalese army into the sea, in an inscription of his ninth year, no mention of this feat being made in one of his seventh (A.R.E., 1899–1900, paragraph 38; S.I.I., III., No. 86). Nissaṅka Malla, however, claims to have proceeded twice to the Páṇḍyan country, where he received presents from the kings of Páṇḍya and Coḷa, and to have set up a pillar of victory and built a temple styled Nissaṅkeṣvara at Ramesvaram (A.S., 1911–1912, inscriptions Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 101, 102). The Sinhalese sovereigns continued to reign at Polonnaruwa until driven southwards to Dambadeniya by Mágha, an invader from Kalinga, who ruled from their abandoned capital, under the name of Káliṅga Vijaya Báhu, from A.D. 1215 to 1236, when the enemy was expelled therefrom by Parákrama Báhu II. His sons, Vijaya Báhu IV. and Bhuvaneka Báhu I., reigned, the first at Polonnaruwa, and the latter at Dambadeniya and at Yapahu, a royal seat in the time of his father. Apparently after Bhuvaneka Báhu's death and before the accession of Vijaya Báhu's son, Parákrama Báhu III., Ceylon was invaded by the troops of the Páṇḍyan king Máṛavarman Kulaṣekhara Páṇḍya (A.D. 1268–1310), who succeeded in carrying off the Tooth Relic; the seat of Government was transferred in the next reign to Kurunegala, and thence in A.D. 1344 to Gampola, and later on again to Kotte, in the vicinity of Colombo, where it remained until the Portuguese period.

2. Sinhalese Sovereigns.

	Wijesinha.	Hultzsch. J.R A.S., 1913.	Nikáya Saṅgraha.
	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
Sena I.	846	—	819–20
Sena II.	866	—	[839
Udaya I.	901	—	874
Kassapa IV.	912	—	885
Kassapa V.	929	906	902
Dappula IV.	939	916	912
Dappula V.	940	917	913
Udaya II.	952	929	925
Sena III.	955	—	928
Udaya III.	964	941	937
Sena IV.	972	949	945
Mahinda IV.	975	—	948
Sena V.	991	—	964
Mahinda V.	1001	978	974
Deported	1037	1014	1010
Died	1049	1026	1022]

Mahinda's capture having occurred in 1017, Wijesinha's dates are throughout about twenty years too late. The figures given by Hultzsch are obtained by working back from the accession of Parákrama Báhu I.

	A.D.
Vijaya Báhu I.	c. 1055–1111
Jaya Báhu	c. 1109–c.1148
Vikrama Báhu	c. 1111–1132
Gaja Báhu II.	c. 1132–1153
Parákrama Báhu I.	1153–1186
Vijaya Báhu II.	1186–1187
Mahinda VI.	1187
Nissańka Malla	1187–1196
Víra Báhu I.	1196
Vikrama Báhu II.	c. 1196
Codagańga	c. 1196–1197
Líláratí	1197–1200
Sáhasa Malla	1200–1202
Kalyánavatí	1202–1208

	A.D.
Dharmmásoka	1208–1209
Anikańga	1209
Lílávatí (restored)	1209–1210
Lokesvara	1210–1211
Lílávatí (restored)	1211–1212
Parákrama Pándya	1212–1215
Mágha or Kálińga Vijaya Báhu (with Jaya Báhu, Mhv., LXXXII., 27)	1215–1236
Vijaya Báhu III.	1232–1236
Parákrama Báhu II.	1236–1271
Vijaya Báhu IV.	c. 1271–1273
Bhuvaneka Báhu I.	c. 1273–1284
Parákrama Báhu III.	c. 1284–1295

3. The earliest mention of coins by name in the mediæval period occurs in a Tamil inscription in the "Hindu Ruins" at Anuradhapura dated in the fifth year of Siri Sańga Bodhi, recording the gift of 30 *Íḻak-kásu*, "Ceylon *kásu*," for a lamp; the letters are archaic, dating at the earliest from the seventh and at the latest from the eighth century (A.S., 1911–12, p. 110, and letter of M. M. Ry Rao Sahib H. Krishna Sastri Avargal to the author). This coin is discussed in Chapter VI., section 17.

Aggabodhi V. (A.D. 726–732) is recorded to have made a gift of 26,000 *suvaṇṇas* (Mhv., XLVIII., 7), and "300,000" and 60,000 of *Jambonada suvaṇṇa*, *i.e.*, pure gold, were spent on various works by Mahinda II. (A.D. 787–807; *ib.*, 136, 137). Kassapa V., in his work already alluded to translates the Pali *hiraññа* by *kahavuṇu*, and *suvaṇṇa* by *rat-raṇa* or "red gold" (Appendix A., 28 (*a*) and (*b*)). This is the usual interpretation of the commentators. Thus, Aggabodhi's gift may refer to the *kaḷańdas* of uncoined gold, so often mentioned in the inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries. But it is not impossible that his *suvaṇṇa* may be a translation of the Sinhalese *huna*, found in a few inscriptions (*e.g.*, Appendix D., 33, 36), and so be roughly identical with Moggallána's *suvaṇṇa*. From the analogy of the later Tamil *poṉ* and Canarese *honnu*, it might be argued that the *huna* was a synonym of the *kahavaṇuva* coin, but the early mediæval *poṉ* seems to be a *kaḻañju* of gold, and not necessarily a coin, and the Sinhalese equivalent would be *ran*, discussed below in Chapter VI., section 23.

Though the use of *kahavuṇu* by Kassapa V. does not prove the contemporary currency of coins of this name, as the Pali equivalent occurs in the original of his work, yet gifts of *kahápaṇas* are recorded by the Mahávaṁsa as having been made by Sena III. not many years later. That payments by weight continued side by side with payments in money is proved by inscriptions in South India. Thus, to choose from many, a record at Tirukkovalur dated in the seventeenth year of the Pallava king Vijaya Nandivikaramavarman ((?) VIII.–IX. century, Ṣaka era, Ep. Ind., VII., p. 139) mentions the endowment of a perpetual lamp with 15 *kaḻañjus* of gold equal in fineness to the "old *kásu*"; and as late as the reign of Kulottuńga Coḷa III. (A.D. 1178–1217), an inscription of his twenty-fifth year at Karuvur records a payment of 3 *kaḻañjus* of gold. Taxes appear computed by weight; thus, in a Perumber inscription of the eleventh year of Kulottuńga Coḷa I. (A.D. 1070–1118) the tax on land amounted to 11¾ *kaḻañjus* 1$\frac{2}{10}$ *mañjáḍis* of gold, while in a Conjeeveram record of his fifth year a plot of land was purchased for 11 *kaḻañjus* of gold equal in fineness to the *Madurántakaṉ-mádai* (S.I.I., III., Pts. 1, 2); the name of the village tax, *úr-kaḻañju*, itself denotes payment by weight. The taxes due from goldsmiths, carpenters, and blacksmiths were so paid as late as 1614 in the kingdom of Kotte (Livro 3°. do Tombo, fol 33). In Ceylon uncoined gold may have been current as dust or in small ingots, possibly the *rarę ęńgili*, "golden fingers," which with "royal maidens and other tribute" Nissańka Malla claims to have received from the kings of Southern India (E.Z., II., Pt. 2; see also Chap. VI., section 26).[1]

4. The weight of the so-called "Lańkesvara" coin coincides with that of the *kaḷańda* as ascertained to have been employed from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, and the conclusion can hardly be avoided that the coin was a gold *kaḷańda* of 68–70 grains. This is practically the value of the modern Tanjore weight of ⅝ *tola* (Madras Manual of the Administration, Vol. III., *s.v.* Niray), and it is just possible that the weight of this

[1] In the account of the miraculous supply of materials for the construction of the Ruvanveli Dágoba given in Maháramsa, Chap. XXVIII., it is stated that "there appeared nuggets of gold of different sizes; the greatest measured a span, the least were of a finger's measure." According to the Ṭíká, the Aṭṭhakathá explains that the smallest nuggets were of the width of a finger or *ańguli*, which must be the *ańgula* or one-twelfth of a span. The term *viral poṉ*, "finger gold," exists in Tamil, but its meaning is not clear. Marsden, in his "History of Sumatra" (London, 1811, p. 171), writes: "In those parts of the country where traffic in this article (gold dust) is considerable, it is employed as currency instead of coin; every man carries small scales about him, and purchases are made with it so low as to the weight of a grain or two of *padi*." The author proceeds to state that various seeds were used as gold weights, but more specially the two known in Ceylon as the *olińda* and the *maḍeṭa*.

lighter *kaḷañda*, as opposed to the one of 80–90 grains based solely on the heavier *mañjáḍi*, was fixed by the currency in South India and Ceylon of the late Roman and Byzantine solidus, of which the latest specimen found in the Island dates from the reigns of Heraclius I. or Constans II., and of the early *dínár*.

According to a paper by Mr. H. H. E. Craster, on " Roman Gold Coins found at Corbridge " in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1912, Pt. III., p. 265 *ff.*, the coins of the find were of the following weights :—

Valentinian I.	..	69, 69·4, 68·8 grains.
Valens	..	68, 68·4 grains.
Gratian	..	69·4, 69, 68·4, 68·3, 69·4, 69·2, 68·4, 69·8, 69·6, 69·4, 68·7 grains.
Valentinian II.	..	68·6, 70 69·6, 69·4, 69, 68·7 grains.
Theodosius I.	..	70, 69·6, 69·4, 68·2 grains.
Magnus Maximus	..	68, 70·4, 69·6, 69·5, 69·2, 69, 68·8, 68·6, 68·5, 68, 67·7 grains.

" An edict issued by Constantine in 312, and renewed by Valentinian I. in 365, established the weight of the *aureus solidus* at 4·55 grammes (= 70·22 grains). With the exception of the Constantinople *aureus*, which weighs 82·2 grains, and an *aureus* of Maximus weighing 70·4 grains, all the coins in this hoard fall below the standard weight, and vary from 67·7 to 70·0 grains. This lightness of weight is not due to wear, since all the coins are fresh and in good condition, but is a general characteristic of the late Roman gold coinage " (*ib.*, p. 277).

The heaviest *kahavaṇuva*, which has evidently been in circulation but is in good condition, weighs 69·3 grains.[1]

5. In the Vinaya the *páda* or quarter is stated to have consisted of five *másakas* ; twenty, therefore, made a *kahápaṇa* (*v.*, Chap. II.). We have seen that in the twelfth century the *mañjáḍi* or *madeṭa* was considered to represent the *másaka* ; so the *kahápana* (Sin. *kahavanuva*) of 20 *másakas* must have been thought to be identical in weight with the *kaḷañda* of 20 *madeṭas* or 8 *akas*, which, indeed, are said to make a *kahavaṇuva* in the Abidanmaldana. This is confirmed by the Puráṇa Vinaya Sannaya of Dimbulágala Medhaṅkara and Saṅgharakkhita, pupils of Sáriputta Thero who flourished under Parákrama Báhu I., where the sentence of the Vinaya : Rájagahe pañca másako pádo hoti, " At Rájagaha five *másakas* were a *páda*," is turned into Sinhalese : Rajagahanuvara pas maṅdaṭek palek vé, " At the city of Rajagaha five *mañdaṭas* were a *pala*,"[2] and the value of a *pala* is given as two *akas*. Again, the Mulusika Geṭapada Vivaraṇaya explains the phrase in the Mulusika " goods worth a *pala* " by " goods of the amount, the taking of which involves expulsion from the Community, or any goods worth two *akas* of *masuran* ; here two *akas* of *masuran* equal one part if the now existing *kahavaṇuva* be divided into four parts each of two *akas*." The late use of the gold *kahavaṇuva* revealed in this passage is confirmed by the Mahávaṁsa, which states that Vijaya Báhu III. paid to the scribes employed in copying " as many gold *kahápaṇas* as there were divisions in the book of the law " (Chap. LXXXI., 45), and by a small find in the Matale District in 1915 of four gold *kahavaṇu* of types I. (A) and (B) with one copper coin of Dharmmáṣoka Deva.

The so-called " Laṅkeṣvara," therefore, was a *kahavaṇuva* as well as a *kaḷañda* of gold, and may, perhaps, have been struck first as a deliberate revival of the *kahápaṇa* of the Buddhist scriptures, supposed by the commentators of the fifth century and their successors to have been a coin of gold. The name was also applied to silver and copper coins. Buddhaghosa's statement that the *kahápaṇa* was " either of gold or of silver or the common one " is amplified in the Khuddásikkha Ṭíká : " ' *Kahápaṇa* ' is either of gold or of silver or the *kahápaṇa* now common " ; and the copper coins of Parákrama Báhu I. were also known by this name (Mhv. LXXXVII., 104).

6. We can now give the following table of the gold coins, with their denominations and weights :—

kahavaṇuva ..	About	68–70 grains
aḍa kahavaṇuva	„	34–35 grains
pala or *déka* ..	„	17–17·5 grains
aka ..	„	8·5–8·75 grains
(?) *massa* ..		3·4–3·5 grains

[1] In the Rájarája inscription No. 7 at the Rájarájeṣvara Temple at Tanjore, the *akkam* is said to be reckoned at one-twelfth of the *kásu* (S.I.I., II., Part 1). Two *kásu* went to the *máḍai*, which weighed one *kalañju* of gold (A.R.E., 1913, pp. 96, 97). The *akkam*, therefore, was one-twenty-fourth of the *kaḷañju*. It is a coincidence that the Roman siliqua was the same fraction of the sextula or solidus, and the Arab tassúj of the mithqál. See Chap. I., section 16. The Sinhalese *aka* also was the one-twenty-fourth of the *huna*, but this is due to the last-named weight consisting of three *kaḷañdas*, each of eight *akas*.

[2] *Cf.* Appendix D. 14, *paya*, *payaka* ; 37, *pé* ; 41, *pá* ; 42, *paya* ; and modern *péla*, the " quarter " of an *amuṇa*.

Coins without Name of Ruler.

7. The Ceylon type, in its completeness, is as follows :

Obv. : Standing figure, head to right, crowned, clothed in a *dhoti*, indicated by a curved line on either side of, and sometimes by one or more between the legs, and standing upon a lotus plant stalk with varying finials. The left arm is bent, and holds a flower or other object before the face; the right is extended with the hand over symbol 1, and the elbow over symbol 2, which, in the later coins, gradually crowds out the first symbol.

Symbol 1 (*a*) consists of a straight shaft with short cross pieces, ending in four prongs, which are narrow and curve upwards and downwards.

(*b*) Variation of the above ; the prongs are thick, and the head of the symbol is somewhat like the calices of two half-opened flowers, one being placed above the other.

In both varieties of this symbol the head points upwards.

Symbol 2 is similar to symbol 1 (*a*), but with plain shank and upside down.

To the right a varying number of annulets or balls. The whole in a bead circle.

Rev. : Similar figure, head right, crowned, squatting upon a bed-like throne or *ásana*, represented by an oblong frame divided lengthwise by a line and crosswise by a varying number of lines : *dhoti* represented by one or more lines between legs, the two ends at the waist appearing at either side of the body. The right arm is pendent over the right knee, which is drawn up; the left arm is bent, and holds an object as on the obverse. In field to right, legend. The whole in bead circle.

Symbol 2 is found on a Mathura coin of about the second century B.C. (I.M.C., I., p. 192), on those of the East Cálukya dynasty A.D. 615–633 (*ib.*, p. 312), and on the Potgul Vehera inscription of Parákrama Báhu I. (A. S., 1906). It also appears to the left of a figure standing, as in the Ceylon type, on a lotus stalk on a Pañcála coin (Rapson's "Indian Coins," Pl. III., 16).

These symbols apparently are intended for standing and hanging lamps, indicative of the religious liberality of the king. I am indebted to Dr. Henderson, late Superintendent of the Madras Museum, and to Mr. J. Allan, of the British Museum, for the interpretation of these symbols.

The fire-altar or sacrificial lamp appears on the Kushán and Gupta coins, and in the mediæval series on the fractional pieces of the gold *kahavaṇuva* and on the *Setu* copper coins, where it is elongated into a trident.

From the legend *Lakshmí* on the quarter pieces, and the presence of the lotus, the chank, and the *cakra* or discus, described below as an annulet, it perhaps may be surmised that the standing figure on our coins, with the exception of the quarters, was originally intended for Vishṇu, the guardian of Ceylon, or rather, as only two arms are portrayed, for his incarnation as Ráma.

In the following pages the *kahavaṇuva* and its fractions, unless otherwise stated, are of gold. The sub-types are determined by the symbol or emblem in the hand of the figure on either side, and in the case of the reverses of the fractional pieces by the symbol over the legend. For the reasons given below these coins, with the possible exception of the *massa* piece, are to be assigned to the tenth century, and some, perhaps, to the later years of the ninth.

Kahavaṇu.

8. The legend on the *kahavaṇu* is commonly read *Śrí Laṁkeṣvara* on the authority of Prinsep (Essays, Vol. I., p. 421) ; Thomas, however, disagreed with that scholar's reading, preferring *Laṁki Viha* or *Laṁki Veha*. The last *akshara* in no case resembles *ra*, and in the earlier and clearer specimens is either *bha* or *ha*. The tempting solution *Śrí Laṁká Siṁha*, " lion of Ceylon," has been suggested by Mr. Krishna Sastri, but it is difficult to find any form of *S* like the fourth *akshara*. It is now proposed to read the legend *Śrí Laṁká Vibhu*, " the fortunate lord of Ceylon." This is closer to Thomas' reading, and is supported by what seems to be a vowel mark under the last *akshara* in type I. A (1) below. *Vibhu* is a title of Vishṇu.

Types I. and II. are characterized by the elaborate formation of the *Śrí*, the fineness of the lettering, and the more sinuous lines of the body.

Type I.—The crown in some resembles the helmet of the "seated horseman" at Isurumuniya, Anuradhapura. The characteristic symbol is on the reverse only.

A (1) "Sun and moon."

Obv.: As type, but with considerable variations. Head, somewhat circular; nose, mouth and eye shown; crown, a semicircular line behind head with slight bifurcation at top, and a small horizontal line below; behind it a similar but shorter line ending in a dot; in rear a dot. Left arm bent in to breast; elbow outwards; nothing in hand. *Dhoti* has two lines between legs. Stalk consists of dots, ending l. in chank, r. in five-leaved flower, somewhat like symbol 1 (*b*) of type. To l. symbols 1 (*a*) and 2; to r. symbol 1 (*a*) tilted to l.; above this, a crescent, and below, four annulets with dot in centre of each. All in bead circle.

Rev.: As type. Crown, a curved line with dot attached to upper outer edge; behind, a short vertical line ending in dot at bottom; in rear a dot. In l. hand, a small crescent with dot above (sun and moon). *Dhoti,* two long lines between legs. *Ásana,* long with five cross lines.

Legend: in three lines:

• 1

1 2 3 4 5 2 3

Ṣrí Laṁká Vibhu 4 5

Anuṣvára under arm. All in bead circle.

H.W.C. Diameter: ·79 in. Weight: 67·5 gr. C.A., I., IV., Pl. XIV. (i.). **Pl. 45.**

Slightly worn, but in very good preservation. The legend is the most perfect known, the last vowel being clear.

(2) Wider flan. As (1), but legend not so bold, and the crown varies:—

(*a*) Obv.: A curved line, with short horizontal line below; behind, two dots connected by an oblong; in rear a dot.

Rev.: A curved line, with dot behind upper half, and short horizontal line below; behind, a line ending at top in dot; in rear a dot.

1

Legend as (1), but last vowel mark reversed: 2

3

4 5

Nikula find; fine specimen. Diameter: ·86 in. Weight: 69·3 gr. **Pl. 46.**

(*b*) Obv.: A curved line, with short horizontal line below; behind, two dots connected by a curved line; in rear a dot.

Rev.: As obv., but the curved connecting line is shorter.

1

Legend: last vowel mark absent: 2

3

4 5

Nikula find. Diameter: ·87 in. Weight: 68·1 gr. C.A., Pl. XIV., 2.

(*c*) Obv.: As rev. of (1).

Rev.: As obv. of (*b*).

1

Legend: last vowel mark doubtful, as slightly worn: 2

3

4 5

Nikula find. Diameter: ·86 in. Weight: 67·9 gr.

B (1) "Vase." As A (1).

Obv.: Crown, semicircular line from top to back of head, with short horizontal line beneath; in rear a small vertical line, behind which a dot. Lotus stalk terminates on either side in chank. To r. four annulets, each with dot in centre.

Rev.: Crown, almost as on obv. *Ásana,* long with four cross lines. In l. hand vase above which a chank.

1

2

Legend: 3 *Anuṣvára* under arm.

4

5

Colombo Museum, 56. Diameter: ·81 in. Weight: 68·2 gr. **Pl. 47.**

(2) As last. Obv.: Crown, as obv. of A (2) (*b*). Stalk ends in five-leaved flower at either end.

Rev.: Crown, similar to obv. In l. hand a vase, from which springs a plant composed of a straight line and four branches or leaves.

Legend:
1
2 3
4 5
Anusvára under arm; third and fifth *akshara* have no vowel mark.

Nikula find. H.W.C. Diameter: ·88 in. Weight: 68·9 gr. C.A., Pl. XIV., 3.

(3) As last. Obv.: Crown, a semicircular line, with dot attached as on rev. of A (1); below, a minute horizontal line with dot to l.; behind, a short vertical line with dot in rear.

Rev.: Crown as in A (1). Crescent overhead. In l. hand vase, from which springs a plant composed of a straight line with four leaves and a dot on top. *Ásana*, long, with four cross lines.

Legend:
1
2 3
4 5
Ánuṣvára under arm.

H.W.C. Diameter: ·88 in. Weight: 67·6 gr. Silver admixture showing.

). Type II.—All as in type.

(1) "Lotus and *aḍahaňda*."

Obv.: Head as on I. B (1), but more oblong. Crown, a semicircular line, below which a short curved line (perhaps representing earring); behind, a triangle of dots conjoined. *Dhoti*, two lines. In l. hand full-blown lotus represented by a circle of dots with dot in centre. Lotus stalk, l. chank; r. variant of that on I. A (1). To l. symbols 1 (*a*) and 2; to r., four annulets, each with dot in centre.

Rev.: Crown as on obv. In l. hand two semicircles one within the other, *i.e.*, the design used as a cattle brand and called *aḍahaňda* (half moon). Long *ásana*, four cross lines.

Legend:
1
2
3
4 5
Ánuṣvára under arm.

Rhys Davids, 3. Brit. Mus., 6. Diameter: ·68 in. Weight: 68·5 gr.

(2) "*Aḍahaňda* and lotus."

Obv.: As last. Crown, curved line behind head, with small horizontal line below, and triangle of linked dots behind. In l. hand *aḍahaňda*; to r. four annulets, each with dot inside. *Dhoti*, two lines. Lotus stalk ending at either end in a chank.

Rev.: As last. Crown, as on obv. without horizontal line. In r. hand full-blown lotus. *Ásana* fairly long, five cross lines.

Legend:
1
2 3
4 5
Third *akshara* leaning on its side to left.

Colo. Mus., 61. Diameter: ·80 in. Weight: 67·2 gr. Pl. 48.

Variant.—Crown, without small horizontal line. Dot under right arm. To r. three annulets. Lotus stalk ends in *aḍahaňda* at either end.

Rev.: As (2), but legend:
1
2
3
4 5

Diameter: ·74 in. Weight: 65·9 gr. Pale gold.

(3) "Double *aḍahaňda*." As in I. B (1).

Obv.: Oblong head; crown, a somewhat curved line behind head, three dots in triangle in rear. In l. hand *aḍahaňda*. Above *dhoti* to l. a dot; two lines between legs. Lotus stalk, l. full-blown lotus, r. chank with group of three linked dots at outer end. Symbol 1 (*a*) slightly thicker; to r. three annulets, each with dot in centre.

Rev.: *Dhoti*, two lines. In l. hand *adahañda*. *Ásana* short, three cross lines.

1
Legend: 2 3 *Anuṣvára* under arm.
5
4

Colo. Mus., 58. Diameter: ·76 in. Weight: 66·9 gr. **Pl. 49.**

Variant.—Obv.: Legs, less bent; one of middle lines of *dhoti* longer than legs. Chank ends as usual with two lines in lieu of three dots.

Rev.: *Ásana* fairly long.

Colo. Mus., 57. Diameter: ·77 in. Weight: 67·4 gr.

(4) " Jessamine bud and lotus." As (3), but rougher.

Obv.: In l. hand jessamine bud, narrow and oblong. Symbol 1 (*b*). Lotus stalk ends in two full-blown lotus flowers. Three annulets as above.

Rev.: In l. hand full-blown lotus; *ásana* long, three cross lines.

1
Legend: 3 *Anuṣvára* under arm.
2
5
4

H.W.C. Diameter: ·74 in. Weight: 67·5 gr. C.A., Pl. XIV., 4. **Pl. 50.**

Variant.—Short *ásana*, two cross lines.

1
Legend: 2
3
4 5

Colo. Mus., 62. Diameter: ·76 in. Weight: 67·3 gr. Pale gold.

10. Type III., characterized by the *Śrí*, which somewhat resembles that on the issues of the Coḷa king Rájarája; other letters of legend usually in their proper places, those on the right being slightly higher than those on the left; the letters are thicker than in Types I. and II. The human figure also is coarser.

Type III. A. " Ball and annulet."

Obv.: Crown, line behind head, in rear three dots linked in triangle. In l. hand a ball; symbol 1, a long object, with three short lines across it at base and divided into two prongs at upper end, practically as in II. (4); symbol 2, very short. *Dhoti*, two lines. Four annulets and one ball above. This ball probably is meant for the sun, as its place is taken by a crescent in other coins, *e.g.*, No. 2 in Chap. VII., section 4.

Rev.: Crown, as obv. In l. hand annulet, without dot in centre, possibly the discus of Vishṇu. *Dhoti*, two lines. Small *ásana*, two cross lines.

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
Colo. Mus., 60	·84 ..	67·6 ..	Worn.
Colo. Mus., 59.	·78 ..	67·3 ..	—
Colo. Mus., 78–03	·76 ..	67·3 ..	Yellow gold. **Pl. 51.**
P.E.P.	·76 ..	65·2 ..	—
H.W.C.	·80 ..	66·4 ..	Pale gold. **Pl. 52.**

From the treatment of the crown and head and of the *Śrí* and vowel marks, these coins would appear to be older than the following *kahavaṇu*. They are of two sizes.

A copper coin of this type, once gilt, weighs 54·9 grains. A cast plated coin of the same kind, much worn and weighing 46 grains, is in Mr. Bell's collection. C.A., Pl. XIV., 5.

Type III. B. " Jessamine flower and chank."

Obv.: Crown, thick straight line with triangle in rear. In l. hand open jessamine flower (*picca mala*) viewed from side. *Dhoti*, one line, longer than legs. Lotus stalk, with small circle in centre, ending l. in chank, r. in flower as in hand. Symbols as in II. (4). To r. four annulets and ball above.

Rev.: Crown as obv. *Dhoti*, bent line, with small line in angle. In l. hand chank; *ásana* short, two cross lines. Pl. 53.

In legend *anusvára* over *La*.

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
R.D., 4 (Brit. Mus.)	·80	65·2	—
P.E.P.	·76	66·6	—
Madras Museum, 1 and 2	—	—	—
Madras Museum, 3; copper gilt	—	37·3	—
Dr. Henderson; copper gilt	·76	63·2	—
Colo. Mus., 63	·84	65·8	Slightly broken; yellow gold.
Schulman's Catalogue, March. 1914, No. 336	·78	66·3	—
H.C.P.B.	·84	66·7	C. A., Pl. XIV., 6.
H.W.C.	·82	66·1	—

A silver coin of this type is in the writer's cabinet. It is in good condition, but is cut down, and weighs 25·4 grains; it is of doubtful authenticity.

Type III. C. "Jessamine flower and chank." As III. B, but distinctly coarser; of two varieties:—

(1) The figure almost exactly resembles that of the "Ceylon type" coins of the Coḷa kings Rájarája and Rájadhirája (*v.*, Chap. VII., Coḷa). Body, thick; and on obv., legs nearly straight; *dhoti*, one line. Rev. *Dhoti*, two lines; *ásana*, short, two cross lines. Pl. 54.

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
Colo. Mus., 64	·87	66·7	—
H.W.C.	·82	68·1	—
H.C.P.B.	·84	66·2	Pierced. C.A., Pl. XIV., 7.
(2) Very coarse.			
R.D., 1	·80	67	—
R.D., 2	·74	—	—

The gold *kahavanu*, once fairly common in Madura District, South India, appear to be all of type III. B.

Fractional Pieces.

11. The coins in the following series are clearly fractions of the standard *kahavaṇuva*. Elliot figures the *aka* (ii.) among the Coḷa issues, but, in view of its being found also in Ceylon, was undecided as to its origin. Light has now been thrown on this by the discovery of the gold *Śrí Laṁká* piece, obviously the half of the standard, which, from its legend, must belong to Ceylon. The fire-altar or sacrificial lamp, which is absent from the *kahavaṇu*, appears on this and on the other subdivisions. The standing figure on the obverse, the *Lakshmí* excepted, closely resembles that on the *kahavaṇuva*; the legends are in the same script and of the same two types. The varieties of the fractional pieces can be assigned, with some show of probability, to the several issues of the standard coin by the differing symbols, and the results so obtained are confirmed in many cases by the identity of the design, *e.g.*, of the crown.

Type.	*Kahavaṇu.*	*Aḍa Kahavaṇuva.*	*Pala.*	*Aka* (i.).	*Aka* (ii.)
Sun and Moon	I. A	—	—	—	—
Vase	I. B	I.	I.	I.	—
Lotus and *Aḍahaňda*	II. (1)	—	II. (1)	II. (1)	—
Aḍahaňda and Lotus	II. (2)	—	II. (2)	II. (2)	—
Double Lotus	—	—	II. (3)	—	—
Double *Aḍahaňda*	II. (3)	—	II. (4)	II. (3)	—
Ball and Annulet	III. A	—	III. A	—	III. (1)
Jessamine Flower and Chank	III. B	—	III. B	—	III. (2)
Jessamine Flower and Chank	III. C	—	—	—	—

Aḍa Kahavaṇuva.

12. Obv.: Standing figure, r. A semicircular line from top to back of head, ending at the bottom in a thickened line. Right arm pendent; left, bent, with forearm at right angles to body, holding a vase, over which a chank, *cf.* reverse of *kahavaṇuva* I. B (1). Legs bent, r.; *dhoti*, flowing at either side but no line between legs. To l. standing lamp outside arm; to r. a squat fire-altar. All in bead circle.

Rev.: In similar circle legend: *Śrí Laṁká.*

Beneath to l. a quatrefoil; to r. a smaller *ka.*

Colo. Mus., 128. Diameter: ·70 in. Weight: 33 gr. **Pl. 55.**

The meaning of the *ka* is not clear. In the pagination of the palm-leaf manuscripts, as well as in the *Kaṭapayádi* system of notation, it stands for "one." The half *kahavaṇuva*, perhaps, may have been the theoretical unit of the Sinhalese coinage, just as the *kásu* or half *máḍai* was of the Coḷa.

DẸKA OR PALA; "LAKSHMÍ."

13. Type I. "Vase."

Obv.: Standing figure (? of Lakshmí) r.; crown, a curved line behind head, turning to l. at bottom. Right arm pendent; left arm bent and holding vase, from which springs a plant composed of a straight line with four branches or leaves. Left leg crossed behind right. To l., standing lamp; to r. fire-altar as in last. All in bead circle.

Rev.: In bead circle legend under crescent to l.; two dots under first letter, which is smaller than the compound one.

Legend: *Lakshmí.* The *k* and *sh* are run together. The latter is represented by a circle; the left arm of the former appears as a short projection from the circle on the right (for its correct position see II. (2)), while the long right arm seems to survive in the second vertical from the right side of the compound letter. The left hand vertical of the *m* is straight, and descends from a point slightly to the right of the centre of the circle. The vowel mark springs from the top of *ksh* and curves upwards, and then descends to the right of the compound letter.

Diameter: ·57 in. Ringed. Unique.

Type II. (1). "Lotus and *aḍahaňda.*"

(*a*) Obv.: Standing figure as last; crown, a curved line behind head, turning to l. at bottom, with small circle, perhaps representing earring, beneath; body thin; in l. hand a full-blown lotus. To l. standing lamp as on half *kahavaṇuva*; to r. fire-altar. All in bead circle.

Rev.: In bead circle same legend under *aḍahaňda* to l.; two dots under first letter, which is smaller than the following.

The legend is as on I., but the vertical line below the head of *ksh* is carried downwards, then up to the left in a circle, and, after crossing the vertical, again downwards to the right. The left hand vertical of the *m* is continued below the right side of the circle and is curved. Vowel as in I.

H.C.P.B. Diameter: ·55 in. Weight: 16·4 gr. C.A., Pl. XIV., 10. **Pl. 56.**

(*b*) Almost identical with last. Symbol to l. resembles symbol I. (*a*) on *kahavaṇuva* III. A, but is shorter; to r. fire-altar, taller than in last. Legend as I.

R.D., 10 (Brit. Mus.). Diameter: ·49 in. Weight: 16·5 gr.

(*c*) As II. (2), but on obv. lotus and on rev. *aḍahaňda.* H.C.P.B.

(2) "*Aḍahaňda* and lotus."

Obv.: Head, less perfect. Crown varies considerably: (i.) A curved line turning outwards at bottom and ending in a dot; (ii.) as (i.), but with a horizontal line, also ending in a dot crossing and projecting to the l. from the curved line; (iii.) a vertical line turned inwards at either end towards head; behind, in centre a dot. In l. hand *aḍahaňda.* Symbols: to l. variety of II. (*a*), resembling a barbed arrowhead; to r. altar.

Rev.: Legend under full-blown lotus to l. Arm of *k* to l.; vowel mark not curved over to r. of compound letter, but twisted upwards in a flourish. Two dots above and below first letter Finely executed. Lowsley, Pl. VIII, 4. **Pl. 57.**

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
Colo. Mus., 132	·53 ..	14·7 ..	—
Colo. Mus., 133	·51 ..	14 ..	—
H.W.C.	·53 ..	15·8 ..	—
H.C.P.B.	·55 ..	15·8 ..	C.A., Pl. XIV., 11.

There exist two specimens of silver or very base gold.

Variant.—As (2), but no dots above first letter; rougher.

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
H.W.C.	·55	15·7	—

(3) "Double lotus."

Obv.: Crown, curved line, with three linked dots in triangle in rear. Symbol to l. as in (2). Full-blown lotus in hand.

Rev.: As variant of (2): flourish not so much turned up at end. Madras Museum, 15·1. **Pl. 58.**

(4) "Double *adahañda*."

Obv.: Crown as (3); in hand *adahañda*. To l. symbol indistinct, but long.

Rev.: Legend under *adahañda* as in (2); no arm to *k*; lower line of *m* not joined to vertical line on r.; two dots under first letter.

Colo. Mus., 129. Diameter: ·53 in. Weight: 16 gr. **Pl. 59.**

14. Type III. A. "Ball and annulet." (1) Obv.: Head as on II. (2); crown, line behind head and in rear three linked dots in triangle. In l. hand ball. Symbols: to l. as in *kahavaṇuva* I. A (1), but canting to r.; to r. fire-altar.

Rev.: Legend under annulet to l.: *Lakmí.*
Vowel mark as in II. (1) (*b*).

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
Colo. Mus., 131	·51	15·5	—
Madras Museum, 15	—	—	**Pl. 60.**

(2) Rougher; crown, two lines and dot in rear, *cf.* Aka (ii).

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
Colo. Mus., 130	·51	16·8	—
R.D., 9	·51	17 nearly.	

(3) As (2), but no symbol to l. On rev. vowel mark cuts outer bead circle. H.W.C. (ringed). C.A., Pl. XIV., 12. **Pl. 61.**

15. Type III. B. "Jessamine flower and chank."

Obv.: Crown, two parallel lines, with dot in rear; in l. hand jessamine flower as on *kahavaṇuva*; apparently no symbol to l.

Rev.: Legend as III. A, under chank in centre; vowel as on II. (1), but separated from letter; no dots. **Pl. 62.**

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
H.C.P.B.	·57	16·4	Pale gold. C.A., Pl. XIV., 13
H.W.C.	·55	16·2	—

Of the *Lakshmí* coins, II. (2) is the commonest. A thick silver piece with the legend as on II. (1) (*a*) under the *adahañda* on either side is said to have been dug up at Tissamaharama; it is apparently cast.

Aka.

(i.) (?) *NANDAKÍ.*

16. The legend was read as *Taṁrakí* by Professor Rhys Davids from the only specimen then before him (R.D. No. 12); the first letter, however, is clearly *Na*, while the middle one, though formed like *ra*, has an additional stroke to the left towards the top. The dot, taken for the *anusvára*, is sometimes doubled and sometimes absent. The later form of the legend in series (ii.) has been read as *Ḍaraka* or *Iraka*. But the initial *I* of the period bears no resemblance to the letter on the coin, which, undoubtedly, is an initial *U*; this becomes assimilated to the cerebral *D*. Neither legend, as hitherto read, gives any sense. The die cutters probably had little or no knowledge of the Nágarí alphabet, as is shown by the blundered rendering of the name Lakshmí and of the last letter of the legend on Nissañka Malla's issues. It is also almost certain that the legends on both series come from one

original, which has been corrupted by unintelligent copying. If this be the case, the initial *U* or *D* on series (ii.) is merely a modification of the *Na* on series (i.). On this analogy it is now suggested that the middle letter on the coins of the earlier series is a corruption of *nda*, the legend originally reading *Nandaki*, a title given to Kṛshna-Vishṇu from his possession of the sword Nandaka.

17. Type I. " Vase."

Obv.: Standing figure, as on half *kahavaṇuva*; crown, a curved line from top of head to bottom, curved upwards to left at lower end. In left hand a vase, from which issues a plant composed of a straight line bifurcated at the top and two leaves. Symbol to l., a lamp shown as a vertical line with a short cross piece for the foot, another cross piece three-quarters of the way up and a smaller line between this and the foot; to r. squat fire-altar. All in bead circle.

Rev.: In bead circle under *aḍahaňda*, legend: *Nandaka*, with dot above and between the first and second letters; the *N* is normal, somewhat resembling the mediæval Tamil *t*; the *k* has a slight projection from the lower part of the left limb and no vowel mark.

The gold is good. H.C.P.B. Diameter: ·45 in. Weight: 8·2 gr. C.A., Pl. XIV., No. 15 **Pl. 63.**

Type II. (1) " Lotus and *aḍahaňda*."

Obv.: Standing figure, as last; crown, a curved line from top to bottom of head with dot attached just above lower end. In l. hand a full-blown lotus. Symbol to l. as on *Lakshmí* II. (1) (*b*); to r. fire-altar. All in bead circle.

Rev.: In bead circle under *aḍahaňda*, legend: *Nandakí*, with dot over first letter. Lowsley, Pl. VIII., 2.

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
Æ.D. 12 (Brit. Mus.) ..	·41 ..	7·8 ..	Pale gold.
British Museum	— ..	7·6 ..	Good gold.

(2) " *Aḍahaňda* and lotus."

Obv.: Head and crown as on *Lakshmí* II. (2), variety (ii.) of the crown being the commonest; the junction of the curved line and of the projection is marked by a dot. In l. hand *aḍahaňda*. Symbol to l. as on *Lakshmí* II. (2); to r. fire-altar.

Rev.: In bead circle under full-blown lotus, legend as last. Two dots over first letter. This is a circle with a head, the right hand limb of the normal letter being a tail projecting from the right or right lower side of the circle. Lowsley, Pl. VIII., 3. **Pl. 64.**

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.		
Colo. Mus., 133*a*	·43 ..	8·2 ..	Crown, (ii.)	
Colo. Mus., 133*b*	·41 ..	8·9 ..	(ii.)	
Colo. Mus.	·45 ..	— ..	(i.)	
H.C.P.B.	·46 ..	7·4 ..	(ii.)	
H C.P.B.	·43 ..	7·5 ..	(ii.)	Worn.
P.E.P.	·39 ..	7·6 ..	(i.)	
.. ..	·43 ..	7·2 ..	(iii.)	Pale gold.

This type is the commonest. In addition to variations in the form of the crown, there are also variations of thick and thin lettering.

(3) " Double *aḍahaňda*."

Obv.: As crown (ii.). Rev.: Above legend a semicircle enclosing a circle of dots (moon and sun). Fine lettering; head of *N* is concave, and there is no dot over it. Pale gold. **Pl. 65.**

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
H.C.P.B.	·45 ..	7·7 ..	C.A., Pl. XIV., 17.
P.E.P.	·43 ..	6·2 ..	Broken.

(ii) *URAKA.*

18. For legend see *Aka* (i.).

Type III. (1) " Ball and annulet."

Obv.: Head, imperfect; crown, as on *kahavaṇuva* III. A. In l. hand ball. Symbols: l. as *Lakshmi* III. A (1); r. tall fire-altar. All in bead circle.

Rev.: Under annulet between two dots legend: *Uraka.* To r. over arm of last *akshara* a dot; the heads of the first and last letter are concave. All in bead circle. Lowsley, Pl. VIII., 5. **Pl. 66.**

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
Colo. Mus., 136	·41	8·2	—
Colo. Mus., 137	·43	8·1	—
Colo. Mus., 138	·41	8·2	—
Madras Mus., 18	—	—	—
H.C.P.B.	·39	6·3	C. A., Pl. XIV., 18.

The Colombo Museum No. 140 is of silver, once gilt; its diameter is ·39 inch, and weight 4·6 grains.

(2) " Jessamine flower and chank."

Obv.: Crown, two parallel lines with dot in rear. In l. hand jessamine flower as on *kahavaṇuva* III. B and C. No symbol to l.; to r. fire-altar. In one specimen the foot of the altar is a small ring. All in bead circle.

Rev. In bead circle, chank over legend, which reads: (i.) *Uraka,* (ii.) *Ḍaraka.*

		Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
(i.)	Madras Museum, 17	—	—	**Pl. 67.**
	H.W.C.	·41	7·4	—
(ii.)	Colo. Mus., 134	·43	8·7	**Pl. 68.**
	Colo. Mus., 135	·39	8·1	—
	Elliot, Pl. IV., 157	—	8·2	—
	R.D., 13	·41	8·0	—
	H.W.C.	·42	7·4	Broken.
	H W C	·45	7·8	—
	Madras Museum, 16	—	—	—
	H.C.P.B.	·43	6·2	—

The British Museum possesses a coin with legend (i.), but in silver; it weighs 5 grains.

Variant (i.).—Chank reversed, point to the left. H.C.P.B. Weight: 8·1 gr. C.A., Pl. XIV., 19. **Pl. 69 A.**

Variant (ii.).—Chank and legend reversed.

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
Colo. Mus., 139.	·43	6·8	—
H.C.P.B.	—	8·6	Base gold. **Pl. 69 B.**

Variant (iii.).—Chank normal, legend reversed. Diameter: ·39 in. Weight: 7·6 gr.

The coins of type III. (2) are not uncommon, and probably were current for several centuries.

(?) MASSA.

19. This minute coin of base gold is of the highest rarity, only two or three specimens being known; it is clearly connected by its obverse with the Ceylon series and is therefore inserted here.

Type.—" Jessamine flower and chank."

Obv.: Standing figure, jessamine flower in hand, and fire-altar at side as in Uraka (2); all in bead circle.

Rev.: In bead circle under chank legend, consisting of four *aksharas* in two lines. **Pl. 70.**

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
Madras Mus., 9·1	·25	3·4	—
H.C.P.B.	·28	2·8	C. A., Pl. XIV., 20.

The gold in both is pale, and probably contains a large admixture of silver. The weight is that of a *másaka.*

The legend is read as *Srí Vijaya Báhu* in the Madras Museum Catalogue of Ceylon Coins, 1894, but in neither specimen is there a trace of letters in the upper part of the reverse, which is occupied by the chank, nor is there room for such. The first two *aksharas* read *Jatya* or *Janya* and the last *ta* ; the third is doubtful. The legend might conceivably be a blundered attempt foi *Jaya Báhu*, but the absence of the *Srí* renders this unlikely.

All the known specimens were found in India ; this, however, does not necessarily disprove their Ceylon origin, as the only known " eighth " of Dharmmásoka's copper issue was also found there (Ind. Ant., 1895, p. 332). But they may well be South Indian coins ; the long heads of the letters are not unlike those on the *Uttama Colah* pieces of Rájendra Cola I. (C.S.I., Pl. IV., 154).

CHAPTER VI.

MEDIÆVAL CEYLON (*contd.*).

Vijaya Báhu I.

It is likely that no coins were struck by the Sinhalese during the Tamil occupation of the capital and of the northern provinces of the Island, and the consequent anarchy among the native princes.[1] The first king to whom any coin with the sovereign's name thereon can be assigned is Vijaya Báhu I. (A.D. 1055–1111), in whose fifteenth year Polonnaruwa was recovered. The common copper coins bearing the legend *Srí Vijaya Báhu* have been attributed to Vijaya Báhu II., who reigned for one year (A.D. 1186–1187), by Professor Rhys Davids. and to Vijaya Báhu III. (A.D. 1232–1236) or Vijaya Báhu IV. (A.D. 1271–1273) by Mr. Still (J.R.A.S., C.B., XVIII., No. 56, 1905). As regards the gold and silver coins bearing this name—

(*a*) The letters of the legend are unlike those on the issues of Parákrama Báhu I. and his successors, while they more closely resemble those on the coins of Rájarája, being large and rather irregular.

(*b*) The design is midway between the pieces of the Cola kings Rájarája and Rájádhirája, with which No. 98 of the Colombo Museum excavated at Arulagam Vila by the Archæological Survey has much in common, and the issues of Parákrama Báhu I., to which No. 102 in the same collection bears more resemblance. The treatment of the *dhoti* in type III. is the same as in the copper Polonnaruwa series.

(*c*) Though fairly good gold is occasionally found, the metal is usually either silver or gold so debased as to be almost indistinguishable from silver, as in the case of the coins of Rájádhirája, whose reign ended two years before Vijaya Báhu's accession.

Of these coins, there are three types with many intermediate variations :—

I. As type (1) of Rájarája, but somewhat coarser. Legend in four lines : *Srí Vija ya Bá hu.*

The *Srí* resembles the same letter on the Rájarája coin ; the *Vi* as in variation (*b*) in types II. and III. given below ; the *ya* is defective at the bottom.

Colo. Mus., 98. Diameter : ·89 in. Weight : 63·8 gr. *Cf.*, C.A., Pl. XIV., 9. Pl. 71.

II. As the last, but the head is as on the coins of Parákrama Báhu. The crown on Colombo Museum 102 resembles that on the gold *kahavanuva* III. A. Pl. 72.

	Diameter. In.	Weight Gr.	
Colo. Mus., 97	·84	67·4	Once ringed.
Colo. Mus., 99	·89	63·8	—
Colo. Mus., 101	·85	65·8	—
Colo. Mus., 102	·86	60·7	—

III. As II., but on the obverse no symbol to the extreme left, or at best, a mere trace thereof. The ends of the *dhoti* at either side are shown by a dot under each arm and no longer in one piece. The lotus plant under the feet is usually almost invisible, except the finials, and has no central ring.

Colo. Mus., 100. Diameter . ·88 in. Weight : 64·6 gr. Pl 73.

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[1] A Polonnaruwa Tamil inscription of the reign of Adhirájendra, *c.* A.D. 1070, relates to the gift of 5 *kásu*, doubtless the usual Cola coin of the name. Another record in the same city of the thirty-eighth year of Jaya Báhu and the fifteenth of Gaja Báhu, A.D. 1146–7, mentions the sum of 102 *kásu*, which may be either Cola or Sinhalese money (A.S., 1906, p 26 ; 1909, pp. 26, 27).

The chief variations in the legend in types II. and III. are :—

(1) *Vi:* The vowel is indicated by—

(*a*) The normal mark ;
(*b*) As (*a*), but with a wavy line :
(*c*) A continuation of the horizontal head of the *V* curved downwards ;
(*d*) The mark usual in *Ve*.

(2) *ya :*

(*a*) The normal form ;
(*b*) As (*a*), but with no continuation of the right hand vertical line below the lower horizontal;
(*c*) As (*a*), but with the lower horizontal line crossing the right hand vertical ;
(*d*) As (*a*), with a small horizontal projection on the outside of the right hand vertical line, just above its junction with the lower horizontal ;
(*e*) Various degrees of incompleteness in the lower horizontal line, presumably through defects in the die.

(3) *hu* : Part of this letter is cut off by the bead circle ; it is either—

(*a*) In the normal upright position ; or
(*b*) On its side.

The *Śrí* resembles that on the coins of Parákrama Báhu.

The average diameter of all is ·87 inch., and the weight 64·5 grains on an average of eight, or if one of 60·7 grains be excluded, 65·1. Parker gives 64·1 grains on an average of ten (Ancient Ceylon, p. 489). The coins are deeply struck ; the *ásana* varies in size.

2. The only copper pieces of the same character as the above are the one found in the Topavewa Tank dágoba (A.S., 1909, p. 30, No. 3) and No. 103 in the Colombo Museum (Pl. 74). The former is very worn and corroded, weighing only 27·3 grains, and was once gilt ; the *ja* is formed like the English J, with an arm curving downwards projecting from the centre to the right, and the *Bá* reads as *rá*. The legend is complete. The second coin is of type II., but the head is rounder, and on the reverse the left hand holds a ball. It also was once gilt ; its diameter is ·89 inch and weight 49·9 grains. Another in the British Museum, once silvered, weighs 57·7 grains. All these, probably ancient forgeries, differ very materially from the usual copper *Śrí Vijaya Báhu* coins, which have little in common with the gold and silver pieces described above, and must be assigned to a latter period.

Sinhalese of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.

3. The coins of the Sinhalese rulers of this period are traditionally known to the people as *Dam̃badeni kási*, " Dambadeniya money," a designation correctly indicating the dynasty by which they were last struck. According to Casie Chetty, they were styled by the Tamils *peykásu*, " demon money " ; *peypperumán kásu*, " demon king's money " ; or *Irávaṇaṉ kásu*, " Rávana's money " (J.R.A.S., C.B., Vol. I., No. 1, 1845, p. 80). With the exception of the " Lion " coin of Parákrama Báhu and the rare eighths, this coinage is of one type, closely following that of the later gold pieces of Vijaya Báhu I. The human figure, however, is even less well executed.

On the obverse the normal head consists of an irregular oblong, the right side being a vertical line, from which project three horizontal strokes representing the nose, mouth, and chin ; the bottom is also horizontal. while the back and top are formed by a curved line bulging outwards at the crown of the skull. The forearm is bent sharply down, the elbow being shown as an acute angle ; the hand grasps the hanging lamp. The *dhoti* is shown as on type III. of Vijaya Báhu I., the line between the legs being very fine and often obliterated ; it seems to have been the central guiding line of the die engraver, as it is sometimes continued across the head. The lotus plant, with the exception of the finials, is a fine line, and is often absent. To the right are five balls, while to the left on some coins is a faint trace of the outermost symbol.

On the reverse the head and crown are as on the obverse, with the exception of one coin of Parákrama Báhu, which has a tuft in place of the *makuṭa*. In the hand is a chank shell. The left leg is perpendicular, and nearly in a line with the body. The legend is more regular than the Coḷa, from which the script differs slightly. The *ásana* usually is represented by a straight line, from which four or five short lines project, or it is crossed by that number of lines ; but it is often faint or omitted.

The head, when not normal, is of three types :—

(*a*) (1) As normal, but without the eye ;

(2) As (*a*) (1), but the middle horizontal stroke curves upwards towards the right.

(*b*) Central horizontal stroke crosses the vertical—

(1) Without the eye ;

(2) As (1), but with the eye and a small tongue-like projection ;

(3) As (2), but without the eye ;

(4) As (1), but the central horizontal stroke ends to the left in an upward curve, as if it had run into the eye.

(*c*) Vertical line absent—

(i.) (1) Central horizontal stroke ends to the left in a dot ;

(2) As (1), but left end of stroke curves upwards :

(3) As (1), but without the dot ;

(4) As (3), but central horizontal stroke curves upwards on the right ;

(5) As (3), but with tongue-like projection as on (*b*) (3).

(ii.) Central horizontal line extends to the back of the head.

The variations in the legends, of which only the principal are noted, are based on Mr. Still's "Notes on the Variations of the Copper Massas of Six Sinhalese Rulers" (J.R.A.S., C.B., XVIII., No. 56, 1905), to which paper I am otherwise indebted.

4. Professor Rhys Davids assigns the copper coins of Parákrama Báhu to the first king, and those of Vijaya Báhu to the second king of the name. Mr. Still, however, has adduced valid reasons for believing that the *Sri Vijaya Báhu* coins were issued by Vijaya Báhu III. or IV., in that these pieces agree with those of Bhuvaneka Báhu, both in fabric, in metal, and in irregularity of legend. But he suggests that the *Sri Parákrama Báhu* copper, which, though agreeing with that of Vijaya Báhu and Bhuvaneka Báhu in size and metal, is of greater uniformity in fabric and legend, should be still assigned to Parákrama Báhu I., adding : "An additional point in favour of this arrangement is that it gives to Parákrama Báhu the Great the credit of having introduced this style of coinage into Ceylon." This argument is somewhat discounted by the fact that the coinage of the "Ceylon type" in the Island dates at least from the tenth century, if not earlier.

(1) The metal falls into two distinct categories, as it corrodes (*a*) a very dark green or black, and (*b*) a light green, sometimes with a red crust. The latter, appearing to be ordinary copper, is used by Vijaya Báhu and Bhuvaneka Báhu, and, with a few exceptions, by Parákrama Báhu; the metal of this kind employed by this king, however, is not so poor in quality. That used by Nissanka Malla, Lílávatí, Sáhasa Malla, Codaganga, and Dharmmásoka Deva is less liable to corrosion ; the copper is mixed with silver, and has a whitish sheen when rubbed.[1] A few of Lílávatí's coins seem to be of the same metal as the light green of Parákrama. In addition, a large number of the coins of Nissanka Malla and Codaganga, at least one of Sáhasa Malla, and probably all of Parákrama Báhu with the markedly long *kra*, are of a distinctly white metal, sometimes with a copper tinge, and often with a black patina ; these being lighter than the coins of the ordinary metal may be of a composition of copper and tin or zinc. A few of these are washed with silver.

(2) In point of fabric, the coins from Nissanka Malla to Dharmmásoka Deva are well struck, and of two sizes (·80 and ·78 inch), with a few above and below ; those of Parákrama Báhu, with a few exceptions to be noted later, of Vijaya Báhu and Bhuvaneka Báhu are of three sizes (·78, ·75, and ·72 inch), also with a few above and below. The coins of Parákrama Báhu are usually well made ; those of Vijaya Báhu and Bhuvaneka Báhu often are far from being so. The falling off in technique may be illustrated by the treatment of the extended left hand of the figure on the obverse. This on the coins of the three last-named kings is sometimes bent downwards as if dislocated, the percentage in which this occurs being 29·2, 67·9, and 71·7, respectively.

The Sinhalese minters seem to have aimed at placing the design on the reverse parallel to that on the obverse, the bottom of the latter corresponding with the top of the former. This result was not always obtained, and in the following table all, in which the central line of the *dhoti* on the obverse corresponds with any position between the back of the head itself and the outstretched hand, have been considered as normal ; those in which

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[1] Mr. C. T. Symons has kindly supplied me with the following analysis of two coins of Sáhasa Malla and Lílávatí :—Copper 91·9 per cent., silver 1·1, iron 0·6, lead 0·5, with traces of tin and mercury, and a few other impurities ; total, 94·1 per cent.

the line falls within an eighth of the diameter reckoned from the top centre are entered as being approximate, while all others are given as erratic. For the sake of convenience of reference, Mr. Still's average diameters and weight in millimetres and grammes are inserted :—

Sovereign.	No. of Coins used.	Normal.	Approximate.	Erratic.	Percentage of Erratic.	Diameter. Mm.	Weight. Gm.
Parákrama Báhu :—							
White	2	1	—	1	—	19·65	3·71
Black	1	1	—	—	—	20·31	4·07
Usual	114	35	12	67	58·7	19·44	4·20
Eighths	2	2	—	—	—	—	—
Niṣṣaṅka Malla :—							
White	16	9	5	2	12·5	20·21	3·97
Usual	33	11	18	4	12·1	20·82	3·98
Lílávatí	84	41	36	7	8·3	20·47	4·26
Sáhasa Malla :—							
White	1	—	1	—	—	21·00	3·61
Usual	143	93	45	5	3·4	20·20	4·40
Coḍagaṅga :—							
White	16	10	6	—	—	19·90	3·87
Usual	17	8	8	1	8·3	21·07	4·05
Dharmmáṣoka Deva	34	18	13	3	8·8	20·40	4·27
	23	12	9	2	8·6	—	—
Vijaya Báhu	78	10	17	51	64·3	19·17	4·07
Bhuvaneka Báhu	76	7	7	62	81·5	19·00	4·13

(3) As already stated, the legends on the Parákrama Báhu coins are very uniform, but vary greatly on those of Vijaya Báhu and Bhuvaneka Báhu.

Taking the above facts into consideration, it is evident that from the purely numismatic point of view the position of the Parákrama Báhu coinage made of the metal corroding a light green colour snould be between that of Dharmmáṣoka Deva or of the last rule of Lílávatí, and that of Vijaya Báhu, or, in other words, it should be assigned to the long reign of Parákrama Báhu II. If this be so, the base metal coinage of the later Polonnaruwa-Dambadeniya period falls into two series: the one made of white metal or of copper mixed with silver—of the reigns of Niṣṣaṅka Malla and his successors down to Dharmmáṣoka Deva or Lílávatí—and the other made of metal corroding a light green—of the reigns of Parákrama Báhu, Vijaya Báhu, and Bhuvaneka Báhu.[1] The two series are divided chronologically by the anarchy ensuing on the last deposition of Lílávatí and by most of the reign of the Kalinga usurper Mágha. The *Ṣrí Parákrama Báhu* white and black pieces, being of the fabric of the first series, may now be attributed to Parákrama Báhu the Great, who, like his successor Niṣṣaṅka Malla, seems to have issued but few coins. This assignment is supported by the only coins found by the Archæological Survey at Beligala, occupied by the Tooth Relic under Vijaya Báhu III. (Mhv., LXXXI., 33; Report on the Kegalla District p. 27); these were 21 of Sáhasa Malla, 14 of Lílávatí, 2 of Dharmmáṣoka, and not a single piece of Parákrama Báhu, Vijaya Báhu, or Bhuvaneka Báhu.

Against the attribution to Vijaya Báhu IV., in preference to the third of the name, it may be urged that the first-named prince only reigned as an independent sovereign for less than two years, and would not have issued coins in such quantities as are found. But it may be observed that the most prolific issues of this class of money come from the mints of Sáhasa Malla, whose reign lasted but two years. If the order indicated by the numismatic evidence is correct, and the coins have to be assigned to Vijaya Báhu IV., the credit of reviving the Sinhalese coinage rests with the " omniscient *pandit* of the Kaliyuga Age," Parákrama Báhu II., whose restoration of the internal economy of the realm is described in Chapter LXXXIV., vv. 1–6, of the Mahávaṁsa. But it is just possible that the better struck *Ṣrí Vijaya Báhu* pieces may have been issued by Parákrama's father ; it is, however, strange that Beligala, which must have been a place of popular resort throughout his reign until the removal of the Tooth Relic by his successor, should have furnished no specimen of his issues. The popular attribution of the mediæval copper to the Dambadeṇiya period alone stands in the way of our assigning the Vijaya Báhu and Bhuvaneka Báhu and even some of the Parákrama Báhu coins, at least in part, to subsequent rulers of these names ; indeed, the Sinhalese version of the Ummagga Játaka (Appendix A, 32 (*b*)), proves that coins were issued under Parákrama Báhu IV.

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[1] Mr. W. H. Scott in his " Period of the Coins of Ceylon " (Num. Chron , Vol. XCIII., p. 83, 1855–56), a paper which was not before me when the above was written, also makes these coins to fall into two series : (*a*) Lílávatí, Sáhasa Malla, Dharmmásoka, (*b*) Parákrama, Vijaya, Bhuvaneka.

5. In the following pages have been included the gold and silver coins, as well as the copper "half" and "quarter *massas*," appearing in Colonel B. Lowsley's "Coins and Tokens of Ceylon" (Numismatic Chronicle, Series III., Vol. XV., 1895). It is known that not a few of the coins in this writer's collection were spurious, and, unless confirmed by finds, the authenticity of his gold and silver pieces is open to suspicion.

6. Coins, which at first sight may be taken for the half of the usual copper piece, though of irregular weight, are found, but almost invariably are in a poor and corroded state. These are in most cases very worn *kahavaṇu*: indeed, a good specimen of the whole coin of Parákrama Báhu has been met with, which, when cleaned, only weighed 48 grains, while two coins of Líláwatí and Vijaya Báhu, the first in a fair and the second in a good state of preservation, measure ·72 and ·68 inch, and weigh 39·6 and 51·8 grains, respectively. A few, however, are clearly of a much smaller size, about ·59 inch, which is that of Lowsley's silver "quarter" of Bhuvaneka Báhu. The die is of the usual dimension, and, if these coins have not been cut down subsequently, it is just possible that small blanks were used for the halves; a fairly good specimen of Sáhasa Malla weighs 26·6 grains. Exactly similar Coḷa pieces of the late Rájarája type occurred in the collection of Mr. R. Sewell (F. Edward's Catalogue, February, 1919).

7. The few copper coins of a period before the second half of the twelfth century are all, with the exception of one of Rájarája I. in the British Museum, either gilt or silvered; they are :—

			Weight. Gr.
1.	*Kahavaṇuva*, III. A	Gilt	54·9
2.	*Kahavaṇuva*, III. B	do.	37·3
3.	*Kahavaṇuva*, III. B	do.	63·2
4.	*Kahavaṇuva*, III. B	do.	49 4
5.	*Kahavaṇuva*, III. B	do.	38 5
6.	Rájarája	Silvered	52·3
7.	Rájendra	Gilt	43·6
8.	Vijaya Báhu	do.	49·9
9.	*Vijaya Báhu	do.	27·3
10.	Vijaya Báhu	Silvered	57·7

They may be either forgeries of coins of the precious metals or "pious frauds" for the purpose of presentation to a temple or burying in a dágoba. Nos. 6, 7, and 9, with the silvered copper coin of Pṛthvigaṅga (*v.*, Chap. VII., Koṅgu), were actually found in the Topavewa Tank dágoba (A.S., 1909, p. 30), but the great variation of weight may point to the coins of this class being in many cases ancient forgeries.

Series I.

8. Parákrama Báhu I., A.D. 1153–1186.

AR.: "*Massa*" and "half *massa*" of unrefined silver, but without much alloy, and apparently cast (Lowsley).

Base metal :—

(*a*) White metal. A coin in the collection of Mr. P. E. Pieris is of a white colour, and at first sight appears to be of silver, but is of base metal washed. It has a diameter of ·78 inch, and a weight of 52·8 grains; it is broken. Another of the same metal and appearance was found at Allaippiddi in the Jaffna peninsula; it is ·76 inch in diameter, and weighs 62 grains. Pl. 75.

Legend: *Ṣri Pará krama Báhu.*

Ṣrí lacks the vowel; it has a small projection to the left, as in some pieces of Vijaya Báhu I.

Pa is small; the left side is curved or straight.

rá, the projection starts upwards from the bottom of the vertical stroke.

kra, unusually long; the forked ends at the bottom are curved, in which respect they resemble the formation on the eighths.

The letters of the last line are over the bead circle, the *Bá* being pushed down from its alignment by the long *kra*. The head is normal.

(*b*) Black. Almost certainly of the same white metal as Niṣṣaṅka Malla's issues. It is identical with the last described, but on the reverse in lieu of the *makuṭa* is a tuft. It is in excellent preservation with a fine black patina.

Diameter: ·80 in. Weight: 62·9 gr. Pl. 76.

(*c*) The following are eighths. They are of copper corroding either black or a dark green or brown; one has a whitish sheen:—

Obv.: In bead circle, the usual standing figure on lotus stalk.

Rev.: In similar circle, legend in three lines under a conch shell pointing to r.: *Ṣrí Parákra ma Báhu.*

The diameter is ·4 inch. **Pl. 77.**

	Weight. Gr.	
I.M.C., I., Pl. XXXI., 2	8·5	.. Fair.
Colo. Mus. 77	6·7	.. Good.
Madras Museum, 5·1	5·5	.. Broken.
H.C.P.B...	8·7	.. Good.
H.W.C.	7·2	.. Fair.
H.W C.	7·6	.. Fair.

In the legend *Ṣrí* lacks the vowel; *Pa* is as on the whole piece; *rá* is also the same, or the projection start somewhat higher; also as *rá* (3) of Lílávatí; *kra* has splay feet as on the whole piece, but is shorter; *ma* as usual or the lower horizontal stroke slopes down to its junction with the vertical; *Bá* is often *rá*. The head is normal.

9. Niṣṣaṅka Malla, A.D. 1187–1196.

Base metal of two varieties:—

(*a*) White metal. Of 16, the average diameter is ·79 inch, and the weight 56·1 grains; the heaviest being 61·2.

(*b*) AE. corroding black. **Pl. 78,** Average diameter of four is ·81 inch, and weight 61·5 grains. One specimen once gilt weighs 72·7 grains (*cf.* Coḍagaṅga).

On all the legend is: *Ṣrí Kále(ṁ) ga La(ṁ) keja.*

This apparently is meant for *Ṣrí Káliṅga Laṁkendra*, the signature of the Doratiyawe *tuḍupota.* The Sinhalese form *Kaliṅgu Lakindu* occurs in this king's Heṭadágé portico slab inscription (E.Z., II., 84).

Ṣrí, the vowel is attached or separate.

Ká, the consonant sometimes has a forked end, *i.e.*, *kra.*

le, the vertical is sometimes curved at the bottom to the right, and the vowel is attached or separate.

ga, the vertical varies as in *le.*

ke, the vowel is a straight or somewhat curved line, attached or separate. The consonant occasionally has a forked foot.

ja, (1) normal, with the right arm short and slightly bent down; (2) as (1), but the arm straight; (3) as (1), but the left arm has no curve; (4) as (3), but the right arm is long and carried down almost in a line with the vertical; (5) as (4), but the tendency is still more developed, so that the letter resembles *ta*; (6) in a few specimens the right arm is entirely missing; (7) as (4) or (5), but the left arm is carried in a sweep halfway up the letter.

In a solitary coin of the white metal is found *kája.*

The disposition of the legend falls into two classes, one in which the right hand *aksharas* are on the same level as those on the left, the other where they are higher. These classes occur in most of the coins of series I. The heads are normal.

10. Coḍagaṅga, *c.* A.D. 1196–1197.

(*a*) Base metal washed in silver; in the specimen in the possession of Mr. P. E. Pieris the thin coating of silver is distinctly visible.

Diameter: ·76 in. Weight: 55·4 gr. Slightly broken.

(*b*) White of the same metal as that of Niṣṣaṅka Malla. Of 16, the average diameter is ·78 inch, the weight 59·8 grains; the heaviest being 64·5. Mr. Bell has a thicker specimen with a diameter of ·82 inch, and a weight of 75·6 grains. **Pl. 79.**

Legend : *Ṣrí Coḍa ga(ṁ)ga Deva.*

Ṣrí, with vowel attached or separate or without vowel.

Co, vowel marks attached or separate ; the central triangle of the consonant is usually in lower relief than the rest.

ga(ṁ)ga, occasionally *rárá*.

The *visarga* is always absent. The head is usually normal ; in one the vertical line is missing.

11. Lílávatí, queen, A.D. 1197–1200 ; 1209 ; 1211.

AV. : " *Massa.*" " The appearance of it is suspicious " (Lowsley).

AR. : Double and single " *massa.*" " The two double *massas* are thick coins, well struck, but in rather bad preservation, though the characters are quite legible " (Lowsley).

AE. : Average of 68 : Diameter, ·80 inch ; weight, 65·7 grains. Average of 49 cleaned : weight, 63·1 grains. **Pl. 80.** A copper " half *massa* " is given by Lowsley.

Legend : *Ṣrí Rája Lílá vatí.*

Srí, vowel attached or separate.

Rá, projection from left vertical starts in an upward direction from the bottom or further up, or (2) is a horizontal stroke, or (3) forms a small triangle attached to the left side of the vertical.

ja, as in (1) and (2) of Niṣṣaṅka Malla ; in one instance the left arm is carried round to the right.

Lí, with vowel attached or separate It sometimes reads *Lá*.

lá, in one case *lí*, reading with the preceding letter *Lálí*.

tí, with vowel attached or separate ; in one instance *ní*.

The heads are usually normal, but (*c*) (i.) (1) and (3) occur.

12. Sáhasa Malla, A.D. 1200–1202.

AR. : " *Massa* " (Lowsley).

Base metal :—

(*a*) White, of the same metal as that of Niṣṣaṅka Malla. Diameter : ·82 inch. Weight : 55·8 gr.

(*b*) AE. Average of 100 : Diameter, ·79 inch ; weight, 68 grains. Of 112 cleaned, 64 grains. **Pl. 81.**

Legend : *Ṣrí mat-Sá hasa Malla.*

Ṣrí, vowel attached or separate.

ma, occasionally *bá*, probably due to a worn die.

t-Sá, with or without the small projecting *t*.

ha, occasionally more completely formed by a downward turn of the lower horizontal line ; sometimes there is a small vertical stroke from the right hand top corner of the letter.

Ma, as *ma* above.

lla, or occasionally *la*.

We thus have four variations of the legends :—

(1) Ṣrímat Sáhasa Malla ;

(2) Ṣrímat Sáhasa Mala ;

(3) Ṣríma Sáhasa Malla ;

(4) Ṣríma Sáhasa Mala.

The head is usually normal ; (*c*) (i.) (1) and (2) occur.

A unique coin with legend (2) is in Mr. Bell's cabinet. It is apparently made of *lókaḍa* and copper, is cast, and was once gilt. It weighs 82 grains, and has a diameter of ·78 inch, and a thickness of ·07 inch.

13. Dharmmáṣoka Deva, A.D. 1208–1209.

AR. : " *Massa* " (Lowsley).

Base metal :—

(*a*) White. Mr. P. E. Pieris has a coin of white metal weighing 59 grains ; it is cast, and therefore spurious.

(*b*) AE. Average of 11 : Diameter, ·80 inch ; weight, 65·9 grains. Of 27 cleaned, 61·3 grains. **Pl. 82.**

Legend: *Śri Dharmmá śoka Devaḥ.*

Śri, vowel usually joined.

Dha, the loop is (1) at the bottom, or (2) further up the vertical.

rmmá, the two loops are (1) very unequal in size, or (2) equal or nearly so. In some the lower horizontal line of one or both is missing, probably due to a defect in the die. The *repha* is rarely absent. It is formed in four ways: (1) The most common, by a short vertical stroke projecting from the upper line of the compound letter either at the second or third vertical or between; (2) by a short stroke sloping to the left and springing from the second vertical; (3) by a similar stroke, but sloping to the right springing from between the second and third vertical, and of varying length; (4) by (*a*) a short upright stroke which rises between the first and second vertical and is bent to the right at right angles, (*b*) a similar stroke which starts from the same place and from which a long line slopes upward to the right over the remaining length of the letter, and (*c*) by two lines similar to (*b*), but the sloping one is shorter, and the whole *repha* starts from the second vertical.

śo, the letter is complete with the curl on the left, or it is defective; the vowel marks are joined to or detached from the consonant.

ka is shorter or long.

ḥ is sometimes partially or wholly crowded out.

The head is usually normal, (*c*) (i.) (2) and (3) and (ii.) (1) and (2) are also found.

Mr. Bell possesses a heavy piece weighing 77·2 grains, apparently cast. The metal is said to be a mixture of *lókaḍa* and copper. The diameter is ·80 inch, and the thickness ·07 inch.

The only known eighth of this king is in the same cabinet, and is described in the Indian Antiquary, 1895, p. 332. The head is normal. The coin is of the same type as the eighth of Parákrama Báhu I., but with the legend: *Śri Dharmmáśo ka Deva.*

The *Śri* has the vowel separate; the *Dha* is as (2); the *mmá* apparently has equal loops with *repha* (1); the *śo* is perfect with detached vowel marks, and the *visarga* is absent. The coin is worn, and weighs 7·8 grains. **Pl. 83.**

Series II.

14. Parákrama Báhu II., A.D. 1236–1271.

AE. Average of 100: Diameter, ·76 inch; weight, 64·8 grains. Of 96 cleaned, 63·1 grains. A thin but perfect specimen only weighs 48 grains. **Pl. 84.** Two quite unusally large brass coins have a diameter of ·88 and ·84 inch.

Legend: *Śri Pará krama Báhu.*

Śri, vowel attached to or separated from the consonant, or entirely absent.

Pa, with the left side fairly straight or indented and = *ya*. The vertical is sometimes curved.

rá, (1) the projection slopes upwards either from the bottom of the left hand vertical, or from a point further up; it varies in length. (2) It is at right angles to the vertical, which it leaves a quarter or halfway up. The right hand vertical is either straight or curved.

kra, almost invariably correct; in Colo. Mus. No. 71 the arms are separated from the vertical.

ma, sometimes *bá*, presumably through a defect of the die.

The normal heads are more numerous than in the coinage of the two succeeding kings, but less than in that of Parákrama's predecessor. Heads (*a*) (1); (*b*) (1), (2), (3), and (4); (*c*) (i.) (3), (4), (5), and (ii.) (1) occur. In some coins the flower on the obverse is separated into three distinct prongs.

A copper "half *massa*," described as rare, and always much worn, is given by Lowsley.

15. Vijaya Báhu IV., A.D. 1271–1273.

AE. Average of 86: Diameter, ·75 inch; weight, 62·8 grains. Of 64 cleaned, 62·7 grains. **Pl. 85.**

Legend: *Śri Vija ya Bá hu.*

Śri, as in Parákrama Báhu II.

Vi, the vowel consists of a curved line attached to the letter, or a detached, straight, curved, or wavy line to its left. It is also a straight line attached to the letter, which thus reads *Ve*. Sometimes it is a curved line unattached on the right, or the normal form of *Vi*. Rarely it is *Vá*, with the vowel straight or curved at the bottom. On one or two coins the vowel appears to be absent. The consonant *V* sometimes has the vertical curved.

ja, the vertical line sometimes crosses the curved line of the arms and approaches *ka*. The left arm sometimes sweeps to the left.

ya, the vertical is straight or curved.

Bá is sometimes long ; it occasionally seems to read *ma.*

hu, the tail often appears to the right, but is sometimes absent. On some coins more of the body of this letter is shown than on others. On a very small series reading *Şrí Vejaya Báhu*, the *Şri* having the vowel unattached and the *hu* being large, an additional small dot appears under the left hand on the obverse. The same occurs rarely in the coins of Parákrama Báhu II.

The normal heads are few. Those usually occurring are (*a*) (1) and (2), (*b*) (1), and (*c*) (i.) (3).

16. Bhuvaneka Báhu I., A.D. 1273–1284.

AV. : " Half *massa.*"

AR. : " *Massa* " " of four different weights," " half," and " quarter *massa.*" These gold and silver coins are given by Lowsley, who figures the silver " quarter " in his plate.

AE. : Average of 100 : Diameter, ·74 inch ; weight, 63·7 grains. Of 57 cleaned, 62·1 grains. **Pl. 86.**

Legend : *Şrí Bhuva naika Báhu.*

Şrí, usually without vowel ; also with unattached vowel.

Bhu, the letter (i.) forms three sides of a parallelogram, the left hand side being open ; or (ii.) consists of two lines forming a right angle to the right, the vertical being surmounted by a head of varying length. The vowel mark is written (*a*) attached as a prolongation of the right hand vertical; it bends downwards to the left either in a curve directly from the lower right hand corner, or in a curl or a wavy line from the vertical, which is itself prolonged. These are found only with form (i.) of the letter. (*b*) It is a continuation of the lower horizontal line which is prolonged in a bulging curve of varying size to the right. In two specimens the tail of the vowel mark is carried beyond the left side of the letter in a sweep. In another variety the vertical line is sometimes continued downwards, in some cases almost reaching the bottom of the vowel. (*c*) It is attached to the end of the vertical, which is prolonged slightly below the lower horizontal line, and bulges as in (*b*). (*d*) It is separated from the letter, the curve beginning either at the side or below In a solitary specimen with the vowel below, the vertical is prolonged downwards to a length equal to that of the letter. In another with the vowel beginning at the side, the whole is inverted. In (*e*) the letter itself is divided ; the lower horizontal line being separated from the vertical, to which the vowel is attached as in (*b*) ; in one case the vowel commences slightly to the left of the vertical, and is then carried to the right as in (*b*). In all the above there are many sub-varieties, and the lower horizontal line of the letter often ends in a short upright stroke.

va, this sometimes has the vertical curved.

nai, this has many variations · (1) The letter is without the portion of the vowel above the horizontal line and reads *ne.* (2) When it is complete, the upper portion is (*a*) a prolongation of the horizontal line to the left ; (*b*) a slight stroke sloping to the left attached to the left hand top corner ; (*c*) a stroke of varying length starting from the left half of the horizontal line, (*d*) a similar stroke from the centre ; (*e*) a long stroke from the right hand corner ; (*f*) the same, but more pronounced ; and (*g*) the right hand vertical is prolonged slightly upwards and then carried up diagonally to the left or parallel to the horizontal line, in both cases over the whole breadth of the letter. In a few the vowel mark is a short vertical stroke rising from (*h*) the left half, or (*i*) the centre of the horizontal line. Inversions occasionally occur of (*c*), (*d*), and (*g*). In these the letter itself has the arm of the *n* projecting, in the two latter cases in the shape of a semicircle, from the inner side of the left hand vertical, the vowel mark remaining in the normal place. **Pl. 87.**

ka, this is slightly normal, or has the centre stroke just crossing the line of the arms, or unusually long. It also sometimes reads *kra.*

hu, more or less of this letter appears.

The normal heads are few ; those usually to be found are (*a*) (1), (*b*) (1), (*c*) (i.) (3) and (ii.) (2).

In some specimens the flower in the right hand of the standing figure and at the right end of the stalk under the feet on the obverse is divided into three distinct prongs.

17. Sir W. Elliot in his " Coins of Southern India," p. 110, was of opinion that the " Ceylon type " was derived from the Gupta coinage, a common design of which has on the obverse a standing figure nimbate holding a spear and throwing grains of incense upon an altar, and on the reverse the goddess Lakshmí seated on a lotus (*v.*, also coin of Kumáragupta I., A.D. 413–455, and of Şaşánka, *c.* A.D. 606–620, I.M.C., Vol. I., Pl. XVI., Nos. 2 and

13). This type goes back to the Kushán dynasty, of which the coins have on the obverse the standing figure of the king holding a spear, with an altar over which appears a trident, and on the reverse a throned goddess. The squatting figure on the Ceylon type, however, more closely resembles the "conch type" of Chandragupta II. Vikramáditya, c. A.D. 375–413 (I.M.C., I., Pl. XV., 10). The employment of the seated goddess type in the south on a counterstruck dínár of the eighth century tends to show that, though the general idea of the commoner Gupta coinage may have been followed, it was not slavishly copied.[1] The attitudes of the figures on either side are common ones in Indian art, and that on the reverse may be compared with the Yaṭṭhála dágoba seal (Ancient Ceylon, p. 495) and the Deva in the Hindagala fresco. The presence of the standing lamp or fire-altar, however, confirms Elliot's opinion.

The "Ceylon type" appears on the coins of the Sinhalese, the Coḷa, and the Páṇḍyan dynasties. The existing theories are that (1) the gold so-called "Laṅkesvara" coins are of the same period as the copper of Parákrama Báhu I, and (2) both are imitated from the issues of the Coḷa king Rájarája I., A.D. 985–1012, who conquered the north of Ceylon and initiated the type.[2] But it is to be observed that—

(a) The letters of the legend on the "Laṅkeṣvara" differ very considerably from those on the issues of Parákrama Báhu and also from those on the coins of Rájarája. The letters on both of these are of the usual late Nágarí type, the head of each being elongated into a line; those on the Sinhalese gold, other than the coins of Vijaya Báhu, have much shorter, almost wedge-shaped, heads, and in the case of the *Lakshmí* piece the open *m*. The Ceylon inscription most closely resembling these is the Jetavanaráma slab (E.Z., I., No. 1), which has been assigned to the first half of the ninth century. On epigraphic grounds the gold *kahavaṇuva* I.A dates at the earliest from the commencement of the tenth or the last years of the preceding century, and is thus anterior to the time of Rájarája I.[3]

(b) A progressive deterioration of the "Ceylon type" is to be traced; this is noticeable in the treatment of the head as well as in the increasing rigidity of the body and legs, and of the flowing lines of the *dhoti*. On the reverse the left leg of the squatting figure is at first shown at right angles to the body in the natural position; it gradually becomes lower, until, in the coins of Parákrama Báhu and his successors, it is practically in a line with the body. This debasement of the design begins in the Sinhalese series with the gold *kahavaṇu* of type I., and continues until type III.C, the nearest approach to the coins of Rájarája, of which it appears to be the prototype, *v.*, (*c*); the Coḷa issue has even copied the irregular position of the legend on the Sinhalese coin, on which the two letters on the right are higher than those on the left. The deterioration ceases for the moment on the coins of Rájádhirája and Rájendradeva, but re-commences with those of Vijaya Báhu I. His type I. is much closer to the Coḷa pieces both in the design and in the lettering, especially in the *Ṣri*, but the workmanship falls off in the course of his long reign, and under Parákrama Báhu I. and his successors the human figure is still more degraded. The perversion of the type proceeds further under the late Coḷas, and finally ends in a mere collection of lines and dots on the *Víra ráya* fanams; the human form is still just traceable in the first copper issue of the Dutch at Negapatam.

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[1] This dinár, probably of the Khalif al-Mahdí, A.D. 775–785, is in the cabinet of the Royal Numismatic Society; its provenance is unknown. On the obverse is a seated Lakshmí. The reverse is occupied by a legend in two lines, stated to be in contemporaneous South Indian characters, and read as beginning *Ṣrí Jayatuṁga*; above it is a large crescent, and below, three indistinct objects, probably representing an expanded lotus; these also appear under the seated figure. The reverse somewhat resembles the earlier Eastern Cálukya seals

[2] Loventhal held, in his "Coins of Tinnevelly," that his Nos. 34–44 were the originals of the "Ceylon figure," but they appear to be the coinage of the late Páṇḍyans of Tinnevelly, of no great age. The *S* on Nos. 43 and 44 is late in form.

[3] But *cf.* J. F. Fleet's "Records of the Sómavaṁsí Kings of Kaṭak (Orissa)," Ep. Ind., III., 329, on the subject of the *mátrás*, or horizontal top-strokes of the letters: "In dealing with the question of the *mátrás*, the instructive letters are *p*, *m*, *y*, *sh* and *s*. In the Aphsad inscription of about A.D. 650, the grant of Vináyakapála of A.D. 794–95, the Deogadh inscription of A.D. 862, the Gwalior inscription of A.D. 875–76, and even the Harsha inscription of A.D. 973, these five letters are without the complete *mátrá*, having tops on only the left-hand part of them. But the Khajuraho inscription of A.D. 953–54 presents the fully developed *mátrás* in the five letters in question, as well as in all the others which admit of it; and they appear also in the Dewal inscription of A.D. 992–93, in the Nanyaura copper-plate grant (North-West Provinces) of Dhaṅgadeva of A.D. 998 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI., p. 202, Plate), and in the Jhusi grant (North-West Provinces) of Trilóchanapála of A.D. 1027 (*id.*, Vol., XVIII., p. 34, Plate). The transitional period appears to be illustrated by the Pehoa inscription of about A.D. 900, where . . . . the *p*, *m*, *y*, *sh* and *s* distinctly have only the half *mátrá* over the left part of the letter, though in the majority of cases the *mátrás* of even these five letters are complete; and still more pointedly by the Asni inscription (North-West Provinces) of Mahipála, of A.D. 916–17 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI., p. 174, Plate), which very clearly shows the letters in question both with and without the complete *mátrá*."

K, "with the markedly round shape of the left-hand part of it . . . . occurs, by some chance or other, in the word *árka*, line 21, of the Gwalior inscription of A.D. 875–76; and this instance must probably be taken as showing that the form was known then, though it had not been introduced into epigraphic use: but, in the remainder of that record, in the Deogadh and Asni inscriptions, and even in the Harsha and Dewal inscriptions, the *k* is decidedly of the pointed type: the round type is followed first in the Pehoa inscription of about A.D. 900; and it re-appears in the Khajuraho inscription, and in the Nanyaura and Jhusi grants." The round *k* appears on the *kahavaṇu* of type III.

The short vowel mark representing *Á* is found in inscription No. XVII. of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves in Orissa, described by R. D. Banerji in Ep. Ind., XIII., No. 13, and assigned to the latter half of the eighth or first half of the ninth century, but is absent in inscriptions Nos. XIV., XV., XVI., assigned to the tenth century. It is also found in the grant of Govinda III., dated A.D. 808 (Ind. Ant., XII., 157), and apparently not later.

(*c*) The sequence indicated in (*b*) involves a cessation of the minting of gold.[1] The majority of the issues of Vijaya Báhu I. are of silver, or of gold so debased as to be hardly distinguishable from silver; the coinage of Parákrama Báhu I. and his successors consists entirely of base metal, sometimes washed with silver. A similar change seems to have taken place at the same time in the southernmost parts of India, the "Ceylon type" issues of Rájarája I. being usually of fairly good gold, those of Rájádhirája of very base gold, or rather of silver washed with gold, while in the thirteenth century the Coḷa *kásu* had so fallen in value that one hundred went to a fanam (A.R.E., 439 of 1913); it was, therefore, of copper, and presumably the "new *kásu*," which appears in the inscriptions of Kulottuṅga Coḷa III., a late contemporary of Párakrama Báhu I.

I have used "gold" as the apparent metal of the coins. The subjoined table of specific gravities shows how little gold there is in many, the coins of Rájarája, Rájádhirája, and Vijaya Báhu being practically of silver washed with gold. These probably were issued officially as gold, but cannot have been current among the merchants and money changers for anything but silver, with the result that a new fraud was attempted by washing base metal with silver; it seems probable that all the white metal coins were so treated. By the fourteenth century the word *masuran* was applied to copper. The state of the Ceylon currency is curiously reminiscent of that of the bankrupt Roman empire in the third century.

Specific gravity of gold, 19·26; of silver, 10·47; of copper, 8·79.

Kahavaṇu.	Gr.	Specific Gravity.	*Pala.*	Gr.	Specific Gravity.	*Aka.* Gr.	Specific Gravity.
I. A (1)	67·5	14·900					
A (2)	69·3	13·730					
B (2)	68·9	13·913					
B (3)	67·6	13·005					
II. (4)	67·5	12·050	A (2)	15·7	11·920		
				15·8	12·290		
III. A	67·6	12.110					
B	66·1	11·640					
C	68·1	12·530	C	16·2	12·820	7·4	11·280
						7·8	10·396
						7·4	11·630
Rájarája	65·1	11·458					
	66·5	10·770					
Rájádhirája	65·8	10·447					
	66·2	9·408					
Vijaya Báhu I.	65·5	10·803					
	64·7	10·024					
	64·3	10·440					
	65·7	10·310					
Parákrama Báhu I.	51·7	7·971	Washed.			Eighths:	7·68
	62	8·335	Washed.				8·000
	62·8	8·745	Black.				
Nissaṅka Malla	61·9	8·745	White.				
Coḍagaṅga Deva	61·4	9·129	White.				

(*d*) As has been seen above, the coin called in Tamil *Íḻak-kásu* or "Ceylon *kásu*" was current in the Island in the seventh to eighth century. It is also mentioned in South Indian Coḷa inscriptions of the thirtieth year of Madiraikoṇḍán Parakésarivarman or Parántaka I. (A.D. 907–953), of the second, fifth, and fifteenth of Rájakésarivarman, and of the fifth of Parakésarivarman (A.R.E., 435 of 1904, 239 of 1907, 236 of 1911, 330 of 1910, 45 of 1910), all of whom reigned before Rájarája I. Sinhalese gold *kahavaṇu* of type III. B were at one time fairly common in the Madura District, and, as the old Tamil *kásu* was of gold, it is probable that the *Íḻak-kásu* was the *kahavaṇuva* or its half. If this be the case, type III. B and C must date from the tenth century at the latest. The introduction of the coin into the Cola dominions perhaps may be subsequent to the invasion of the Island by Parántaka I., but there was always a close connection between Ceylon and the Páṇḍyan country.

[1] "It may, therefore, be finally concluded that the ancient gold mines of Southern India were forgotten by 1300 A.D., thus rendering it probable that they were not worked, at least on a large scale, subsequent to 1000 A.D." (Gold: its geological occurrence and geographical distribution, Dr. Malcolm Maclaren, London, 1908. pp. 239–242).

In the tenth century the *Īḷak-kásu* was worth 7½ *puttakkam* or " new *akkams* " in the neighbourhood of Madura (inscr. 33 Parántaka, S.I.I., III., Pt. 3, p. 106). In the Tanjore District forty equalled twenty *kaḷañjus* of gold (A.R.E., No. 25 of 1895, as now read). This equation may be due either to the half *kahavaṇuva* being reckoned as the unit, as tentatively suggested in Chapter V., section 12, or to the standard fineness of gold bullion as current in the Coḷa country being twice as good as that of the *kahavaṇuva* of the period.[1]

(*e*) The weight standard in common use in the Deccan for the gold coinage of the Cálukya and other dynasties before Rájarája was that of the light *gadyáṇa*, varying from 58 to 63 grains, the one-tenth of which is the fanam. It is to this that the few early mediæval gold coins of the extreme south appear to conform, the *Uttama Coḷan* (C.S.I., No. 151) weighing between 50 and 60 grains ; this last was certainly struck by a predecessor of Rájarája, in whose reign the heavier coin of about 68 grains appears.[2] The new standard, that of the Ceylon *kaḷañda*, was followed by the Coḷa silver coinage, as is proved by a coin in the British Museum, identical with Elliot's No. 153, weighing 66 grains.

To sum up, the *kahavaṇuva* is the prototype of the Rájarája issues, and consequently is much anterior to the time of Parákrama Báhu I.

" Setu " Coins.

18. These coins are usually assigned to the Sétupati princes of Ramnad, who, judging from their inscriptions, flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Their rise to independence can hardly date earlier than the subversion of the Páṇḍyan kingdom in A.D. 1310, and in all probability took place after the end of Muhammadan rule some fifty years later, or even after the time of Kampaṇa Uḍaiyár, whose inscriptions at Ramnad are dated in A.D. 1371 and 1374 (Sewell's " Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India," p. 20).

The coins are described by the Rev. J. E. Tracy in his paper " Setupati Coins " in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, 1889–94, and form his " earlier series." According to him, they are often found in company with the mediæval Sinhalese copper pieces, while examples of " the large bull coin," II. (1) below, " are not uncommon and have been found in Northern Ceylon as well as in various parts of Southern India." The coins, however, are said to be comparatively rare on the mainland, though far from uncommon in the northern part of the Island, and certainly formed the currency of the mediæval kingdom of Jaffna. Tracy's " later series," bearing the legend *Setupati*, are totally different from the above both in type and fabric ; they have never been found in Ceylon, and the formation of the letter *S* shows that they cannot be earlier than the sixteenth century. It seems open to question whether the two series were issued by the same dynasty, and it has been suggested that the earlier coins are those of the Árya Cakravartis of Jaffna.

The history of these princes is contained in the Vaipava Málai, an eighteenth century collection of legends of little historical value. But, according to the Seka Rásasékara Málai (ed., Bháskara Press, Jaffna, Kali 5004), an astrological work composed by the Brahman Soma in the reign of Jaga Rájasekhara, this Jaffna king is stated to be from the Gaṅga country, and to be descended from two Brahmans appointed by Ráma to rule over Ramesvaram with the title of " Árya King " and the right to the bull-flag. An unnamed king of this dynasty is said to have defeated the Canarese in battle at Antaravalli, and another to have punished the Pósalaṉ (Hoysala) by cutting the trunk of his elephant which charged him, while a third inscribed in profusion the bull-flag, *Setu*, and the nine long necklaces. Jaga Rájasekhara himself, among other exploits, pursued and defeated a strong army at Kachchaytturai, about 4 miles east of Chavakachcheri (Introductory verses 3–11). In the work itself he is described as the Árya king, or king of the people of Maṇavai, residing at Siṅkai, that is, Siṁha, the Siṅkai-nakara of the Kotagama inscription (Report on the Kegalla District, p. 85), as displaying the bull-flag, and as guardian of Sétu (cap. II., 12, 52; VIII., 31, 32 ; III., 5). Similar epithets occur also in the contemporaneous Dakshiṇa Kailása Puráṇam. In Arasakesari's Raghuvaṁsa, written at Jaffna under Pararájasekhara, the king is styled " Gaṅga Árya," while in the Kailáya Málai, apparently a late work, but one of the original authorities of the Vaipava Málai, Páṇḍi Maḷavaṉ, who brought over Siṁha Árya as the first king of Jaffna from Madura, is described as a favourite of the Gaṅga kula. The use of titles indicative of the original home of the dynasty is not uncommon in India (Ep. Ind., VII., p. 224).

The presence of the bull and the legend *Setu* on our coins is now explained, and there can be but little doubt that these should be attributed to the Jaffna Árya Cakravartis, and not to the Sétupatis. The seated bull surmounted by a crescent enclosing the sun was also the device of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga. A branch of this family from Siṁhapura in that country sat on the Sinhalese throne at the end of the twelfth and the beginning

[1] " *Īḷam* " was a fineness of gold equal to the *Madurántakaṉ-mádai* (A.R.E., 1916, p. 118). The fineness presumably was that of the original *Īḷak-kásu*.

[2] The Páṇḍyan gold coin figured by Elliot, No. 129, is not of the tenth century or earlier, as shown by the form of the letters. The British Museum possesses four of these : three with the legend in Nágarí, and one in Canarese letters ; it reads *Śrí Páṇḍya Dhanaṁjaya*. The coins presumably were issued by the Páṇḍyan chiefs of the Canarese country.

of the thirteenth century, and Mágha's successful invasion from Kalinga about A.D. 1215 doubtless was made with the object of vindicating the right of the family. This king is known to have possessed fortresses in the Jaffna peninsula (Mhv., LXXXIII., 21 ; Pújávaliya), and as this region was once part of the Coḷa empire, and was certainly held by Parákrama Báhu I., if not by Vijaya Báhu I., its independence must date from the decline of the Sinhalese power, in all probability shortly after the end of Mágha's reign in 1236. It again came under Sinhalese rule for a few years in the fifteenth century in the reign of Parákrama Báhu VI. The coins most commonly found in the peninsula, apart from the Polonnaruwa-Dambadeniya copper, are our *Setu* and the " Lion " of Parákrama Báhu.

The *Setu* coins fall into two main divisions. Those of type I. (1) are clearly allied to the late Coḷa copper of the thirteenth century, though slightly larger in size, the Tamil *Setu* being substituted for the irregular Nágarí *Srí Rájarája*. In type I. (2), though the blank is even broader, the same design is retained, but the recumbent bull now appears on the obverse in a vertical position. In the coins of type II. the seated figure is replaced by the bull with the legend beneath it, while on the obverse the crown, the garment without the central piece, and the fire-altar recall the latest type of *aka*, which has been found in the peninsula, and probably was current until a comparatively late date. The execution of these varies from the fine minting of II. (1) to the debased design of II. (6), and their issue, perhaps, was extended over a considerable period of time. According to Tracy our I. (2) " is a clear imitation of the ' lion coin of Parakrama.' " But, save for the position of the bull, it would be difficult to find two coins of the same general Ceylon type wider apart, and it is with the obverse of type II. (4) that the " Lion," though having strong Sinhalese affinities, has the closest resemblance. If, therefore, the " Lion " was issued by Parákrama Báhu I. at or near Ramnad, we must conclude that the *Setu* coins of type II. preceded those of type I. But it is clear that the legend of type I. is earlier than that of type II., which closely resembles the script of the Tamil inscription at Lankatilaka of *c.* A.D. 1347-8, and may be as late as the fifteenth century ; the removal of the bull from the design is unexplained ; and further, there is no evidence that the Sétupatis were then more than feudal nobles in the Páṇḍyan kingdom, or were in a position to strike money in their own name, as they are not even mentioned in connection with the campaigns of Laṅkápura in the neighbourhood of Ramnad, while the attribution to Jaffna at that period is excluded by the possession of all Ceylon by Parákrama Báhu I., an inscription of whom exists at Nayinativu.

The alternative indicated by the epigraphical evidence is that type II. is later than type I., the prototype of which is a common thirteenth century Coḷa coin, and therefore that the " Lion " was struck by Parákrama Báhu VI., probably at the capital Nallur, after his conquest of the Jaffna kingdom, in which the *Setu* pieces, whether issued there or not, formed the usual currency medium. But the Seka Rásasékara Málai does away with the last difficulty in the attribution to Jaffna. Accordingly, the coins of type I. may have been issued towards the end of the thirteenth or in the early part of the fourteenth century, and those of type II. (1) about the middle of this century, at the time when the kingdom and so presumably its art were at their zenith. Type II. (4) thus would fall into the fifteenth century, and is the prototype of the obverse of the " Lion," while the coins of type II. (6) are indicative of the decline of the kingdom. The Ceylon type persisted until quite late in India, and is found in the Dutch Negapatam copper, and in its final form on the eighteenth century fanams.

In the Portuguese period the Jaffna monetary system differed from that of the Sinhalese districts of Ceylon. The pardáo then was equal to five *cakrams*, and each of these was divided into *má* or " twentieths." The *kásu* was still in circulation in 1645 (Foral of Jaffna).

19. Type I., Ceylon Type.—(1) As coarser copper Coḷa *Srí Rájarája* coins, but somewhat larger. On obverse in some cases the hanging lamp has become a distinct trident. On reverse, in lieu of the Nágarí legend, is the Tamil *Setu* vertically. The *kombu* is comparatively small, varying in size from about a quarter to over a half of the *S*, which, with the final letter, is sometimes unusually deep.

Diameter : ·74 in. Weight : 56 gr. Elliot, III., 132. **Pl. 88.**

(2) Obv. : As last, but crown consists of two lines and a dot. Trident under r. arm ; under l. a bull couchant vertically with a circle before it. All in bead circle.

Rev. : As last, but crown as on obv.

Colo. Mus. No. 240. Diameter : ·80 in. Weight : 61·5 gr. **Pl. 89.**

(3) As (2), but larger and coarser. The r. arm on obv. seems to be raised and not bent downwards ; under it hanging lamp, which varies in shape, and usually is more or less like a trident. The *kombu* in the legend is over half the size of the *S*.

Diameter : ·82 in. Weight : 59·9 gr. **Pl. 90.**

Prinsep's No. 12 (Essays, Vol. I., Pl. XXXV.) seems to be of this variety. The *kombu* is relatively very small ; the diameter is ·84 inch, and weight 58·1 gr. Tracy, Nos. 3 and 2.

Type II., Standing Figure and Bull.—(1) Fine minting. Obv.: Standing figure; head an oval open to r., rest as on "Lion" of Parákrama Báhu, No. 1; crown composed of two lines and a dot. Under right arm hanging lamp symbol of various types: (*a*) three transverse bars, ball at bottom; (*b*) the same, but without ball; (*c*) two transverse bars without ball; (*d*) the transverse bars are not carried straight across but are broken, sometimes three on one side and two on the other, sometimes two on either side; there is no ball. In l. hand a ball, forefinger and thumb closed. *Dhoti* shorter than on "Lion," nothing between legs. In right field a tall fire-altar or standing lamp, the upright of which is of various types: (*a*) a cross piece in the middle: (*b*). as (*a*). but with dot on upright below; (*c*) as (*a*), but with a dot above and below; (*d*) as (*a*), but with two shorter cross pieces above and below; (*e*) the upright has only a dot in the middle; (*f*) as (*e*). but three dots one above the other. To r. of this symbol another, vertical, like a mace, consisting of two parallel lines ending in a ball at either extremity; from the upper one projects a point. All in line circle with dots outside.

Rev.: Bull in trappings couchant, l.; above, crescent with sun in its horns. Below. in exergue, in large Tamil letters: *Setu*.

In field groups of two or three dots or single dots, as follows, counted from top to bottom:—

Left.	Right.
3, 2, 3	3, 1, 3, 1, 3
3, 1, 3, 1, 3	3, 1, 3, 1, 3
3, 3, 3	3, 3, 3
1, 2, 3	3, 3, 3
2, 2, 3	3, 3, 3

Diameter: ·78–·82 in. Weight: 68·8 gr. **Pl. 91.** Elliot, IV., 172; R.D., 19; Tracy, No. 4.

(2) Half of the above, which it resembles. In lieu of dots in perimeter a chain of small circles connected by links. The variants of obverse are:—(*a*) Crown; this consists of a line and a dot; two short lines and a dot; two short lines, of which the one nearest the head is slightly curved, and a dot; a line and two dots; or three dots. (*b*) Under the arms are usually two dots; rarely two groups of three dots. (*c*) The hanging lamp is composed of a vertical line with one or two cross pieces of irregular length and position. (*d*) The standing lamp usually has a ball at the bottom and another in the centre of the shaft; sometimes only a ball in the centre, with or without a horizontal stand.

Rev.: The exergue line runs right across from one side of the circle or falls short at one or both ends. On the left, when it does not run beyond the *kombu*, there is found a single dot or a group of three dots. On the right the bull's tail sometimes joins the exergue line, which in some cases is not carried beyond. The tail of the *kombu* in the legend is either merged in the exergue line or curves over below it; the vowel mark in the *tu* is partially run into the containing line circle; in some specimens also the left limb of the head of the *S* and *t* joins the loop of the letter as in modern Tamil. The dots in the field are distributed thus:—

Left.		Right.	Left.		Right.
3	..	3, 1	1	..	3
3	..	3	—	..	3
2	..	3	—	..	—

Diameter: ·59–·66 in. Weight: 34 gr. R.D., 18; Tracy, No. 5. **Pl. 92.**

(3) Bull in Frame.—Obv. as on type II. (1). Short *dhoti*; under each end of garment a group of three dots. Hanging lamp, a vertical line with two curved cross pieces. The standing lamp has a horizontal stand, a cross piece, and above and below this a dot. All in line circle and dots.

Rev.: As on II. (1), but from exergue line springs a semicircle connected with the line circle by eleven short lines. Within the frame so formed is the bull and crescent, as usual, between two groups of three dots.

Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.
·76–·82	..	68	·76	..	67·2

There is also an exactly similar coin with a diameter of ·86 inch and a weight of 97 grains. **Pl. 93.**

(4) As II. (1), but of rather rougher execution. Obv: Hanging lamp as on last; standing lamp also similar, but without dots. In hand a ball or small quatrefoil. In circumference dots only.

Rev.: Two dots behind bull; to l. of legend sometimes a dot.

Diameter: ·68–·78 in. Weight: 55 gr.

It is this variety which is closest to the "Lion" coin. **Pl. 94.**

Variant.—Three dots behind bull; *kombu* longer than on last. Diameter. ·70 in. Weight: 58·1 gr.

(5) As last, but more debased. Obv. · Central horizontal line of head projects almost as far as the left hand. In r. hand, hanging lamp as in last, but ending in a ball; the upper part is indented. Standing lamp has dot at bottom and in centre; the head is a semicircle with three points at the chord. In circumference dots only.

Rev.: Bull and crescent as usual. To r. a vertical row of three dots; no others in field In the legend the *kombu* is separated from the *S*, of which the cross line appears just to cut the vertical

Diameter: ·88 in. Prinsep. No. 14; apparently merely a variety of (4).

(6) Debased Type, with several variations:—

(i.) Obv.: Head, l.; crown, three dots, line, and dot; body broad. arms raised. Below body a line following the contour, at each end of which a dot. From this line hangs the *dhotī*. Before face a group of four dots. On either side of figure a standing lamp; that on l. being composed of a fairly long horizontal base, three dots, a shorter horizontal line, a dot, a horizontal line turned up at either end, a dot. and at the top a trident-head; that on r. is similar, but in lieu of the two dots with the turned up line between there are only two dots. All within circle of dashes.

Rev.: Bull couchant, l., crescent and sun above. *Setu* below; large *kombu*. In front of bull large rosette of six petals, below which a group of three dots. Similar circle of dashes.

Diameter: ·82 in. Weight: 96·6 gr.

(ii.) As (i.), but on obv. to l. an inverted pyramid of balls, 1, 2, 3, above which two dots, and again a ball. Rev.: No rosette; behind rump of bull a quatrefoil.

Diameter: ·78 in.

(iii.) As (i.), but lines of *dhoti* separate from line below body. To l. three semicircles with dot above each, disposed vertically: to r. lamp, the stem of which consists of a large ball bet. een two smaller balls, and the head of a horizontal line curved upwards at either end and enclosing a flame. Between figure and lamps on l. two dots and on r. one. Rev.: Apparently as (ii.), but in lieu of quatrefoil three dots.

Diameter: ·74 in.

Variant.—To l. of figure lower semicircle absent, on either side of figure two dots. Rev: To r. and l. of bull a group of three dots.

Diameter: ·76 in Weight · 60·7 gr. **Pl. 95.**

(iv.) As (i.), but body as last. Lamp on r. as (iii.), but with horizontal foot; lamp on l. has similar head, below which a ball, and under this a horizontal line curved upwards at ends, bottom obliterated. Rev.: as (iii.).

Diameter: ·66 in

(v.) As last, but body thin. Curved object on l.; lamp on r. as on (i.), but in lieu of trident-head a line curved up at either end and enclosing a dot. Rev.: as (iii.)

Diameter: ·70 in.

(vi.) Similar to (ii.), but on rev. before bull peacock or *hamsa*, r. Tracy, No. 7. Weight, 40 gr.

The average weight of the above, excluding (i.), the variant of (iii.), and (vi.) is 51·3 grains.

(7) Obv. '*Setu* across a circle in centre of octofoil, all in dot and line circle.

Rev.: Bull and crescent above '*Setu*'; in field to r. group of three dots., to l. of which sometimes another dot. Beneath exergue line three similar groups, disposed horizontally. All in dot and line circle. **Pl. 96.**

Diameter. In.	Weight Gr.	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.
·53 ..	27·6	·55 ..	32·8	59 ..	35·5

This coin is Tracy's No. 8, but his description is erroneous.

THE "LION" TYPE.

20. The attribution of the "Lion" coin bearing the legend *Śrī Parákrama Báhu* has hitherto been far from clear. The treatment of the head and-crown, as well as the frequent presence of a border of large dots, differentiate it from the usual Polonnaruwa-Dambadeniya copper, and the variations in size and weight taken into

consideration with the deterioration in design would class it with, if not after, series II. of that coinage. Though allied in many ways with this, the obverse bears a close resemblance to that of type II. (4) of the *Setu* issues, the discussion of which above should be read in conjunction with the present section, and it, therefore, seems probable that it was issued in the same locality.

The introduction of the lion, the national dynastic emblem, absent from the Polonnaruwa-Dambadeniya series, may be explained as suitable to a coinage struck by a Sinhalese king in a foreign country. On this supposition there are only two kings of the name of Parákrama Báhu who can have issued the " Lion." Of these, Parákrama Báhu I., between A.D. 1164–5 and 1167–8, interfered in the war of the Páṇḍyan succession. After a campaign, in the course of which the fortified city of Parakkamapura was built, the Sinhalese general Laṅkápura reduced the country, put his master's candidate on the throne of Madura, and, according to the Mahávaṁsa (cap. LXXVII., 104), " commanded that the *kahápaṇa* coin, bearing the superscription of the King Parakkama, should be used throughout the country." The Sinhalese occupation of at least a small part of the mainland seems to have been more than temporary, as Nissaṅka Malla claims to have built the Nissaṅkesvara Temple at Ramesvaram. The second, the sixth of the name, who reigned from A.D. 1415 to 1467 sent Sapumal Kumárayá against the kingdom of Jaffna, which he conquered and held for some years.

At first blush it would appear to be obvious that the coin under discussion is the *kahápaṇa* referred to in the Mahávaṁsa. But it is to be observed that there is no mention of striking a special coinage, but merely of the enforced circulation of the Sinhalese money in the Páṇḍyan country. Tne " Lion" has never been found in excavations conducted by the Archæological Survey, and, further, the *Setu* type II. (4), which it resembles, must date from a period posterior to those of type I., which are copied from a thirteenth century Coḷa prototype. The *Setu* coins undoubtedly formed the currency of Jaffna, where, as we have seen, it is likely that they were struck, and it is more probable that the " Lion " was issued under the authority of Parákrama Báhu VI. in that kingdom. It may be objected to this theory that the proposed date is too late for the letters of the legend. But the Dambadeniya coins were current till a much later date, and quite naturally would be given as the model for the Tamil craftsmen, who on their part would be influenced by the *Setu* type already familiar to them.

21. The following are the chief types ; the comparatively large number of varieties in contrast with the uniformity of the *Daṁbadeni kási* is noteworthy, as, whether struck by Parákrama Báhu I. or VI., all must have been issued within a comparatively short period :—

I.—Hanging Lamp with Dots.

A.—As in twelfth-thirteenth century Sinhalese. Obv. : Head, a semicircle, from the chord of which three lines project ; crown, or *makuṭa*, two curved lines with a dot in rear : r. elbow more pronounced ; in r. hand lamp consisting of a straight line ending in a ball and flanked on either side by two dots; in l. hand a small ball; in some this rests on the palm, in others is held by the finger and thumb. Feet turned outwards, no line between the legs, but one across them at the knees ; a small curved line without finials under the feet. Two dots, one under each arm, represent the upper part of the *dhoti*. To r. a lion seated and facing r., left foreleg uplifted ; each paw has three claws. In Rhys Davids' No. 5 the uplifted leg has degenerated into a symbol resembling a mace, possibly through a mistake of the die engraver. A varying number of dots in the field. The whole is in a circle of large dots.

Rev. : A similar head, with eye, or the central projecting line crosses the chord, either (1) reaching the back of the semicircle, or (2) stopping halfway ; crown, as on obv. In l. hand either (1) a narrow upright object curving over to the left at top, or (2) a small ball held by the finger and thumb. The l. leg is in line with the body. *Dhoti* consists of two short branching lines, below which a line of dots. Anklets visible ; a trace of the *ásana* shown by a small line to l. of lower leg. The whole in a circle of large dots.

Legend : *Śrí Pará krama Báhu.* **Pl. 97.**

In some specimens the right limb of the *rá* curves outwards.

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
R.D., 5	·80	—	—
H.W.C.	·80	64·3	Good.
H.C.P.B.	·80	53·7	Somewhat worn.
	·76	60·4	Good.

Variant.—Head on either side as on rev. of above. In hand on obv. an oblong object. *Ásana* represented by a long curved line following the outline of the lower leg. Intermediate between types I. A and II. A. **Pl. 98.**

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
R.D., 7	·72	61	—
H.C.P.B.	·82	61·9	Fine.
	·78	59·04	Worn.
	·78	59·02	Worn.

A roughly executed coin in the British Museum, apparently of type A, seems to lack the hanging lamp with dots altogether. **Pl. 99.**

B.—As A, but the crown on obv. consists of one curved line and a dot.

Obv. : Head usually fairly large, of the two alternative varieties on rev. of I. A. In l. hand a ball with projection or pellet either above or below.

Rev. : Head of both varieties ; normal crown. *Dhoti* as on I. A or with a line in lieu of dots. **Pl. 100.**

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
Col. Mus., 74	·82	65·2	Poor.
H.W.C.	·76	48·4	Worn.
H.C.P.B.	·78	62·8	Fine
H.C.P.B.	·80	60·0	—
	·78	59·0	Fair.
	·78	58·5	Slightly worn.
	·70	51·3	Poor.

II.—Hanging Lamp as in Sinhalese Series.

A.—As I. A. Obv. : Head of the same two varieties as on rev. of I. A. In r. hand a four-pronged hanging lamp with ball at end. In l. hand a ball, sometimes elongated on one side. Feet turned outwards or to right, with or without line across knees. The lotus stalk is either entirely absent, or represented by a curved line. The presence of the " symbol " before the lion is often doubtful.

Rev. : Head as on obv. or as on obv. of I. A. Object in hand usually, if not always, (1) of I. A. The *ásana* as in variant of I. A commencing at l. in a dot. **Pl. 101.**

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
Colo. Mus., 76	·80	42·2	Broken.
H.W.C.	·78	60·8	—
H.C.P.B.	·76	54·2	—

Madras Museum Nos. 6 and 7 are of this type.

B.—As II. A, but head on obv. very large.

Obv : Head of variety (2) of rev. of I. A. In hand a ball with pellet attached to l., and sometimes a small tail-like projection to r. Feet turned outwards. No " symbol " visible in front of lion.

Rev. : Head as on obv. or of variety (2) on rev. of I. A ; smaller than that of obv. In hand, ball held between finger and thumb. *Dhoti* with line in lieu of dots. No anklets, and, except in one, no traces of *ásana*. **Pl. 102.**

	Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
R.D., 6	·72	55	Worn.
Colo. Mus., 75	·80	48·4	Poor.
H.W.C.	·80	59·04	—

C.—As B, but obv. head of normal size ; crown as on obv. of I. B. " Symbol " before lion.

Rev. : Larger head ; in hand as (1) of I. A. *Ásana* follows curve of leg. **Pl. 103.**

H.C.P.B. Diameter : ·74 in. Weight : 50·1 gr. Worn.

The letters of the legend show little variations, with the exception of the *rá*, which has (1) the right vertical curved outwards at the bottom, or straight, and (2) the projection from the left upright, either (*a*) sloping upwards or (*b*) at right angles; the place of its junction with the vertical differs. The left side of the *Pa* has no pronounced inward bend as in some of the *Dam̆badeni kási*.

Lowsley mentions gold "Lion" coins, "of different sizes, but of the same weight . . . . The weight of each is about 120 grains." The genuineness of these pieces is doubtful.

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22. The Ruvanveli inscription of Nissañka Malla mentions "silver *tiram*" (E.Z., II., line 13). The corresponding Tamil form *tiramam*, from which the Sinhalese is derived, occurs in the South Indian inscriptions of the next century, chiefly in those of the Pándyan country (A.R.E., 1908, Nos. 131, 323, 578, 1909, No. 459; 1910, No. 280; 1914, Nos. 410, 412). The word comes from "drachma" either through Sanskrit, or more probably through the Persian diram, Arabic dirham.

The silver *nikkhala*, in which the price of elephants was reckoned in Rámañña, according to the Mahávaṁsa, cap. LXXVI., 19, seems to be the Burmese tical, the dental *t* and *n* being liable to confusion in Sinhalese script. The word only occurs in this passage, and has no connection with the currency of Ceylon; it has been discussed in the Ceylon Antiquary, Vol. III., Pt. 1. 1917.

23. The word *masuran* seems to be formed quite regularly on the tenth century usage, as shown in *kaḷand ran*, and must mean *massas, i.e., másakas* of gold. It appears in Nissañka Malla's Ruvanveli inscriptions in "forty lakhs of *masuran*," amounts of money being expressed elsewhere in lakhs with no denomination attached. In the same record occurs "gold, silver, *masuran*, pearls," &c., and in analogous sentences in the Daḷadá Maṇḍiráwa and Galpota inscriptions "gold, silver, *kahavuṇu*, pearls," and "*kahavuṇu*, copper, bell metal, gold, silver, pearls" (E.Z., II., 70, 98: Müller, No 149). Now, in Sáriputta's Ṭíká on his Pálimuttaka Vinaya Viniccaya Saṅgaho of the twelfth century, the gold *másaka* of Buddhaghosa is explained as being the gold *kahápaṇa*, and this is in accordance with the usage in the late Sinhalese literature, where the Pali *kahápaṇa* is translated by *masuran*. The quotation, however, from the Mulusika Geṭapada Vivaraṇaya in the last chapter clearly shows that *masuran* was then applied, not only to the *kahápaṇa*, but also to the small fractional pieces. It, therefore, literally means "gold coins"; the Sinhalese *massa* undoubtedly had the meaning of "coin" in later times, for the *taṇgam massa* in the seventeenth century was the Indo-Portuguese double tanga, and the *massa* in the next two centuries was the larin. Buddhaghosa's usage of *másaka* shows that the word had the same connotation in the fifth century. The usual statement that the larger mediæval Sinhalese coins were struck on the standard of the *massa* is, therefore, incorrect, for as a weight this can only have been the *mañjádi*, as has been seen, the standard was that of the *kaḷañda*.[1]

But *masuran* had come to mean nothing more than "coins," with no necessary implication of gold at least by the first quarter of the fourteenth century, when, according to the Sinhalese Ummagga Játaka, they were of base metal (Appendix A. 32 (*b*)); a similar change of meaning is found in *mada-ran*, the *mañḍa-ran* of Nissañka Malla's Dambulla inscription. "*Ran*," however, would seem to have retained a certain significance. In the Pali of the Játaka referred to, a *nikkha* is said to consist of five *suvaṇṇas*. the author of the Sinhalese version, having the Abhidánappadípiká in mind, makes the *nika* equal to 25 *ran*. Thus, the *ran* was Moggallána's *dharaṇa*, that is the *kaḷañda*, and in the Ruvanmala the synonyms of this last word are *kahavaṇuva* and *masuruvana*. We, therefore, may conclude that *masuran* in the fourteenth century were copper coins, each of one *kaḷañda* in weight, or, in other words, the *Dam̆badeni kási*. *Rana* also was then used as the equivalent of *massa* in the sense of "coin," "money" (Appendix A, *ib.*). In the next century, in the Pepiliyana inscription of the thirty-ninth year of Parákrama Báhu VI. (A.D. 1454, Appendix D, 57), occur references to a coin called *massa, ran massa*, or *ran*, as well as to the fanam. From the present diet of the priesthood it may be deduced that from 12 to 16 *massas* went to the fanam; the identification of the *massa* with the mediæval Sinhalese copper coin again receives confirmation from the facts that the gold fanam in 1443 at Vijayanagar, according to 'Abdu'r-Razzáq, consisted of 18 copper jitals, and in 1645 at Jaffna of 15 "large caixas."

24. The word "fanam" apparently occurs in a twelfth century Tamil inscription at Budumuttawa; the Sinhalese *aka* may be meant. That the fanam, as distinct from the *aka*, was brought to Ceylon from the Tamil country is apparent from the formation of its Sinhalese name *paṇama*, plur. *paṇam*. Its currency was continuous from the middle of the fourteenth century. It is then first mentioned in 1344 by Ibn Baṭútah, who informs us that one hundred were equal to six gold dínárs; the average weight of the Maghrabí dínár of the time being

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[1] With the exception of the use of *massa* as a land measure (*v.* Chap. II.), the only early mediæval inscription in which the word, apart from the compound *masuran*, occurs as an undoubted measure of value is No. 40 in Appendix D.

about 70 grains, the fanam, if of the same touch, would be 4·2 grains, but this species of coin usually is not of the best gold, and its weight was probably then as in latter times about 5·8 grains. In 1347–8 the Gadaladeniya inscription states that the pay of the workmen engaged on the construction of that vihare amounted to 3,000 fanams ; the expenditure on the Lankatilaka Vihare is said, according to the rock record of the same year, to have been 3 *kotis* and 60 lakhs (36,000,000) of *masuran*, while provision was made for an annual tax of one fanam on each house. Fanams are also mentioned not infrequently in the grants of the Kotte period , they appear with *massas* in the Pepiliyana inscription. Silver fanams are first recorded somewhat later in the same period by Lunardo de Cha Masser in his account of the ninth voyage in 1506, in which he states that at Ceylon, that is Colombo, " the money is of silver, is called fanemini, which are worth 72 the ducat." He also states that at Cannanore 18 and at Quilon 12 gold fanemini went to the ducat (Appendix to Memorias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, N.S., Vol. I., Pt. 1., 1885). In Nunes' Lyvro dos Pesos written in 1554 the native money in use at Colombo is said to have been fanams of very base gold, 30 of which went to the xerafim, each, therefore, being worth 10 reis ; about the same time in the Inventario do Thesouro do Rei de Ceylão, in which the treasures of the Kotte king and of the Sitawaka temple, plundered by the Portuguese in 1551, are entered, we find two kinds of fanams : (*a*) 122,330 " new fanams " of 10 reis each, clearly the king's own coinage, and (*b*) 9½ ounces of " fanões chocrões " or *cakrams*, each of 27 to 28 reis in value. These last would appear to be Indian, and similar to the Negapatam *cakrams*, which, according to Nunes, were worth 28¾ to 29⅓ reis. By 1614, however, the silver fanam re-appears as a regular sub-unit of the currency, the oldest recorded rating being 12 to the larin ; it is mentioned as in use in the reign of Mayadunne (A.D. 1551–1580). In Knox's time (A.D. 1659–1679) the Kandyan king struck only fanams of silver, such as are still found. These *Siṇhala panam* therefore presumably have a continuous history, at least from the time of Mayadunne, if not from 1506

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Páṇḍyan inscriptions record the existence of the *Kaliyugaráman paṇam* or the *Neṇmeṇi-* or *Nelvéli-Kaliyugarámaṇ paṇam*, which, perhaps, derived its name from Kaliyugarámaṇ, the title of Máravarman Víra Páṇḍya of Tinnevelly (*c.* A.D. 1422–1441) ; this coin, presumably, is the *Kali* fanam, the tenth of a *pon*, and the predecessor in type of the Malabar *Víra ráya* fanam. The " Sinhalese fanam " is of this type. It may, therefore, be supposed that the gold fanam in use since the fourteenth century was imported into the Island in the course of trade, that the first " Sinhalese fanam " of silver was struck betwen 1454 and 1506 on the model of the then current gold fanam and in imitation of the silver fanam of the Continent, and that Nunes' base gold coin was either a still later innovation, probably of rapidly deteriorating fineness, or possibly, as it is styled " new " in the Inventario, merely an experimental issue, which was discontinued or merged through further debasement into the ordinary silver fanam. The wide diffusion of the *Víra ráya* type is accounted for by Elliot (C.S.I., p. 147).[1]

The word *kahavaṇuva* re-appears in the somewhat doubtful fifteenth century Maha Saman Dévâlé inscription, now existing only in palm leaf copies, in its Sanskrit form. The pagoda probably is meant.

25. The results obtained from the foregoing investigations are :—

(1) The Sinhalese *kahavanu* or the so-called " Laṅkeṣvara " coins are older than the Rájarája issue, which is imitated from type III. C. This type therefore probably is of the late tenth century. Type I. A dates as stated above, from about A.D. 900, while type II. is intermediate.

(2) The *Ṣrí Laṁká, Lakshmí, Nandakí,* and *Uraka* coins are fractional pieces of the *kahavaṇuva*, to various types of which they can be assigned with some probability.

(3) The " gold " and silver pieces with the name of Vijaya Báhu were not issued by the third and fourth kings of that name, but by Vijaya Báhu I. They are, therefore, intermediate between the issues of Rájarája I. and the coinage of Parákrama Báhu I

(4) The currency to the end of the tenth century was of gold, perhaps eked out with a few silver coins ; in the eleventh it was of very poor gold or of silver washed with gold, possibly supplemented by a little copper, if the few coins of this metal be not ancient forgeries. From the time of Parákrama Báhu I. the coinage of the precious metals entirely ceased, though silver was used to wash coins of base metal. Gold continued to be current until the reign of Vijaya Báhu III.

[1] The Ying-yai-shêng-lan of Ma Huan, who touched at Ceylon in A.D. 1432, states : " The King has a gold coin in circulation weighing one candareen six cash. Chinese musk, coloured taffetas, blue porcelain basins and cups, copper cash and camphor are much esteemed by them, against which they barter pearls and precious stones " (G. Phillips, Seaports of India and Ceylon, J. China Branch, R.A.S., XX., 214) The candareen, according to Nunes, was 5 89, and now by treaty 5·79 grains ; our coin, therefore, weighed 9·4 or 9·2 grains. The *aka*, the latest of the earlier mediæval series, is under 9 grains in weight, and possibly may have been current in the fifteenth century, but its fine contents, which are low, do not accord with Ibn Batûṭah's fanam. Mr. Phillips unfortunately has not translated the passage of Ma Huan relating to the Indian Ports. In 1412, however, the Bengal rupee of 166 grains seems to have weighed 2 mace 8 candareens (Coins of Ancient India, p. 24), which confirms the value of 9·4 grains already given.

(5) The majority of the *Srí Parákrama Báhu* coins are to be attributed to the second king of the name, and the *Srí Vijaya Báhu* to his successor.

(6) The standard of all the coins was the *kalañda* of about 68 to 70 grains, supposed to have been the same weight as the *kahápaṇa* of the Buddhist Scriptures, as a revival of which the gold *kahavanuva*, perhaps, was issued. This standard shows a tendency to drop from the reign of Vijaya Báhu I.

(7) The *kalañda* is practically identical in weight with the late Roman solidus. This coin was current in the Island, and may have influenced the weight of the *kalañda*. "Throughout India the old standard of weight seems almost universally to have been the current coin of the locality" (Report of Col. R. Strachey, 1867, quoted in A.I.W., p. 25, Note 2).

(8) The word *massa* signifies "coin." *Masuran* was applied to any gold coin, and not exclusively to the *kahavaṇuva*; ultimately it was used of the copper coinage.

(9) The fanam was introduced into Ceylon at least as early as the fourteenth century.

(10) The *Setu* series in all probability is to be attributed to the kingdom of Jaffna, and the "Lion" coin to the same mint, in which case it must have been issued by Parákrama Báhu VI.

26. The following account of the native mints from Sir J. Malcolm's "Central India" (ed. 1823, Vol. II., pp. 80, *ff.*) is reprinted at length, this work not being everywhere available for ready reference. That the practice of coining by merchants and others under the supervision of the State obtained in the South is shown by the application of the Dutch East India Company for the privilege at Negapatam and by the conduct of that mint when established. The Sinhalese *ranę eñgilla*, "golden finger" (Chap. V., section 3), and the Canarese *dala*, "leaf," of the twelfth century inscriptions (A.R.E., 499 of 1915; Ep. Ind., XIV., 19) may be the thin and narrow ingots of metal described below :—

"The right of coining is vested in no particular body, or individuals; any banker or merchant sufficiently conversant in the business has merely to make application to Government, presenting at the same time a trifling acknowledgment, engaging to produce coin of the regulated standard, and to pay the proper fees on its being assayed and permitted to pass current. Almost all the expense falls on the merchant, the Government retaining in their pay merely the following officers; a superintendent, an assay-master, and an accountant, and some refiners. Besides their wages, these mint-officers are allowed certain perquisites, which, however, are but very trifling.

"The banker or merchant having obtained permission to coin, and having collected a sufficient number of silversmiths, makes such purchases of coins or other bullion as will turn out most to his advantage. These being, in general, baser coins than the new one to be formed, are first brought to the Nearchee or refiner . . . . The mode of fining is always by cuppellation with lead: three hundred and fifty rupees are placed at one time in the cuppel, with a certain quantity of lead, according to the standard of the silver used, which by experience he knows will suffice for bringing it to a certain degree of purity, a little higher than that required for the coin. The standard is then nicely adjusted, by adding a certain quantity of baser metal. The purified mass is afterwards taken to the melter, who, putting one thousand rupees weight at a time in a large crucible on an iron ring, capable of being raised by attached chains, melts it and runs it into several small flat moulds, about six inches long, and half an inch broad, forming it thus into convenient pieces for cutting into the necessary dimensions . . . . The bars of silver are then delivered to the silversmiths, each of whom has a small raised fire-place and anvil in front close to him. On one side sits another with scales and shears, for supplying him with square pieces of metal of nearly the proper weight. On the other side is a person whose business is to adjust the weight more accurately after it has been formed into its shape. The silversmith receives back the small lumps; heats them red-hot, and taking them up with a pair of small forks, gives them two or three smart blows on the angular points, then strikes the piece flat, and gives it afterwards one or two rapid turns on its edge, accompanied by gentle strokes of the hammer; and it thus receives its rudely round form ready for the die. Before this operation, however, it is taken to another man to clean, by boiling it in a mixture of tamarind and salt. The planchets are then taken to receive the impression or inscription: this is formed by two steel dies; one firmly fixed in a heavy raised block, and the silver piece being placed on it; the other die, in form of a large heavy punch, is placed above by one man, whilst an assistant gives it a smart blow with a heavy hammer; one blow suffices: these men are relieved every two hours.

"The number of the rupees being thus completed, they are carried to the assay-master, and, if approved, the fees are paid and the coin taken away by the proprietor, for circulation. If not approved, they must be recoined at his expense; no fees being, however, again taken, but merely a trifle given to the melter for remelting them, with the proper quantity of purer metal to reduce them to the assay touch.

"The average number of rupees which a mint in Central India is capable of coining in a day, is about eight or ten thousand, employing about fifty silversmiths, ten or twelve stampers, six or eight refiners, and two melters."

A different mode of manufacture was employed in the case of the Sinhalese copper coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The metal was run into a number of moulds of the size of the coin desired, connected with one another by small channels. The blanks, obtained by breaking the necks of metal so formed, were struck and the edges finished off with the file and hammer. The execution of the "Lion" series is, as a rule, less careful than that of the issues of the Sinhalese mint, and a specimen in the British Museum still retains the projection left when the blank was separated from the rest of the casting.

CHAPTER VII.

MEDIÆVAL INDIAN.

? Pallava.

The only direct contact between the Pallavas and the Sinhalese seems to have occurred in the expeditions of Siṁhavishṇu (S. I. I., II., 356) and of his grandson Narasiṁhavarman I. already referred to. The coins attributed to this dynasty, from a general resemblance to Elliot's plate I., 49, 50, were found at Tirukketisvaram, a place of pilgrimage. The animal on the obverse of these coins, however, differs considerably from those figured by Elliot, and the rays on the reverse are absent. The Pallava crest was a standing bull. If our animal is meant for a tiger, the coins perhaps may be early Coḷa ; the seal of the Malepadu plates of the ninth century Telugu-Coḷa Puṇyakumára has a maned lion, right, with one forepaw raised and a twisted tail (Ep. Ind.. XI., No. 35).

(1) Obv. : Within bead circle, lion standing r., long tail curved upwards : over head, ? crescent. Traces of ? letters between legs and over tail.

Rev. : Large flower pot.

AE. Diameter : ·74 in. Weight : 14·8 gr. Thin, very worn, and slightly broken. A. S., 1907, p. 30.

(2) Obv. : As last ; an object before front leg. Apparently no letters.

Rev. : As last, between two lamps.

AE. Diameter:	Weight:	
·74 in.	18·7 gr.	Thin; obv. worn ; rev. well preserved. A. S., 1907, p. 30.
·74 in.	20·4 gr.	—
·72 in.	38·3 gr.	Very worn.

Rapson, in "Notes on Indian Coins and Seals," Part V. (J. R. A. S., 1903, pp. 311, 312), describes a similar coin, thus : Obv. : Lion to r., with a forepaw upraised. Rev. : Flower pot ; on either side a staff (?) ; border of dots. AE. ·8 in. Weight : 74·5 gr. ; and states : "The coin now published seems to belong to the class at present attributed to the Pallavas ; but there is no evidence to show whether it is earlier or later than those already published by Elliot." It is figured in his plate 19.

The coin described below was found at Tarakundu, near Mannar.—

Obv. : In ? double line circle a palm tree between vertical objects, presumably lamps.

Rev. : In double line circle vase, from the mouth of which rises a sprig with three leaves on either side, between two lamps.

AE. Diameter : 1·02 in. Weight : 138·9 gr.

The following is from Kantarodai :—

Obv. : In line circle lion standing r., one paw uplifted and tail curved over back.

Rev. : Large tree with bifurcated trunk and four branches.

Diameter : ·94 in. Weight : 36·2 gr. Thin. Pieris' "Nagadipa," Pl. XIV., 27. This coin probably is Pallava.

Coḷa.

2. Parántaka I.	.. A.D. 907–953	Vikrama Coḷa	.. A.D. 1118–1135	
Rájarája I.	.. 985–1013	Kulottuṅga Coḍa II.	.. c. 1123–1146	Period of decline.
Rájendra Coḷa I.	.. 1012–1042	Rájarája II.	.. 1146–1162	
Rájádhirája I.	.. 1018–1053	Rájádhirája II.	.. 1163–1181 ?	
Rájendradeva	.. 1050–1062/3	Kulottuṅga Coḷa III	.. 1178–1217	
Rájamahendra	.. —	Rájarája III.	.. 1216–1254	Decline continued.
Víra Rájendra	.. 1062/3–1069/70	Rájendra Coḷa III.	.. 1246–1267	
Adhirájendra	.. —			
Kulottuṅga Coḷa I. *alias* Rájendra Coḷa II.	.. 1070–1118			

3. The earliest gold coin figured by Elliot (No. 151) has the same design on either side, namely, the Cola seated tiger facing the Pándyan fish, the whole surrounded by the Grantha legend *Uttama Colan*. The tiger and fish also appear on Elliot's No. 156 and others like it in the British Museum, but the legend, apparently in Grantha characters, is relegated to the reverse. In the coinage of Rájendra Cola I. though the Ceylon standard was used, the traditional Cola types remained in possession, the tiger is now flanked by the Pándyan fishes and the Cera bow, and the legends are in Nágarí letters (C. S. I., Nos. 152–155); a very few with the legend *Yuddha malláh* (No. 155), of poor gold, seem to have been found in the Island. But on the silver piece of his predecessor, Rájarája I., described in the "Indian Antiquary," 1896, p. 317, this older type with the Nágarí legend *Srí Rájarája devaḥ* is found in combination with the Ceylon reverse, varied, however, by a tiger seated between two lamps and surmounted by a canopy in place of the usual legend. This design also appears, but with the usual Ceylon obverse on the coins described below, bearing the legends *Srí Rájádhirája* and *Srí Rájendraḥ*.

4. There exist also the two well-known varieties of base gold coins with the legend *Srí Rájarája*, which closely resemble the Ceylon *kahavanuva* of type III C (1). On the one the four annulets on the obverse are surmounted by a ball as on the prototype, on the other by a crescent. The first variety is not uncommon in Ceylon; it falls naturally into its place in the *kahavanu* series, and quite possibly may have been struck in or for use in the Island. The second appears only to be found on the mainland. It is now suggested that it may have been struck for circulation in the conquered Pándyan provinces, where the Sinhalese gold coins were well known (v. Chap. VI., section 17 (*d*)), it is the prototype of the common copper pieces described below in section 7. If, however, the Ceylon type as well as standard was introduced by Rájarája into the coinage of the Cola provinces proper, the old Cola type must have re-asserted itself temporarily under Rájendra Cola I.

The two varieties of the Rájarája gold are the following :—

(1) As *kahavanuva* III. C (1).

Obv. : Head usually represented by an oval with a projection for the chin; the oval is more or less countersunk inside leaving the eye standing out, two lines over the chin do duty for nose and mouth. Crown (*makuta*), a thick line behind which a triangle. Left arm extended, bent upwards at elbow and holding a jessamine flower. Legs short and straight; *dhoti* stiff, line between legs; the whole standing on a double lotus plant conjoined in the centre by a small circle and terminating on left in a chank and on right in a jessamine flower. To left under arm hanging lamp and further to left another symbol, long and with four branches as on *kahavanuva*. To right four annulets each with dot in centre; above, a ball. All in bead circle.

Rev. : Head and crown as on obv. Left arm extended, bent down, elbow outwards, and holding chank. *Ásana* short with two cross lines. Legend to right in three lines: *Srí* | *Rája* | *rája*. All in bead circle.

Diameter : ·76–·78 in. Weight : 65·1, 66·5 gr. C. A., Pl. XIV., No. 8. **Pl. 104.**

A copper specimen of this variety is in the British Museum. Another, once silvered, was found in Topavewa Tank Dágoba (A. S., 1909, p. 30, No. 2); its diameter is ·84 inch, and weight, 52·3 grains. It is perhaps an ancient forgery.

(2) "Crescent" type.

Obv. : Head more oblong; right arm bent and apparently grasping the symbol under it; in left hand an annulet or ball with dot in centre, having a small projection on the left; legs longer. To right four annulets, each with dot in centre, and above a crescent. A dot in lotus finial under feet.

Rev. : Head as on obv. In left hand a circle with short tail below (? chank); *ásana* with three cross lines.

Diameter : ·78 in. Weight : ·65 gr.

Two of these coins in the British Museum collection, one of which is Elliot's Pl. IV., 165, weigh 67·5 and 66·6 grains. The fabric and metal are similar to those of the coins in the following section. See also R. D., 8.

5. Rájádhirája I.

Obv. : Exactly as on Rájarája, but in lieu of the annulets and ball the legend in four lines: *Srí* | *Rájá* | *dhirá* | *ja*.

Rev. : Seated figure as on Rájarája; *ásana* with four or five cross lines; in lieu of legend seated tiger to left between two lamps and under canopy.

Base gold. Diameter : {·78 in. / ·82 in.} Weight : {65·8 gr. / 65·7 gr.} **Pl. 105.**

Both from Sitawaka.

6. Rájendradeva or Víra Rájendra. As Rájádhirája, but on obv. two lines between the legs, and legend in three lines : *Śrí* | *Ráje* | *ndraḥ*. The *visarga* between two dots.

Copper, once gilt : from Topavewa Tank Dágoba (A. S., 1909, p. 30, No. 6). Perhaps an ancient forgery.

Diameter : ·76 in. Weight : 43·6 gr

7. Copper Rájarája " Crescent " type.

Of the same design as the coins of Rájarája I., but the human figure is more degraded and the legend roughly executed, the *ja* sometimes being reversed. In the degradation of the type various stages are visible, and it is probable that the coins were issued by various later kings following the old model without alteration of name. The better executed and presumably older specimens with a flat blank about ·76 inch in width, and a weight of some 63 grains, may be the " new *kásu* " or rather its double. This appears first in the inscriptions of Kulottuṅga Coḷa III. (A.D. 1178-1217), in whose reign gifts for lamps were reckoned by thousands of this denomination. The coarser coins are usually smaller and often lenticular, and average about 58 grains or less in weight. C. S. 1, 166.

Bull type :—

(1) Obv. : Coarse standing figure ; dots in perimeter.
Rev. : Bull standing r., face turned to front ; over back crescent ; before face dot and before breast Nágarí *vi* ; dots in perimeter.
Elliot, IV., 167.

(2) As last, but in front of bull a symbol somewhat like a chank.
Cf. Elliot, 167 and 169.
Colo. Mus. 241. Diameter : ·64 in. Weight : 47·06 gr. Worn.

(3) Obv. : Very crude standing figure.
Rev. : Bull to r., facing a crook ; crescent over back
Elliot, 169. Diameter : ·66 in. Weight : 48·5 gr.

8. We have seen that in South India and Ceylon fines and taxes were usually paid in uncoined gold, which on the analogy of Burma may be presumed to have been comparatively pure. In that country the standard or " king's gold " was of $9\frac{3}{4}$ *mu* sc. *máṭṭu*, " merchants' gold " of $9\frac{1}{2}$, while between the standard " and that which is only 12 carats or contains one-half alloy is to be found in use almost every intermediate degree of fineness " (J. Crawford, Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Ava, 1827 . Prinsep's Essays, Vol. I.). Gold of 10 *mu* or that reputed pure was *shwenee* or " red gold," the exact counterpart of the Tamil *sempon*, which we know to have been of 10 *máṭṭu* (A. R. E., 399 of 1902), of the Pali *ratta suvaṇṇam* (Visákháya vatthu in the Dhammapada). and of the Sinhalese *ratran* ; this last, however, has come to mean " gold." the expression *dasa guna ratran* being applied to the pure metal.

For the purity of the gold coin in use in the Coḷa empire the data are as follows :—

(*a*) In the twenty-ninth year of Rájendra Coḷa I. the coins mentioned are the *Madurántakadevan-máḍai* and its half the *Rájarájan-kásu*. The former was the equivalent of one *kaḷañju* of the gold known as *tulai-nirai-pon* (A. R. E., 1913, p. 97 ; and p. 59 and Nos. 140, 141 of 1912). *Tulai-nirai-sempon* is also mentioned (S. I. I., III., p. 45 ; A. R. E., 186 of 1920).

(*b*) In the eleventh year of Rájendra deva 37 *kásu* equalled 15 *kaḷañjus* 9 *mañjáḍis* 2 *más* of gold of the fineness of the *Madurántakan-máḍai*, which was the same as *Íḻam* (A. R. E., No 157 of 1916. Arcot District, as now read ; No. 252 of 1915). Each *kásu*. therefore. equalled 8·356 *mañjáḍis* of this gold.

(*c*) In the Tiruvallam inscription, Arcot District, of the second year of Rájamahendra (S. I. I., III., 1), it is stated that 64 *kásu*, at the rate of 7 *mañjáḍis* of *sempon* for each *kásu*, equalled 22 *kaḷañjus* 8 *mañjáḍis* of this standard of gold.

(*d*) In the second year of Kulottuṅga Coḷa I. one *kásu* or half *máḍai* purchased half a *kaḷañju* of gold (*poṉ*) (Ep. Carn., X., Kolar 108 ; S. I. I., III., Pt. 2).

(*e*) In his twenty-third year a fineness of gold is given as being half a *máṭṭu* better than that of the *Madurántakan-máḍai* (A. R. E., 180 of 1911).

(*f*) In his twenty-ninth year 2 *kásu* still purchased 1 *kaḷañju* of gold (*poṉ*) (A. R. E., No. 46 of 1914, Tanjore District).

(*g*) In the reign of Vikrama Coḷa 90 *kásu* equalled $67\frac{1}{2}$ *kaḷañjus* of gold at the rate of $\frac{3}{4}$ *kaḷañju* each (A. R. E , No. 509 of 1912, Tanjore District) ; here the *kásu* is clearly of the weight of the old *máḍai*.

It is difficult to reconcile these figures, and it seems probable that each province of the empire retained its local currency; the *kásu* or half *Madurántakaṉ-máḍai*, however, undoubtedly was the official unit of the Coḷa revenue calculations. As the *kásus* of (*b*) and (*c*) must be identical, the inscriptions coming from the same district and being separated in date by two or three years at the most, we find that 7 *mañjáḍis* of *sempoṉ* or fine gold equalled 8·356 of *Madurántakaṉ-máḍai* fineness, which accordingly will be of 83·77 touch or roughly 8⅜ *máṭṭu*. Now none of the Coḷa coins even approach this standard, and it seems possible that this *máḍai* was a unit of account equal to a *kaḷañju* of gold of the touch mentioned, and had ceased to have any connection with the progressively debased coinage.

PÁṆḌYA.

9. After the period of Páṇḍyan prosperity signalized by the invasion of Ceylon in the reign of Sena I. the southern kingdom fell before the arms of the Coḷa conqueror Parántaka I., but recovered its independence on his death. It again became subordinate to the Coḷa power under Rájarája I. and his successor; Rájádhirája I. defeated a rebellion by Sundara Páṇḍya about 1043/4, and the country was ruled by a dynasty of Coḷa descent until about 1136. In the twelfth century the rivals for the Páṇḍyan throne, as we have seen, were supported by the Sinhalese and Coḷa kings. The decline of the Coḷa power led to the ascendancy of the Páṇḍyans, who were ruled by the traditional five brothers. The coins with the legend *Sundara Páṇḍiyaṉ* are to be attributed to Máṟavarman Sundara Páṇḍya I. (A.D. 1216–1244), II. (A.D. 1238–1255), or III. (A.D. 1294–1307), or to Jaṭávarman Sundara Páṇḍya I. (A.D 1251–1280), II. (A.D. 1270/1–1301), III. (A.D. 1276–1293), IV. (A.D. 1303–1318), or V. (A.D. 1318–1337 at least).

Of these princes, Jaṭávarman Sundara Páṇḍya I. claims in his inscription to have conquered Ceylon, while Jaṭávarman Víra Páṇḍya II. " who took Íḻam " (A.D. 1253/4–1275), " killed one of the two kings of Ceylon, captured his army, chariots, treasures, throne, crown, necklaces, bracelets, parasols, chauris, and other royal possessions, planted the Páṇḍya flag with the double fish on Kóṇamalai and the high peaks of the Trikúṭa giri mountain, received elephants as tribute from the other king of Ceylon, and subdued the Kéraḷa " (A. R. E., No. 356 of 1906; *ib.*, 1912, p. 65). Máṟavarman Kulasekhara I., " who was pleased to take every country " (A.D. 1268–1310), through his minister Árya Cakravartı invaded Ceylon and carried off the Tooth Relic (Mhv. XC., 43–47), he appears to have been murdered by his son Sundara Páṇḍya in 1310, in which year an appeal to Dehli by one of the claimants to the throne led to the great Muhammadan invasion of Malik Káfur, and the establishment of a Muslim dynasty. This was overthrown about 1365 by the rising Hindu power of Vijayanagar, which exercised overlordship in all the South for two centuries. The petty Páṇḍyan kings were followed in 1559 by the Náyakkar dynasty, which was founded by a lieutenant of Vijayanagar, and continued until swept away by the Muhammadans in 1736: from it sprang the last four kings of Kandy.

The great majority of the Páṇḍyan coins found in the Island came from Tirukketisvaram, the site of a famous Hindu shrine in the neighbourhood of Mantota, the Mahátittha of the Mahávaṁsa and the great mediæval port of the entry into Ceylon from South India. All the coins in the following pages, except those specifically mentioned, were found at this place.

The " Horizontal Fishes and Bull " type seemed to Tracy " to belong to a period perhaps a century earlier than the Sinhalese invasion " by Parákrama Báhu I. (Madras Journal of Literature and Science, 1887–8, p. 144). Nos. 1 and 2 of the " Fish or fishes and varied reverse " are probably older. The Ceylon type presumably is subsequent to the time of the Coḷa Rájarája I. Our coins with legends are of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, with the possible exception of the small coins described in sections 11, (7), which may be of later date.

10. Fish or fishes and varied reverse.

(1) Obv.: Two fishes vertical; between them a standard, which consists of a staff rising from a base and supporting a pair of wide-spreading horns, between which a ball.

Rev.: ? *Haṁsa*, l.; behind it to r. a ball, above which a crescent. Below traces of a ? bull facing l. and of a sacrificial lamp, from which flames rise, before it.

AE. Diameter: ·78 in. Weight: 47·7 gr.

(2) Obv. as (1) Rev.: Bull reclining r., head turned backwards; over back a crescent. Before it a large indistinguishable object, the lower part of which may be a sacrificial lamp.

Cf. Tracy, No. 10.

AE. Diameter: { ·82 in. / ·80 in. } Weight: { 35·2 gr. / 22·8 gr. } Very worn and broken; from Yoda-ela between Kurunegala and Anuradhapura.

A coin of this type is figured in Rapson's "Notes on Indian Coins and Seals," Part V., Pl. 18, and is described thus on p. 309: Obv.: Humped bull reclining to r., with head averted; r., *lingam* and *yoni*: above r., uncertain object or symbol. Rev.: Sacrificial lamp; on either side of it a fish. AE. ·8 inch. The "sacrificial lamp" is the object described in No. (1) as a standard.

(3) Obv.: Large fish vertical between two lamps.
Rev.: Sceptre between two vertical fishes; crescent above.
AE. Diameter: ·90 in. Weight: 41·7 gr.

(4) Obv.: Two fishes vertical between two lamps.
Rev.: A ? pot between two lamps.
AE. Diameter: ·66 in. Weight: 20·1 gr. Broken and mutilated.

(5) Obv.. Two fishes horizontal, upper facing r., lower l., between two lamps.
Rev.: ? Boar r., between two lamps; above, sun within crescent.
AE. Diameter: ·76 in. Weight: 7·2 gr. Broken.

Vertical Fishes and Horse:—

(1) Obv.· Three fishes vertical.
Rev.: Grotesque horse standing r.; before it a lamp.
AE. Diameter: ·88 in. Weight: 106·9 gr. Broken; from Jaffna.

(2) Obv.. Three fishes, vertical; above, a crescent.
Rev. Grotesque horse standing r.; before it a lamp and in front of feet squat fire-altar. Over back, conch.
Diameter· ·70 in. Weight: ·37 gr. From Mantota.

Vertical Fish or Fishes and Bull:—

(1) Obv.: Two fishes vertical; worn space between.
Rev.: Couchant horser., ? head facing front, apparently between two lamps; crescent over back
AE. Diameter· 1·06 in. Weight. 197·7 gr. Thickness: ·13 in.

(2) Obv.: Large fish vertical between two lamps. The whole in a line circle, outside which apparently ornaments at top, bottom, and sides.
Rev.: Couchant bull r., head facing front, between two lamps; all in ? similar circle.
AE. Diameter: 1·02 in. Weight: 71·2 gr.

Horizontal Fishes and Bull:—

(1) Obv.: Two fishes horizontal, the upper facing r., the lower l., between two lamps; crescent above, below, three parallel lines, the middle one being shorter than the other two. All in bead circle.
Rev.: Couchant bull with one fore-leg extended r., between two lamps. Crescent and lines as on obv. All in bead circle.
AE.:

Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
·78 ..	36·2 ..	—
·80 ..	35·6 ..	Good condition.
·78 ..	35·5 ..	—
·78 ..	31·3 ..	Worn and slightly broken. Yoda-ela (see above).
·76 ..	24·9 ..	—
·68 .	24 ..	—

(2) As (1), but upper fish to l., lower to r.

Diameter. In.	Weight. Gr.	
·88 ..	51·8 ..	—
·88 ..	49·8 ..	Yoda-ela.
·82 ..	43·3 ..	do.
·78 ..	25·6 ..	"Elála's Tomb," Anuradhapura.

(3) As 1, but bull facing l.
Diameter: ·76 in. Weight: 27·9 gr.

For this type see Prinsep's "Essays," Vol. I., Pl. XXXV., 16. All the above are more or less worn.

11 Fishes and Sceptre, and on reverse legend .—

(1) Obv.. Two fishes vertical with sceptre between, and flanked by ? lamps; crescent above All in bead circle

Rev In bead circle under crescent Tamil legend in three lines · *Kota* | *ṇḍará* | *maṉ*.

AE Diameter: ·70 in Weight: 46·08 gr. Worn; Jaṭávarman Sundara Páṇḍya III. or IV. (A. R. E. 1918, p. 156).

(2) As last, but crescent between two dots, and legend · *Suntara* | *Páṇ* | *ḍiyan*.

AE..

Diameter In		Weight. Gr.		
·59	..	34	..	Attikuli, Mannar District, C. S. I., 141.
·59	..	28·8	..	Dumbara, C. P.
·29	..	7·7	..	Attikuli. Traces of legend only.

Boar and legend :—

Obv.: In bead circle, boar standing r.; below, horizontal line forming exergue: above, crescent to l., sun to r.

Rev. · In similar circle legend: *Suntara Pá* | *ṇḍiyaṉ*; above, crescent; below, sceptre between fishes.

AE. Diameter: ·61 in Polonnaruwa, C. S. L., 148.

Ceylon Type :--

(1) Obv.: Standing figure as late Rájarája, all in bead circle.

Rev. Seated figure; under arm two fishes vertical with sceptre between.

AE. Diameter: ·70 in. Weight: 29·4 gr. Broken and worn. C. S. I., 146.

(2) Obv.. Standing figure as in 1, but fish in lieu of crescent.

Rev. · Seated figure and Tamil legend under crescent .—

Sun
tara
Pá ḍi
ṇ ya

AE. Diameter: ·57 in. Weight: 39·5 gr C S. I.. 133.

(3) Obv.. In bead circle enclosed by line, figure as in (2).

Rev: In similar circles, Tamil legend; above, crescent, and below, sceptre between fishes:

Suntara
Páṇḍi
ya ṇ

AE..

Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.		
·59	..	17·6	..	—
·55	..	23·04	..	—
·49	..	22	..	Attikuli.
·45	.	17·6	..	—
·39	.	14·4	..	Broken; legend as above or *Víra Páṇḍiyaṉ*. Attikuli.
·41	..	13·5	..	Attikuli.

(4) The following are from Attikuli and are of the same type as (3); only a few letters of the legend occur on the smaller pieces.

AE

Diameter In.		Weight. Gr.		
·33	..	10·6	..	? *Víra Páṇḍiyaṉ*.
·35	..	10·08	..	*Sundara Páṇḍiyan*. Worn.
·31	..	8·1	..	—
·29	..	8	..	*Sundara* or *Víra Páṇḍiyaṉ*.
·27	..	6·3	..	—
·31	..	6·2	..	*Sundara* or *Víra Páṇḍiyaṉ*.
·29	..	6·5	.	Broken.
·23	..	1·1	..	? *Ví*. Obv.: worn.

(5) Obv.: Standing figure.

Rev.: Vertical fish between two lamps; in margin Tamil legend read by Elliot as *Samara-koláhalaṉ*, by Tracy as *Ellá nakaraiyálaṉ*, and by Hultzsch (Ind. Ant., XXI., p. 324), as *Ellántalaiyáṇáṉ*. The whole is in a bead circle.

AE.:

Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.		
·64	..	37·9	..	—
·70	..	28·8	..	Broken.

C. S. I., 136; Tracy, *op. cit.*, p. 140. The legend as read by Hultzsch is a title of Jaṭávarman Sundara Páṇḍya I. (A. R. E., 1913, p. 114).

(6) Obv.: As last. Rev.: Same legend between two vertical fishes flanked by lamps. All in bead circle.

AE.:

Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.		
·74	..	33·1	..	
·72	..	—	..	Attikuli; broken.
·61	..	—	..	Yoda-ela; broken.

C. S. I., 137.

(7) The following coins, possibly Páṇḍyan, were also found at Attikuli:—

Obv.: A horizontal line, beneath which two rows of dots, 3 and 2 in number.

Rev.: The Tamil letter *Su*, perhaps for *Sundara.*

AE.:

Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.		
·31	..	11	..	—
·25	..	4·3	..	—

(8) The following probably are coins of the late Páṇḍyans of Tinnevelly (*v.* p. 72, note 2):—

(*a*) Obv.: Standing figure between inverted moon on l., and sun on r.

Rev.: Seated figure; battle axe to r. All between sun and moon.

Diameter: ·61 in. Weight: 66·2 gr.

Loventhal, No. 36.

(*b*) Obv.: Standing figure; to r., voided diamond with dot at each corner and in centre.

Rev.: Seated figure; under raised arm three dots. In field letter S and axe.

Diameter: ·47 in. Weight: 31·2 gr.

Cf. Loventhal, No. 43.

Colonel Lowsley records a find of five silver coins of the Ceylon type with the legend *Sundara;* they were of the size of a half "massa" and weighed 42 grains each (*op. cit.*, p. 222).

Koṅgu and Cera.

12. The coins found in Ceylon are few, and their presence may be accidental. But Mahinda V. employed Keraḷa "Vélakkára" or mercenary soldiers, who rebelled against him, as also did Gaja Báhu II. (Mhv. LV. 5; LXV., 230); while Vijaya Báhu's hired troops included "Malaiyálar" or men of Malabar (Tamil Inscription, 55th year, A. S., 1911–12). "Keraḷa inhabitants" are again mentioned in the reign of Parákrama Báhu I., and the invaders under Mágha are described as Keraḷas and Tamils (Mhv. LXXIV., 44; LXXX., 76; LXXXIII., 15.

Koṅgu.

(1) Obv.: In bead circle, elephant standing l.; trunk pendent. Before legs symbol; over back a conch.

Rev.: In similar circle, horse prancing l.; before it sacrificial lamp, and over back double crescent.

AE. Diameter: ·94 in. Weight: 85·9 gr. In good condition, but recently cut in half. Found during the construction of the Mannar railway in the Giant's Tank region.

(2) Obv.: Elephant as last, but to r. Symbol before legs; conch over back.
Rev.: Horse r., head turned backwards. Over hind quarters ? *aṅkuṣa* almost horizontal; over all crescent.
AE. Diameter: ·86 in. Weight: 35·04 gr. Worn.

From near 11th milestone on Mannar-Madawachchiya road.

(3) As (2) but obv. before trunk and behind tail a short vertical line, outside of which is a zig-zag line. A ball between front legs and trunk. Rev.: Traces of zig-zag lines.
AE. Diameter: ·98 in. Weight: 43·09 gr. Thin.
Abhayagiri building, No. 43, Anuradhapura. Also Yoda-ela.

(4) As (3) but rev. horse standing r.; crescent over back, and in front sacrificial lamp.
AE. Diameter: ·80 in. Weight: 34·08 gr. Worn.
Tirukketisvaram, A. S., 1907, No. 3. This is probably the same as (3).

(5) Obv.: Elephant, r. in dot circle.
Rev.: Horse, r. in similar circle.
AE. Diameter ·64 in. Weight: 28·3 gr. Rectangular with corners rounded. From Allaippiddi, Jaffna.

Cera.

Obv.: In bead circle Nágarí legend in two lines: *Ṣrí Pṛthva* | *keṁgasya.*
Rev.: As obv., but legend divided by a horizontal line: *Ṣrí Víra* | *Keralasya.*
AR. Diameter: ·70 in. Weight: 34·6 gr. Allaippiddi, Jaffna.
AE. Diameter: ·74 in. Weight: 24·4 gr. Once silvered. Topavewa Tank Dágoba (A. S., 1909, pp. 30, 31, No. 7).
Cf. Rapson's "Indian Coins," Pl. V., 11.
Cera King Pṛthvigaṅga, eleventh or twelfth century.

MISCELLANEOUS.

13. The following four coins are from Tirukketisvaram, and have not been assigned to any dynasty; they have bold Nágarí legends on one side in letters very similar to those on the Polonnaruwa gold issues:—

(1) Obv.: In line circle bull couchant r. Over back and head doubtful objects.
Rev.: In line circle surrounded by beads Nágarí legend in two lines: *Dharmma* | *rájaḥ.*
AE.:

Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.		
·86	..	74·2	..	A. S., 1907, No. 6.
·78	..	54·2	..	H. C. P. B.

(2) Obv.: Bull couchant l.; above,? lamp, oblique, and below, three lines as on Páṇḍyan "Horizontal Fishes and Bull" type.
Rev.: In bead circle legend in two lines, very worn and apparently reading: *Ṣrí Vá* (or *Bá*) | [*la*] *ka va* (or *ca*), *i.e.*, *Ṣrí Bála Ka(ṁ)va.*
AE. Diameter: ·82 in. Weight: 35·5 gr. Colo. Mus. No. 242.

(3) Obv.: Couchant bull r.; below, ? lines.
Rev.: Legend in two lines: *Ṣrí Vá* | — *ka ca.*

Prinsep's Essays, Vol. I., Pl. XXXV., 18. Found "on the ruins of the old city of Montollee," so. Mantota, *i.e.*, Tirukketisvaram.

If the last two *aksharas* of the legend on Nos. 2 and 3 can be read *Ka(ṁ)va*, the coins may be of the Western Gaṅgas, or rather of the Gaṅga-Báṇas, whose cognizance was a couchant bull. The Gaṅga kings styled themselves *dharma mahárájádhirája* and claimed descent from the sage Kaṇva.

A solitary gold coin of the Western Cedi Gaṅgeya deva (*circa* 1015–1040; I. M. C., I., p. 252) has been acquired in Ceylon.

A few gold fanams dated in the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, seventh, ninth, tenth, and nineteenth years of the Eastern Gaṅga king Anantavarma Coḍagaṅga of Kalinga, A.D. 1075–1146, were found in 1920 at Haragama in the Kandy District (I. M. C., I., p. 314). Princes of this dynasty sat on the Sinhalese throne in the twelfth century.

CHAPTER VIII.

PORTUGUESE.

I.—General.

In Portugal the unit of the currency was the real (plur. reaes, reis), a small copper coin ; the denomination, but not the coin, became current in India, where only certain gold pieces struck in Europe were in use. These were the cruzado and its multiple the portuguez. The portuguez was struck in the reigns of D. Manuel (1495–1521), and of his successor D. John III. (1521–1557) ; it bore on the obverse the arms of Portugal with the royal style in two concentric lines, and on the reverse the Cross of Christ with IN HOC SIGNO VINCES, and weighed 712½ Portuguese grãos or 547·585 grains Troy. It was current at home for ten cruzados, its value following the rating of that coin; but in Ceylon it was worth in 1551 and 1554 fifteen xerafins of 300 reis each, and at Cochin in 1582 fourteen cruzados by reason of its rarity.[1]

The cruzado was the equivalent of the ducat, and in the reigns of D. Manuel and D. John weighed 71¼ grãos, or 54·75 grains ; on the obverse appeared the royal arms, and on the reverse the Cross of St. George, a variety, however, struck by D. John bearing the Cross of Calvary. Its value was 390 reis, raised to 400 in 1517. The coin does not seem to have been struck by D. Sebastian (1557–1578). The next coinage in the reign of Philip I. (1580–1598) retained the value of 400 reis, but was of reduced weight, being only 61·4 grãos, or 47·2 grains ; double and quadruple cruzados were also issued. Under Philip II. (1598–1621) the quadruple cruzado of the same weight continued, but does not appear to have been coined by his successor, the third of the name 1621–1640).

In the reign of D. John IV. (1640–1656), the first of the restored native dynasty, the gold cruzado with the Cross of St. George, weighing 61·4 grãos, or 47·2 grains, was issued with its double and quadruple multiples. Its value in 1642, owing to the progressive cheapening of silver through the great output of the American mines, was 750 reis, and in 1646, 875 reis. In 1643 a new departure was made, a silver cruzado being struck of the old value of 400 reis and of 460·8 grãos or 354·1 grains weight; this coin bore the royal arms and the Cross of Christ.

The tostão and the vintem occasionally mentioned in Indo-Portuguese documents were silver pieces of the value of 100 and 20 reis, respectively. As a money of account the vintem was also reckoned at Goa as equal to 12 reis.[2]

2. The Portuguese on their arrival in India in 1498 found the Malabar Coast under the rule of several kings, the chief of whom was the Samorin of Calicut, who, it is said, had the sole right of striking money. The principal coin was the fanão or fanam of more or less base gold. Beyond the Ghauts lay the great empire of Vijayanagar or Narsinga, comprising the whole of the southern part of the peninsula. Goa had already in 1469 been taken by the Muhammadan Bahmaní dynasty of Kulbarga, but the new conquest soon fell into the hands of their whilom feudatories the 'Adil Sháhís of Bijapur.

Throughout the great southern empire the principal coin was the gold *varáha* or pagoda and its half the *pratápa*. The *varáha*, perhaps, from the various issues being known by the name of the king who struck them[3] and the legends reading " *Ṣrí pratápa Kṛshṇa ráya*," " *Ṣrí pratápácyuta ráya*," and the like, usurped the name properly belonging to its half, and to the Portuguese was universally known as the pardáo. Barbosa, writing about 1516, states that " it is coined in certain cities of this kingdom of Narsinga, and throughout all India they use this money, which passes in all those kingdoms ; its gold is a little inferior. This coin is round and made in a mould. Some of them have some Indian letters on one side, and two figures on the other of a man and a woman, and others have nothing but the lettering on one side." According to Domingo Paes,[4] " it bears impressed on it on one side two images and on the other the name of the king who commanded it to be struck." This agrees with di Varthema's description of the pagoda current at Goa between 1503 and 1508 : " These pardai are smaller than the seraphim of Cairo, but thicker, and have two devils stamped upon one side of them, and certain letters on the other," a sufficiently accurate portrayal of the existing pagodas of the Vijayanagar dynasty. This coin formed with jewels the chief export from Vijayanagar to Goa, which sent in exchange Arabian horses, velvets, and damasks.[5] In Barbosa's time it was worth 300 maravedis, by which Spanish denomination he would seem

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[1] Inventario do Thesouro do Rei de Ceylão, 1551; Nunes, fol. 26, v. ; Balbi, cap. XXVIII.

[2] Aragão, p. 98 ; Linschoten, 1583–88, ed. 1644, cap. 35.

[3] Chronicle of Fernao Nunez, c. 1535–37 (A Forgotten Empire, R. Sewell).

[4] Narrative of Domingo Paes (*ibid.*).

[5] Cesare Federici (*ibid.*).

to designate the Portuguese reis, and 320 maravedis in the district of Batecala, a dependency of the empire in Kanara. In 1517 the pagoda was valued at 320 reis at Goa; in 1520-22, however, the rating had risen to 360 reis both there and at Vijayanagar. The variety current at Goa appears to have been that of Barcelor, of 20¼ quilates fineness, as it was to represent this that the S. Thomé was struck.[1]

3. In 1510 D'Albuquerque conquered Goa, and on the entreaties of the inhabitants struck cruzados in gold, esperas in silver, and leaes in copper, as the equivalents of the native pardáos or pagodas, barganins, and bazarucos; the coinage in gold and silver, however, did not last beyond 1519. Thereafter the currency in the higher metals consisted, in addition to the gold coins of Portugal and Venice, of pardáos d'ouro or pagodas, xerafins of gold, and silver larins or tangas de prata, valued respectively at 360, 300, and 60 reis.[2] The Hormuz xerafim and the larin were the common trade coins of the west coast and of the Arabian Sea; and, thus, the currency system adopted by D'Albuquerque was superseded by one of mixed denominations of pardáos, tangas, and leaes. Of these, the pardáo of 300 reis was the pardáo de tangas or of account, the actual gold coin having been rated higher, and known as the pardáo d'ouro or gold pagoda; the tanga was the larin, and the leal the old Goa bazaruco. This last coin continued to be struck by the viceroys and rated in varying terms of Portuguese reis: thus, 60 reis in 1510 equalled 48 leaes; from 1544, 50; in 1577, 60; and from 1582, 75. Finally, the real superseded the leal in accounts, and the currency system settled down into the following:—

60 reis = 1 tanga.
300 reis = 5 tangas = 1 pardáo.

4. In 1548-9 was struck the gold S. Thomé of 43 pontos or 20¼ quilates fineness as the equivalent of the pardáo d'ouro; its coinage continued throughout our period. This coin bore on its obverse the royal arms, and on the reverse the figure of St. Thomas, the Apostle of India, at first seated and later in a standing posture. Its weight was that of the pagoda.[3]

By 1551, as shown by the Ceylon "Inventario" mentioned below, the larin or tanga de prata had been raised to 72 reis, probably owing to the demand for silver in the Far East, where it was in great request[4]; the result of this enhancement was to create a tanga of account rated at 60 reis, the old equivalent of the larin. Thus:—

1 pardáo de tangas (of account)	= 5 tangas × 60 = 300 reis.
1 pardáo de tangas de prata (larins)	= 5 tangas × 72 = 360 reis.
1 pardáo d'ouro	= 6 tangas × 60 = 360 reis.

5. In 1550 the Viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha struck the silver patacão or silver S. Thomé to represent the pagoda of 360 reis, 8⅔ pieces going to the mark. This new coin of 408·6 grains was said in 1582 to have been of less fineness than requisite, but the royal letter of 1569 alleges that, though it was not received, it was of the correct weight and touch. The next issue, however, from 1554 was undoubtedly below the necessary fineness; 9½ patacões were struck from the mark, each thus weighing 372·7 grains. Hence arose a disturbance of the values of the existing coins with the resultant rise in prices, and, in addition, a further distinction of pardáos, the new silver coin being known as pardáo d'ouro patacão and the pagoda as pardáo d'ouro pagode or redondo; while the sum of 360 reis was still called a pardáo d'ouro, though now only a money of account employed in reckoning the values of gold, silver, pearls, gems, and horses.[5]

The currency was still further affected by the conquest of Vijayanagar by the Muhammadans at the battle of Talikota in 1565, when the importation of pagodas into Goa ceased, and a general decline of trade set in, with the result that "the gold pagodas, of which every year more than 500,000 were laden in ships of the kingdom, were then worth 7½ tangas, and to-day are worth 11½, and similarly every kind of coin" (De Couto, Dec. VIII., cap. 15). Next year was stopped the coinage of the patacão with its half and the tanga redonda or round tanga, so called in opposition to the wire larin, a measure confirmed by D. Luiz de Athayde (1568-71), who ordered that these coins should run at their actual metal value, except in Malacca; but the relief afforded was of short duration, as in 1568 the first silver xerafim was struck at Cochin as the equivalent of the Hormuz xerafim of 300 reis.[6] The tanga larin was then still current in Goa at the forced rate of 72 reis, though it was at a premium and ran at 96 on the mainland; as a result it was exported and prices rose.

6. In 1569, therefore, a determined attempt was made to put the currency on a sound basis. The Cochin xerafim was forbidden; the patacão and the Spanish real or piece-of-eight were to pass as bullion; no silver was to be coined anywhere, and gold only at Goa, while the gold coins and larins were rated at their old valuations

[1] Aragão, Doct. 1; Domingo Paes; Aragão, DD. 37, 94.
[2] Grogan in Spink's "Numismatic Circular," May, 1912, 13,584; Aragão, DD. 3, 9, 4, 9.
[3] *Ib.*, D. 9; Grogan, *ib.*, 13.585, 13.586.
[4] Aragão, D. 4.
[5] *Ib.*, DD. 9, 10, 16; Tombo Geral, liv. III., fol. 84 (Aragão, pp. 155, 156); Linschoten, cap. 35.
[6] Aragão, DD. 9, 16; 9.

without shroffage or premium. The pagoda and the S. Thomé thus became equal to 6 tangas of 60 reis each, the new Madrafaxão or Muḍhaffar Sháhí gold piece of Gujarat weighing 3 oitavos 4 grãos or 169 grains to 23 tangas, the Venetian sequin weighing 1 oitavo less 2 grãos or 53·7 grains to 7 tangas, while five larins were declared the equivalent of one pardáo d'ouro. In August of this year the fineness of the S. Thomé is given as 43 pontos or 20¼ quilates (84·375 touch), its weight being 68 grãos 16 avos or 52·8 grains.[1]

7. The Regulation for the mint published in the same year provided, in the event of a silver coinage being needed, for the striking at Goa of a new xerafim of 300 reis. In the following October this coin was struck with a weight of 443 grãos or 340·4 grains, 11 xerafins 1 tanga 40 reis going to the mark, with a fineness of 11 dwt. The first diminution in pure contents was made between 1578 and 1581, when the xerafim contained 1 larin weight of copper to every 2½ of silver, the fineness thus being five-sevenths or ·714. The values of the other coins at once varied, the Venetian rising from 7 to 10 tangas, the pardáo redondo or pagoda from 6 to 9, and the xerafim d'ouro from 5 to 7½, while the Spanish real rose from 6 tangas 16 reis to 7 tangas 10 reis. In 1581 the silver xerafim, the cause of the trouble, was suppressed temporarily, but re-appeared between 1582 and 1584 with 7 parts of silver to 3 of alloy or a fineness of ·700. The royal instructions of 1588 providing that no more xerafins were to be struck with or without alloy and that those in existence were to be current for the intrinsic worth of the silver failed to secure obedience: and accordingly, in 1591, not only was the coinage of the xerafim prohibited, but also its currency. The first part of this order seems to have been carried out, but the coin was still circulating when Pyrard was in Goa in 1609. In 1594 there were struck from xerafins whole and half tangas with the image of St. Philip, the king's name-saint; five of these tangas were to equal a xerafim in weight, but turn the balance at 55·5 to 58·4 grains. We thus see that the weight of the xerafim was now only about 295 grains, the result of gradual and probably unauthorized diminution, for even the existing specimens of the reign of D. Sebastian fall below the standard of 1569.[2]

8. About 1595 the S. Thomé was again coined on contract by one Pondea Chatim; the only known specimens of this issue were found in Ceylon in company with gold Hormuz xerafins and Othmanli sequins. Unlike the earlier and later S. Thomés, it is not thin and flat, but thick, resembling in shape the Vijayanagar pagodas; on one side are the royal arms between G A, and on the other the saint standing between S T; its weight is 52·6 grains. In this year the S. Thomé, of which the maximum value had been fixed at 8½ tangas, was allowed to find its own place in the market in the same way as other gold coins. The fall of the Vijayanagar empire led to the coinage of pagodas by its late feudatories with a consequent variation and diminution of fineness. This had become a subject of complaint in 1597, when it was ordered that pagodas were not to be current unless of 43 pontos touch in conformity with their original institution, "which is called of Agrá"; the prohibition, however, was revoked in 1598. In 1624 the S. Thomé, being 4 pontos better than the pagoda, was fixed at 1 tanga 20 reis more than that coin at whatever rate it ran, the S. Thomé now was 14 tangas 26 reis, and the pagoda 13 tangas.[3]

9. The depreciation became worse in 1631 owing to the high price of gold, the fineness of the pagoda being reduced to 38 pontos or 74·563 touch; it then weighed 66⅝ grãos or 51·1 grains, and was ordered to pass for 14 tangas 12 reis. The S. Thomé was also reduced in fineness to 39½ pontos or 77·5 touch with a view to prevent export; the new coin was distinguished by the Cross of Aviz on the reverse, and was to be current for 912 reis, but was disapproved of by the king by letter of March 15, 1634. The debasement was not confined to the gold currency, as in 1601 larins whether of low weight or of base silver were forbidden.[4]

10. In 1614 D. Jeronymo de Azevedo issued a double tanga, the first of this denomination, of 131⅔ grãos or 101·1 grains, together with a tanga and half tanga of eleven-twelfths fineness, on all of which appears the Calvary Cross. To this Viceroy belongs the credit of restoring the silver coinage to the old standard, which had lapsed since 1578; while Captain-General of Ceylon he had issued tangas of the weight now introduced at Goa. In 1619 pieces of 30, 20, and 10 bazarucos were struck from larin silver.[5]

In 1630 the Viceroy, the Conde de Linhares, finding that Spanish patacas, unsuitable from their size and varying weight for use by the people, then formed the bulk of the circulating medium at Goa, made a new departure in the coinage, striking from the Spanish silver whole and half patacões of 360 and 180 reis each, having on the reverse the novel design of the Cross of Aviz; the patacão weighed 265·1 grains.[6] At the same time were issued tangas of 44·1 grains with their halves. The new coinage, however, was disapproved of by the king in 1632 and was discontinued.

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[1] *Ib.*, DD. 9, 10.

[2] *Ib.*, DD. 10; 11; Grogan, September, 1912, 13,868; Aragão, DD. 16, 84; *ib.*, p. 171, D. 21; *ib.*, DD. 21, 24, 33, 35; *ib.*, D. 31; Grogan, 13,868.

[3] *Ib.*, February, 1914, 91; Aragão, DD. 37, 39. Also *cf.*, D. 94 of 27/6/1667, "pagodes de Barçalor, chamados Sanagaris Pataxa, e agramutes"; *ib.*, DD. 67, 69.

[4] *Ib.*, DD. 80, 82; 42.

[5] *Ib.*, DD. 56; 64.

[6] *Ib.*, D. 77; Grogan, May, 1912, 13,587.

In 1630 Malacca being in difficulties a sum of 15,000 xerafins was coined into tangas "of the touch and weight of those which are made in Malacca" and despatched to that fortress. These were of ·861 millesimal fineness, and were soon carried off by the Chinese traders, and in 1631 a new supply was coined there with a fineness of ·838, in conformity with "the touch of the tangas, which run in Malacca, which is of baser silver," with the dies used in the previous year. In August, 1634, the Chambers of the City of Goa, Cochin, Malacca, and Ceylon having complained of the lack of coin resulting in the decay of trade, due to the disappearance of the old debased xerafins and the disapproval of the patacões, it was decided, with a view to avoid the inconveniences of the piece-of-eight as well as to comply with the royal orders conveyed in 1632, to coin 50,000 xerafins in tangas of Malacca, of the same weight and touch as those struck in the previous April, for the use of that city, and to strike in gold whole and half xerafins of the touch of the old S. Thomés for use in Ceylon, Cochin, and Goa. These with the silver patacões and other coins of the Goa mint had disappeared from circulation by 1637, when xerafins, half xerafins, whole and half tangas were directed to be struck apparently for general use in conformity with the tangas issued for Malacca in past years. This xerafim was of ·766 millesimal fineness and 312½ grãos or 240·169 grains in weight, the other coins of the series being in proportion.[1]

The reverse type of 1630 consisted of the monogram TA "Tanga" between D M "de Malaca"; this was continued on all the subsequent issues, and forms the normal "Malacca type." The weight of the tanga in 1631, and doubtless in 1630, was the usual Malacca one of 62½ grãos or 48·033 grains.

11. When the new S. Thomé was issued in 1631, it was provided that private persons were at liberty to have S. Thomés of the old fineness and design struck on their account at the mint. Of these, must be the extremely rare issue of 1632, of which a specimen found at Matara is in the Colombo Museum. On the obverse are the crowned arms of Portugal between G A, and in the margin between a bead- and line-circle the legend PHILIPVS III· REX· PORTVG, the reverse having the apostle standing left between the figures of the date and in the margin between similar circles S THOME·; the weight is 51·8 grains.[2] A similar coin, struck in 1634, is in Mr. Bell's cabinet.

The issue of the gold whole and half xerafim in this year, referred to above, may not have been the first, as Pyrard about 1609 mentions gold "cherufins" equal to half a S. Thomé in value, or of 300 reis each; these cannot have been the Hormuz coin.[3]

12. The last issue under the Spanish domination was of xerafins and of double, whole, and half tangas in 1640 and 1641, the reverse having the image of St. Philip and the obverse the usual arms. Coins of this type are to be met with in Ceylon. The weight of the tanga was 33·815 grains. In December, 1640, the national dynasty was restored by the revolution, which placed the Duke of Braganza on the throne under the name of D. John IV., the news only reaching India the following year. In 1642, 1643, and 1644 were issued at Goa the xerafim, and the double, single, and half tanga, all with the effigy of St. John the Baptist, the royal patron saint, in lieu of St. Philip.[4] It is the double and single tanga of these and subsequent issues which are mentioned by Knox under the names of "Tangom massa" and "Poddi tangom." The weights are those of 1640.

In 1650 a xerafim, half xerafim, and tanga were issued from the Goa mint with the cross in place of St. John, the weight of the xerafim at the same time being reduced from 220 grãos or 169·07 grains to 211 grãos or 162·16 grains; it is this xerafim, to which reference is made by the Dutch at Galle in 1655 under the name of "pardau cruysado." Meanwhile the Saint type was continued for all the Portuguese possessions, except the capital, and in the years 1650, 1651, 1652, and 1653 a double tanga of this design was issued at Goa. In 1653 a double and single tanga appear with the mint letters CB or BC for Chaul-Bassein, and in 1654, 1655. and 1656 a similar double tanga with the letters Å D "Tanga de Diu."[5] It is these issues for use outside the capital that are the commonest in Ceylon.

13. In general, the history of the Portuguese currency may be summed up as follows:—

(1) The substitution in practice of silver for a gold standard: thus, the patacão supersedes the pagoda and the silver xerafim the gold xerafim of Hormuz. The silver coins being of less metal value than the gold, which they were intended to represent, naturally drove these out of circulation.

(2) The continued debasement of the Indo-Portuguese coins and diminution of their weight with the object of keeping them in circulation and of preventing export, both processes frequently being carried still further by corrupt mint officials. Hence the new and lighter coins drove out the old and heavier, and, similarly, the bad expelled the good. The tanga retaining throughout its course of debasement and diminution of weight

[1] Aragão, DD. 75, 79, 83; 85.

[2] Grogan, February, 1914, 92.

[3] Pyrard, II., pp. 39, 40.

[4] Grogan, September, 1912, 13,869; 13,870.

[5] *Ib.*, July, 1911, 12,896; January. 1913. 33; Aragão, D. 90; Appendix E. 7; Grogan, September, 1912, 13,871; *ib.*, 13 872.

its rating of 60 reis, the value of coins of good gold and silver as assessed in reis naturally increased. As regards the gold, this process was further promoted by the common European policy of raising the rating to prevent export (Tavernier, Indian Travels, p. 13, English transl., 1688), and by—

(3) The fall in the value of silver, consequent on the influx of American silver, of which the full effect on prices was not produced until about 1640. The change in the comparative values of gold and silver is clearly shown by those of the Spanish piece-of-eight and the Venetian sequin, their respective ratings in reis in 1578–81 being 376 and 420, and in 1645-53 720 and 1,440.

14. "Shroffage" (Port. Serrafagem), so often mentioned in the documents, may best be described in the words of Linschoten, who was in Goa between 1583 and 1588 (cap. 42): "They buy the reals of eight when the ships come from Portugal and get these at 12 per cent.; these they keep till the month of April, which is the time that the ships sail for China, when the reals of eight are sought after to send thither, and are worth commonly 25 and 30 per cent., and they take in their place a money which is at this time brought from Ormus, named Larijns, which come out of Persia, and which they get at 8 and 10 per cent. and keep again till the ships come from Portugal in September; these they pay out at 25 and 30 per cent. in exchange for reals of eight, as has been said. One must have these Larijns to buy pepper and other wares at Cochin since it is there the best and most profitable money; there are also other moneys called Pagodes, Venetians, and S. Thomés, of gold; these they buy and sell in the same manner."

II.—Ceylon.

15. The Portuguese first landed in Ceylon in 1506, and some years later built in Colombo the fort, the successor of which bore at the end of the century the title of St. Lawrence, the protector of Taprobane.[1] The last King of Kotte, D. John Dharmapála, constituted the King of Portugal his heir, and on his death in 1597 Philip I. was proclaimed sovereign of Ceylon. In 1640 the Dutch took Galle; Colombo fell in 1656, and the Portuguese were finally driven out of the Island on the capture of Jaffna in 1658.

16. The first record of the use of larins occurs under the year 1517, when the then King of Kotte is credited with the story of a homicide, which occurred in his youth at Sitawaka, and in which the blood fine was 60 larins. This coin was one of the principal trade coins of the Arabian Sea, and in all probability was introduced by the Muhammadan merchants. It is mentioned constantly throughout the Portuguese period, and, with gold and silver fanams, was the current coin of the interior when Sebald de Wirt visited Ceylon in 1602. About 1581-1584 both larins and fanams were struck by the Captain of Colombo, presumably in the name of the King of Kotte, whose fainéant sovereignty was recognized.[2]

At Colombo under the year 1506 reference is made to silver fanemini, 72 of which went to the ducat (*v.* Chap. VI.). Nunes writing in 1554 states that the local coinage at this port consisted of fanams of very base gold, 30 of which made a xerafim; this fanam was variable in value, but was equal more or less to 10 reis. The "Inventario do Thesouro do Rei de Ceylão," in describing the treasure captured in 1551 makes mention of 122,330 new fanams, 30 making a xerafim, and 9½ ounces of fanões chocrões equal to 71 pardáos; the coins of the second variety must have been similar to or identical with the chocrões (*cakram, cakkarappaṇam*) in use in Negapatam, where 12¼ to 12½ equalled the pardáo d'ouro and 10¼ to 10½ the xerafim.[3] At this time there were two currency areas in the Island, one comprising the Sinhalese districts, in which the fanam of 10 reis was the chief native coin, the other in the kingdom of Jaffna and Mannar, where the fanam was roughly equal to 30 reis as in Coromandel: the two areas continued into the Dutch period.

In 1584 the rent of the fortress of Mannar was 133,460 fanams or 4,003,800 reis, 30 of which thus made a fanam. The northern coin clearly was also in use in the Sinhalese districts, for in the treaty for the prosecution of the war against Mayadunne in 1555, the revenues of the ports and lands near Colombo are given by De Queiroz as 5,000 and 72 xerafins, that of each place being assessed in "fanões calirióes." "which were then of a value of one tanga." De Couto, however, in his more accurate list merely mentions fanams, with a total of 25,380, and does not convert them into xerafins. No fanam of the value of a tanga occurs in Nunes' work, and De Queiroz statement is based on the seventeenth century rating. "Caliriões" clearly is a clerical error for "chocrões." In 1594 the treasure of Jayavíra Baṇḍára consisted of 14 parrahs of *cakrams*.[4]

[1] Document dated March 26, 1600, annexed to the Donation of Dharmapála, Orientalist, Vol. III., p. 196, (Bombay, 1888-9); De Queiroz, fol. 153.

[2] *Ib.*, fol. 85; Letter of King to Viceroy, February 25, 1585, Ferguson's De Couto, J. R. A. S., C. B., XX., 60, p. 268. See also *ib.*, p. 233, under 1565: "and because there was no money in the fortress (*sc.* Kotte), he called the captain of the *inhames*, who was a friend of all the soldiers, and gave him a silver sword of his, and a dagger, and sword belts, that he might melt it into larins, there being there craftsmen of that calling," Dec. VIII. cap. 3

[3] Nunes, fol. 26 v.; *ib.*, fol. 27.

[4] Tractate of the Portugall Indies, by "Dom Duart de Meneses the Viceroy," printed in Purchas, IX., 164; De Q., fol. 141; *ib.*, fol. 216.

The figures in the "Inventario" are :—

King's treasure at Kotte :—

5,444 new xerafins of Hormuz ..	Each of 300 reis.
6,005 cruzados and Venetians ..	do. 7 tangas.
556 portugueses d'ouro[1] ..	do. 15 pardáos.
122,330 new fanams	At 30 the xerafim.
120 tangas de prata (larins) ..	At 5 the pardáo d'ouro.
5 pardáos d'ouro	Of 6 tangas.

Temple treasure at Sitawaka :—

142 new xerafins of Hormuz.
2 portugueses d'ouro.
2 madrafaxões[2] of 21 tangas each.
10½ pardáos d'ouro.
1 dobrão d'ouro (? the Portuguese dobra of 1357–83 or the old Castilian dobla).
8 pardáos 2 tangas in larins (*i.e.*, 42 larins).
9½ ounces of fanões chocrões.

The practical absence of the pagoda (pardáo d'ouro) and of the larin is noteworthy, only 15½ of the former and 162 of the latter being recorded. The lack of larins may have been due to the expenses incurred in the recent campaign against Sitawaka. As to the currency of the pagoda there can be no doubt, for in 1550 Mayadunne of Sitawaka had paid a war indemnity of 100,000 "pagodes," and a few years later, about 1555–6, the Sinhalese offered to hire Portuguese soldiers at the rate of 15 pardáos d'ouro a man ; a sum of 5,000 "pagodes" is also mentioned in 1597.[3]

Venetians were current towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese about 1596 capturing five elephants laden with larins and two with Venetians said to have numbered 100,000. The character of the gold currency during the last quarter of the century may be gathered from the composition of a small hoard found near Kandy, and described in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1914, Part II., p. 156 ; this consisted of two S. Thomés of the reign of Philip I. (1580–95), a sequin of the Doge Alvise Mocenigo I. (1570–77), some eight Hormuz xerafins of three kings between 1522 and *circa* 1563, and over 26 Othmanli sequins of 1520–1594. The S. Thomé was still in use at Galle in the early years of the Dutch occupation. "Doubloons," presumably pistoles, are mentioned in 1632.[4]

Payments in patacas or Spanish pieces-of-eight are recorded at Jaffna about 1560, in 1617, and 1627, and about this last date in Kandy, while many stores of the same coin were found in 1594 at the sack of Sitawaka. That it was well known in Ceylon is evident from the Sinhalese name of its successor, the rix-dollar being *patágaya*.

17 Just as at Goa and its dependencies the revenue accounts were not kept in pardáos, tangas, and reis, but in tangas brancas, barganins, and leaes, so in Ceylon different reckonings were adopted. In the kingdom of Kotte, extending along the coast from Puttalam on the north to the Magam Pattu on the south, and inland to the Kandyan mountains, the currency system at least as early as 1614 was as follows :—

6 bazarucos	= 1 fanam of silver (fanão de prata)				= 5 reis
120 do.	= 20	do.	= 1 larin		= 100 reis
360 do.	= 60	do.	= 3 do.	= 1 xerafim	= 300 reis

In Puttalam, where in Kandyan times traces of older computations also survived, the Tombo records 12 and 15 as well as 20 fanams of silver as making a larin (Appendix E, 5).[5]

(i.) The Ceylon tanga, being one-fifth of the xerafim, consisted of 72 bazarucos instead of 75 as at Goa.

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[1] Portuguezes of old gold (Ferguson's De Couto, Dec. VI., liv. ix., cap. 17, p. 150); in 1507 five bahars of cinnamon were sold for one portuguez de ouro (Correia, Lendas da India, tom. I., p. 718, in Aragão, p. 93).

[2] Elephants were exported from Ceylon and Malabar to Gujarat in the early sixteenth century, and the two coins may have reached the Island in the course of trade ; there is, however, no other mention of the species, and they may well have been preserved in the temple as curiosities. For descriptions, see Indian Museum Catalogue, Vol. II.

[3] Ferguson's De Couto, Dec VI., liv. viii., cap. 7, p. 140 ; *ib.* Dec VII., liv. iii., cap. 5, p. 175; De Q., fol. 232.

[4] *Ib.*, fol. 226 ; foll. 165, 211, 280, 300, 318, 322 ; also Ribeiro, Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceilão, liv. I., capp. 10, 16, and liv. II, cap. 8, translation by P. E. Pieris, Colombo, 1909, pp. 109, 147, 411 : Faria y Sousa, Asia Portuguesa, Vol. III., p. 491 (Lisbon, 1666–75)

[5] "Nao rendẽ as de Candea ms q' 2.877 xerafĩs, e hũ larỹ : (o xerafim responde a tres tostões, e tem tres larỹs),' De Q., fol. 31 ; "pr equivalençia da moeda, hũ xerafim, ou pardao, como jâ tenho aduertido, são tres tostões" *ib* fol. 347.

(ii.) The fanam of silver is the same as the *Siṇhaḷa paṇama* of the Kandyan kingdom. It already existed according to the Tombo in the reign of Mayadunne (1551-1580). As we have seen, Lunardo da Cha Masser mentions silver fanams as being in use at Colombo in 1506, 72 going to the ducat. As in 1638 "fanões de bazarucos" are mentioned,[1] it is probable that under the Portuguese Government, which only issued coins of European type, the fanão de prata was a money of account.

(iii.) The silver larin was one-fifth of the piece-of-eight, and in 1610 and for some twenty years before was worth 90 reis at Chaul, and in 1607 the same at Goa. In 1624, at the last-named place, Persian larins were rated at 96 reis, and all others at 90 In that year the piece-of-eight was valued at 480 reis; in 1630 it varied from 540 to 550, and by 1645 had risen to 720 reis. The silver larin presumably kept pace with these ratings, and the larin of three to the xerafim must ultimately have become a money of account. Thus, Tavernier writes: "This Money is call'd Larin, and signifies the same with our Crowns. The Five Pieces are as much in value as one of our Crowns . . . . Only the Five Larins want in weight Eight Sous of our Crown . . . . As for what remains, the Larins are one of the ancient Coins of *Asia*; and though at this day they are onely currant in *Arabia*, and at *Balsara*, nevertheless, from *Bragdatt* to the Island of *Ceylan*, they traffic altogether with the Larin" (Travels, II., 1, 2); in other words, the larin was an imaginary coin. In the last years of the sixteenth century, however, the debased xerafim seems to have been equated with three silver larins in popular reckoning, which naturally continued long after it had ceased to be correct; thus, Fryer, between 1673-82, gives the same reckoning at Bombay, and in the nineteenth century an imaginary larin of 100 reis existed at Goa.[2] In 1614, therefore, it is almost certain that the silver larin is referred to in the Tombo. When the larin of 100 Ceylon reis became a coin of account is uncertain. One principal source of supply was cut off by the capture of Hormuz in 1622, and by 1645 there can be no doubt that our larin had become differentiated from the silver coin, as 6 and not 5 went to the Jaffna pardáo, the alleged equivalent of the piece-of-eight. The silver larin, which continued to circulate at least in the interior of the Island, was at a premium, for, according to the *Lékammiṭi*, it was counted in the Kandyan country as equal to the *taṅgam massa* or double tanga of 120 reis.

(iv.) The patacão, according to the Tombo, was equal to 4 larins. The patacão d'ouro is mentioned by De Queiroz twice, once under the year 1548 when 20 were offered by the King of Kotte as pay to each Portuguese soldier on an expedition to Kandy, which, however, is dated by De Couto in April, 1550, and. again, without the addition of "d'ouro," under 1562, when considerable sums in these coins were presented by Jayavíra of Kandy to the Franciscan missionaries. On each occasion it is stated that the patacão was worth a cruzado. In Portugal the patacão was a large copper coin of 10 reis issued by D. John III. and D. Sebastian and weighing 276·6 grains. In India the name is known to have been applied only to two coins, the silver S. Thomé or pardáo d'ouro patacão of 1550-66, and the silver coin with the Cross of Aviz issued in 1630, which is too late for the piece under discussion. From its name the patacão d'ouro should be the gold representative of a large silver coin. Now the gold S. Thomé was struck first in 1548-9 as the equivalent of the pagoda, that is, of 360 reis, but was soon superseded by the silver patacão, first issued by the Viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha, who after touching at Colombo in October arrived in Goa late in 1550. If the authority followed by De Queiroz wrote during the currency of this silver coin, that is, was more or less contemporary with the events described, he might conceivably have used the expression "patacão of gold" to indicate the original S. Thomé or the pagoda, though we have no evidence that this term was so employed. The objection to this identification, of course, is that the cruzado of 400 reis in Portugal was more valuable than the pagoda. But D'Albuquerque in 1510 evidently considered the two coins to be more or less equal, and in 1554 Nunes states that at Malacca 5 larins or 360 reis were reckoned as a cruzado, as which, according to Aragão's Document No. 6, the pardáo d'ouro was still current there in 1561. It is, however, certain that De Queiroz gives us the value of the patacão as it existed in the seventeenth century. Aragão tells us that between 1588 and 1591 the Governor sold certain rents at Chaul for 530 pardáos of 4 larins, and that in 1610 fault was found with the officials of the same place for accepting "for many years past" this number of larins instead of 6 as the equivalent of the pagoda (pp. 104, 195). In both cases the larin was worth 90 Goa reis, and in the latter the mistake consisted of accepting the imaginary pardáo d'ouro of 360 reis in lieu of the gold pagoda of 540. Our patacão also was worth 4 larins or, according to the Ceylon rating of the larin, 400 reis, and hence could rightly have been called a cruzado. It was thus clearly a coin of account, representing the pardáo d'ouro patacão of 1550-1566. The patacão d'ouro, therefore, must have been the S. Thomé or the pagoda.[3]

(v.) We now pass to the xerafim or "pardáo de Ceilão," with which the somewhat similar Diu xerafim of 240 Goa reis may be compared. Its rating in the Jaffna Foral of 1645 varies. The pay of the Captain-Major is there given as 300 milreis or 1,111 xerafins 30 reis, and that of another official as 120 milreis or 444 xerafins,

[1] *Ib.*, fol. 402.

[2] Fernandes, Memoria das Moedas, p. 341.

[3] De Q., foll. 120, 310; Appendix E, 4.

figures which yield 270 and 270·27 Goa reis as the equivalent of the Ceylon pardáo. In another place the value of the Jaffna pardáo works out at 550·470 Goa reis, giving 275·235 for its half the "pardáo de Ceilão." In 1645, however, the official exchange was fixed at 5½ fanams of 60 Ceylon reis each for the Goa pardáo and at 5 for that of Ceylon, this last thus being worth 272·72 reis of Goa. In the early years of the century, as we have seen, the larin being valued at 100 reis in Ceylon and at 90 at Chaul, the local pardáo would be 270 Goa reis. It was, in fact, the debased silver xerafim. With its disappearance from circulation, which was complete by 1634, the "pardáo de Ceilão" became a synonym for the sum of three larins. To the end of the Portuguese rule it was reckoned at 300 Ceylon reis, and thus with the larin became purely a money of account. Yet in 1640 the Dutch rated the larin at 10 stuivers and the xerafim at 30; and two years later 473,589 pieces-of-eight were said to be equal to 789,316 xerafins.[1] This larin must have been a silver coin, as 5 were the usual equivalent of the piece-of-eight; it was popularly considered equal to the double Goa tanga, both being rated at 10 stuivers about 1655, and so was then 120 Goa reis. We thus see that there were two distinct modes of reckoning, the one of account dating from the first years of the century, the other in actual silver coin, three larins being styled a xerafim:—

		Account in Ceylon Reis.			Silver Coin in Goa Reis.	
Fanão de prata	..	5 reis =	4·5 Goa reis	..	—	
Tanga	..	60 reis =	54·45 do.	..	60 reis =	5 stuivers
Larin	..	100 reis =	90·90 do.	..	120 reis =	10 do.
Xerafim	..	300 reis =	272·72 do.	..	360 reis =	30 do.
Patacão	..	400 reis =	363·63 do.	..	—	
Piece-of-eight	..	—		..	600 reis =	50 do.

At Goa the piece-of-eight was worth 720 reis; the local rating at 600 Goa reis, by which it was undervalued, should be compared with that of the S. Thomé in 1629 (p. 99).

18. We now turn to the currency system in vogue in the kingdom of Jaffna according to the Foral of 1645 (Appendix E, 8):—

1 mâ		=	6 Ceylon reis
20 mâ = 1 chacaram		=	120 do.
100 mâ = 5 do.	= 1 pardáo	=	600 do.

Side by side with these denominations we find 10 fanams making a pardáo, each fanam being reckoned at 60 Ceylon reis. This system existed at Mannar, apparently to the exclusion of the mâ and chacaram.

(i.) The chacaram (Tamil *cakkaram*) and the mâ (Tamil *má*, "one-twentieth") seem to have been coins of account, though under the Dutch the tammekasje or half stuiver was in use as the equivalent of the latter, 10 tammekassen going to the fanam. The identity of the chacaram is not clear. It can hardly be a double fanam, as there is no evidence for the existence of such a coin at this date. In the fourteenth century the *Gaṇḍa-gópála máḍai* of Nellore consisted of 5 fanams; but this, which has been discussed in Chapter I., must have been the half of the old *máḍai*, while the Jaffna pardáo clearly was the old pagoda of account. This imaginary coin was known as *cakram*, both at Tanjore and in Mysore,[2] and it is possible that the Jaffna chacaram was the old *máḍai* of 20 *másakas* or *mañjáḍis*, and that with its fractional part it became a money of account on the disappearance of the mediæval gold currency, falling in value in much the same way as the Dutch rix-dollar.

(ii.) The fanam had exactly doubled in value between 1584 and 1645, presumably owing to the rise in the price of gold. This is to be seen in the case of the Venetian sequin and other gold coins; the fanam, therefore, must have been of that metal as usual in Southern India. Gold fanams, however, almost certainly were not current towards the end of the Portuguese rule, as in the first years of the Dutch in Jaffna the fanam was a coin of account.

(iii.) The pardáo of 10 fanams, originally the old pagoda of account, was continued at Jaffna, Tuticorin, and Negapatam by the Dutch, and is closely connected with Nunes' "pardáo de fanões" of Pulicat, and the later *cakram* of Tanjore and *poṇ* of Madura. Being a money of account its value rose with that of the gold fanam, and in 1645 was 600 Ceylon or 545·45 Goa reis, or double the "pardáo de Ceilão." The Foral, as far as the Pearl Fishery is concerned, equates the pardáo of 10 fanams with the pataca or piece-of-eight, which in 1630 had been rated at 540–550 reis at Goa. In 1658, the first year of the Dutch occupation of Jaffna, the pardáo was rated at 45 stuivers, but was raised in the following year to 50 to be in harmony with the Netherlands currency.

[1] De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag over Ceilon, W. van Geer, Leiden, 1895, Appendix 6, 14.

[2] The "Canteroy pagoda," Buchanan's Mysore, I., 120. The "Shooly" pagoda of 10 fanams was also known as *cakram*; the "Shooly" fanam came from Ramnad (Madras Manual of Administration, III).

The gold fanam was of 5 stuivers, and so equal to 60 Goa reis ; the fanam of $4\frac{1}{2}$ stuivers, therefore, was of account and of 54 reis. Tavernier, referring to the Pearl Fishery, apparently under the Dutch, speaks of a sum of 5 fanams, " which amounts to half a Crown of our Money,"[1] the French écu being of the same value as the piece-of-eight, and the fanam being counted as half a larin. We thus find in the middle of the seventeenth century two pardáos, the one of 10 fanams of account, the other of 10 gold fanams equal to the piece-of-eight :—

	Account in Ceylon Reis.		Coin in Goa Reis.
Mâ ..	6 reis =	5·4 Goa reis ..	—
Fanam ..	60 reis =	$54\cdot\dot{4}\dot{5}$ do. ..	60 reis = 5 stuivers.
Chacaram ..	120 reis =	$108\cdot\dot{9}\dot{0}$ do. ..	—
Pardáo ..	600 reis =	$545\cdot\dot{5}\dot{4}$ do. ..	600 reis = 50 stuivers.

The pardáo continued in use at the Fishery until the eighteenth century.

19. The Foral of 1645 mentions a caixa grande or large *kásu*, 15 of which went to a fanam, a computation which approaches that in use at Vijayanagar in 1443, as given by 'Abdu'r-Razzáq, viz., 18 jitals to the gold fanam. According to De Queiroz, a " fanão de cayxas " was the price of a measure of salt. These facts show that native copper, presumably the *Setu* pieces in Jaffna and the so-called Dambadeniya coins in the Sinhalese districts, were still current in the seventeenth century, the word " caixa " never being used of Portuguese coins. This is the more interesting, as Knox in the later part of the century makes no mention of a copper currency, though he gives details of the Portuguese silver, the larin, and the silver fanam. Davy, however, writing of the lately ceded Kandyan kingdom says : " The chally is a copper coin, of which two kinds are to be met with,—Dutch challies, which are common, and the Dambadinia challies, which are scarce."[2]

20. In 1597, as already stated, Philip I. of Portugal and II. of Spain was proclaimed sovereign of Ceylon, and all the coins of European type struck in or for the Island are subsequent to this date.

The documents reproduced in Aragão's work give little information about Ceylon. The only Captain-General, who are known to have issued money, are D. Jeronymo de Azevedo (1594–1612) and D. Constantino de Sa (1619–22 and 1623–30), but the correct assignation of the extant coins is a matter of difficulty. Local minting ceased at least for a time on orders of the king received about 1634. In this year whole and half xerafins of gold were struck, as we have seen, for use in Ceylon, at Goa. In 1629 the S. Thomé was of less value in the Island than in the capital, where it was worth 15 tangas and 1 vintem or 912 reis ; it was ordered to be current in Ceylon for 15 tangas " of the said money of this city," namely, 3 xerafins of 5 tangas each, and never for less.[3]

21. All the silver coins struck in or for Ceylon are of three types : I. Gridiron, II. Malacca, and III. Saint.

Of the dated coins :—

I.—The first is the tanga of 1640, the obverse having the crowned arms between C L°, representing either Ceilão or Colombo, with a bead circle enclosed by two line circles, and the reverse the gridiron of St. Lawrence between the date within similar circles ; the average weight is 35·7 grains.[4] The workmanship resembles that of the Goa mint, and these coins very probably may have been struck there for use in the Island or possibly locally with dies sent from the capital. **Pl. 106**.

A similar coin but with the Goa mint letters and of the weight of 33·8 grains bears the date 1645 (**Pl. 107**) ; there is also a rare double tanga of this issue.[5] A forgery of the tanga gives the date reversed as 1641.

A very few double tangas of 1645 but with the hitherto unknown mint letters B O have been found in Ceylon ; the letters may, perhaps, stand for Barcelor—Onor. Portuguese possessions on the Canara coast. The average weight of three is 67·3 grains **Pl. 108**.

[1] At Tanjore in 1813 *cakram* = 20 Madras or 10 gold fanams = $\frac{1}{3}$ Star pagoda . at Madura, before the Muhammadan conquest of 1736, the *pon* = 10 *kalipanam*, of which $16\frac{1}{2}$ = Star pagoda. Tavernier, Indian Travels, p. 247.

[2] De Q , fol. 462 ; Interior of Ceylon, p. 245.

[3] Aragão, DD. 84, 72. The price gold in Ceylon was lower than at Goa. In 1551 according to the Inventario one calanja of gold of 10 mates, viz., of 24 carats, was worth 450 reis, " que hee o preço que valia pela terra." At Goa a calanja of the same fineness would have cost 539·6 or 528 2 reis, calculated on the fine contents of the S Thomé and the Venetian. The price of silver seems to have been much the same in Ceylon and Goa, a mark of the best quality fetching 3150 reis in the Island (Inventario). and a mark of 48 larins being equal to 3240 reis both there and at Goa

[4] Grogan, July, 1911. 12,892.

[5] *Ib.*, 12,894

II.—Another series consists of double and single tangas of the Malacca type, but with D S for "de Seylão" in lieu of DM, the mint letters being those of Goa. The weight of the tanga is 33·8 grains.[1] **Pl. 109.** The issues are :—

Double Tanga.						Tanga.
1642	..	..	..	..	..	1642
1643	..	..	..	..	..	1643
1644	..	.	..	..	..	—
1649	.	..	..	..	..	—

The coin of 1642, weighing 24 2 grains, in the Colombo Museum, is an old forgery.

A unique copper ingot with S Ɑ divided by the monogram, weighing 407·7 grains (diameter ·748 in.), possibly may be a coin die employed by a forger

III.—The third series is of the Saint type, of 1650 to 1653, the obverse having the arms between the mint letters and the reverse St. John the Baptist between S I with the date below.[2] **Pl. 110.**

A small class of various types has the design and legend reversed in part or in whole ; these are of light weight, and are in all probability ancient forgeries. Some have the Dutch countermark, but this was easily counterfeited.

22. Of the undated coins, two are of the Malacca type in silver with the crowned arms and the TA monogram on the obverse and reverse respectively within a circle of beads enclosed on the outer side by a line. One (*a*) weighs 48–50·4 grains (diameter ·57–·70 in.) (**Pl. 111**) ; specimens of the other (*b*), the more common, weigh 37·9, 32·6, and 32·2 grains (diameter ·62 in.) (**Pl. 112**). The execution is rough. In the arms the castles are more or less accurately depicted, but the quinas are represented by five dots placed crosswise ; the crown consists of a rim, from which spring three upright lines ; in each of the spaces so formed is a concave line, the ends of which terminate in balls. On (*a*) to the left of the shield is S (Seylão), sometimes reversed.[3]

The rest are four of the gridiron and two of the arms and sphere type :—

(*c*) Silver tanga, of rough execution, specimens of which weigh 36·5, 36·8, and 33 grains. On the obverse within a line circle enclosed by two bead circles are the crowned arms, and on the reverse within similar circles the gridiron. The diameter is from ·61 to ·64 inch. In the shield the castles are represented by groups of two dots, except those at the top and bottom, where there is only one dot, and the quinas by five dots crosswise. The crown consists, in addition to the rim, of three upright lines separated by two dots in each compartment, while between the crown and the shield are three pairs of upright lines.[4]

Variant :—

Obv. : Between crown and shield a pair of lines on either side of a single vertical line in the centre. On the line circle on obverse and reverse a dot at top, bottom, and either side as on (*d*). Diameter: ·62 inch; weight: 37·2 grains. **Pl. 113.**

(*d*) Silver tanga, of more careful execution, specimens of which weigh 33·1, 38·4, 36·9, 37·4, and 33·6 grains (diameter: ·70 in.). On the obverse within a circle of beads enclosed on the outside by a line circle are the crowned arms between Ɛ and Ī (?[16]31), and on the reverse within a line circle enclosed by two bead circles the gridiron between S L for "São Lourenço" ; on the line circle are four equidistant dots placed crosswise. The treatment of the arms is precisely similar to that in the last described coin ; the crown, however, consists of five upright lines springing from the shield and cutting the rim of the crown ; between each line is a single dot. **Pl. 114.**

Both these coins have marked features in common; their weight would seem to ally them with the gridiron tanga of 1640.

(*e*) Of tutenag ; on the obverse within a line circle an armillary sphere, the badge of the State of India, and on the reverse within a similar circle a gridiron.[5] **Pl. 115.**

A quantity of these coins, all in a worn state, have been picked up on the site of the palace at Godapola Nuwara, the seat of semi-independent royalty for a few years before 1638. The best preserved is in the Colombo Museum, and weighs 44·5 grains with a diameter of ·62 inch : others weigh 27·8, 26·6, 23·7, 23, 20·7, and 20·1 grains only. All seem to be intended for the same denomination.

[1] *Ib*, 12.893, 12,894.
[2] *Ib.*, 12,894.
[3] *Ib.*, 12,892.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ib.*, February, 1914, 93.

(*f*) Of tutenag ; on the obverse within a circle the crowned arms, and on the reverse within a similar circle a gridiron surrounded by the legend S LOVRENCO, divided by a nail-like ornament. The weight is 22·05 grains (diameter: ·47 in.).

(*g*) Of copper ; on the obverse within dot and line circles the arms as on (*c*) placed upon a fine line circle, often invisible. From the upper corners of the shield springs a semicircle, pointed at the top and connected with the outer line circle by two lines, one at either end. In each of the two spaces so formed are four dots. Between the semicircle and the top of the shield are four vertical lines. On either side of the shield are six or seven small dots in continuation of those within the crown. On the reverse within similar dot and line circles an armillary sphere placed upon a fine line circle ; between this and the outer line circle a number of small dots. **Pl. 116.**

Weight. Gr.					Diameter In.		
35·5	..	..	..	..	·57	..	—
31·3	..	..	..	..	·53	..	—
29·2	..	..	..	..	·55	..	—
28·8	..	..	..	..	·53	..	Worn.
26	..	..	..	..	·55	..	—
18·7	..	..	..	..	·51	..	Worn.

The last comes from Egoda Kolonnawa near Colombo ; of the rest most are from Jaffna. They may be half bazarucos (*vide* Coins found in Ceylon, Miscellaneous).

(*h*) Of copper ; on the obverse in a line circle a very rough representation of the arms, the shield, which is almost triangular, only containing four dots placed crosswise. The upper line of the shield is prolonged on either side so as to reach the line circle ; from its upper corners springs a semicircle connected in the centre with the line circle by a vertical line ; between the semicircle and the shield are four vertical lines. Five or six small dots are on either side of the shield. The whole in a circle of large dots On the reverse in similar dot and line circles armillary sphere with small dots on either side. **Pl. 117.**

Weight. Gr.					Diameter. In.		
7·7	..	..	..	..	·31	..	—
6·5	..	..	..	..	—	..	—
4·3	..	..	..	..	—	..	Broken.

The first coin was found with a number of silver fanams and Portuguese, Dutch, and Persian coins, mainly of the seventeenth century ; the other two at Jaffna. This coin is clearly a fractional piece of (*g*).

23. The assignation of the undated coins to any particular Captain-General between 1597 and 1634 is a matter of difficulty. At Goa, in 1569, the tanga by law weighed 89 grãos (68·4 grains) ; by 1594, judging from the issue of that year, it was about 56–59 grains ; in 1614 it was by law 65¾ grãos (50·5 grains) ; in 1630 57¼ grãos (44·1 grains) ; and in 1642, and presumably in 1640 also, 44 grãos (33·8 grains) ; while in 1650 it was reduced to 42¼ grãos (32·4 grains). The Ceylon D S series and the gridiron coins of 1645 are clearly struck on the standard of 33·8 grains. With the exception of one coin of 61·9 grains, the Malacca type tangas from 1630 at least are on the standard of 62½ grãos, or 48·033 grains, which is slightly below the Goa standard of 1614.

The undated Ceylon tangas of the Malacca type are of baser metal than those with the gridiron, whether dated or not. Of the former, a few weigh about the same as the Malacca tanga, or probably somewhat higher as one turns the scale at 50·4 grains. They may be attributed to de Azevedo. The design favours the derivation of the standard from Malacca, where this officer had been Admiral before his appointment to Ceylon ; his tanga issued in 1614 at Goa, however, weighed 50·5 grains, but was of eleven-twelfths fineness. If the standard was of Ceylon origin, it may have reference to the Goa tanga of 1594, of which it was nine-tenths in weight, 300 Ceylon reis being equal to 270 of Goa.

The remaining undated Ceylon tangas of both types as well as the gridiron coin of 1640 are heavier than the Goa standard of 33·8 grains, and range from 32·2 to 40·2 grains, with an average of 35·4, though as many are worn, the standard probably was as high as 40 grains. This reduction in weight can have no relation to the coinage of Goa, where a tanga of 44·1 grains, of pataca silver, only appeared temporarily in 1630, and seems to have been arbitrary.

The S L and gridiron tanga (*d*) is clearly allied with the rougher coin (*c*), and both with the gridiron tanga of 1640. I would, therefore, assign these to Constantino de Sa ; the S L coin possibly may date, however, from 1631 if the obverse legend has been interpreted correctly. The local minting ceased about 1634, and in 1640

the Goa mint issued or supervised the issue of the dated gridiron tanga on the Ceylon pattern and standard. If this be so, the lighter rough pieces (*b*) of the Malacca type may be the immediate successors of the heavier coin of 50·4 grains, and belong to the first government of de Sa. There is, of course, nothing to show that the royal order to close the local mint ever secured more than a temporary obedience.

The tutenag coin (*e*) must have been struck in or before 1638. The Goa bazaruco of this metal issued in 1600, with the arms on the obverse and the sphere on the reverse, weighed 75 to the Portuguese pound, or 94·4 grains Troy each. Our coin, therefore, may be a half bazaruco and of about the same date, as in 1617 the king forbade the coinage of bazarucos in any other metal but copper. Coin (*g*) somewhat resembles No. 1521 of Grogan's Catalogue which weighs 48·5 grains; its obverse connects it with the tangas (*c*) and (*d*) attributed to de Sa[1] The weight may have been fixed to harmonize with the native "caixas."

24. The countermarks found on the Portuguese coins are three :—

(i.) The monogram GALE (Galle). **Pl. 118.**

(ii.) The monogram of the Dutch East India Company, either plain, or surmounted by C (Colombo) or by I (Jaffna). **Pl. 119, 120.**

(iii.) The letter R. **Pl. 121.**

The first was impressed in 1655 on the Portuguese "10, 6, and 5 stuiver pieces" found to be genuine (Appendix F, 1) and appears on coins of the Ceylon, Goa, and Malacca standards of 40, 33·8, and 48·033 grains. As there is little visible difference in the weight of the coins of the first two, it may reasonably be inferred that they both were current for 60 Goa reis, and the Malacca tangas for 72.

III.—Malacca

25. Malacca became a separate Government in 1571, and from an early date had its own mint, which issued as late as 1587, according to Balbi, silver patacões of 6 tangas and a subsidiary coinage of tin. This seems to have been closed for many years before 1629, when, according to Aragão's Document No. 84, Nuno Alvares Botelho issued a coin of necessity known vulgarly as the botelha.

A not inconsiderable number of undated tangas with the monogram TA between M A (Malaca) or A M (Asia Malaca) has been found in the Island, all struck on the standard of 48·033 grains, with the exception of one apparently of baser silver and 61·9 grains in weight, in the possession of the writer. Dated tangas of the same design and standard weight occur of the years 1632, 1633, and 1634[2]

Larger silver coins dated from 1635 to 1640 are also found in Ceylon; these are of the usual Malacca type, and weigh from 184·9 to 191·4 grains, the average being 188·9; their halves weigh from 91·3 to 94·5 grains with an average of 92·6.[3] Xerafins and half xerafins of this type were ordered to be struck at Goa in 1637 with the weights of 240·169 and 120·084 grains respectively. The coins found in Ceylon, however, are considerably lighter and, as suggested by Grogan, must have been intended for quadruple and double tangas weighing 192·13 and 96·6 grains each. It is possible that they were reckoned in Ceylon as whole and half xerafins, as being 5 and 2½ times the weight of the local tanga.[4]

The more recent regular Malacca coinage dates from 1630, when, as has been seen, Malacca tangas were struck in Goa; the same dies were used in the following year for an issue at Malacca itself. As dates are found on coins of the type from 1632 onwards, it is certain that our undated tangas are those of 1630 and 1631, more probably of the last mentioned year, as the issue of 1630 was carried away by the Chinese merchants. The erratic piece of 61·9 grains, which clearly belongs to the series, perhaps is due to the inexperience of the Malacca moneyers. By the end of 1634 the royal order forbidding coinage except at Goa had been received, and as all the dated pieces are of similar workmanship, it seems probable that all were struck at Goa and not at Malacca.

The solitary tanga with R F described below may be assigned with Aragão's similar piece to the reign of Philip III., though before the viceroyalty of the Conde de Linhares, or even to the later years of Philip II.; it is of the usual Malacca weight.

The tanga with the date 164(5?) in the corners of the TA monogram appears to be unique. It is of the usual Goa weight of the period.

[1] Aragão, DD. 41, 60.
[2] Grogan, July, 1911, 12,893.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] For the Malacca issues, see Grogan, November–December, 1916, 610–623.

IV.—Coins found in Ceylon.

26. The weights in italics are those fixed by law. G. = Grogan's Catalogue.

I.—Malacca Type

1.

Undated. Obv.: Crowned arms between A M. a dot above and beneath each letter; all within two line circles enclosing beads.

Rev.: Within similar circles monogram TA between R F: a dot over each letter, one on either side of the stem of the T. and one on either side of the apex of the A.

Tanga: *cf.* Aragão. Pl I., No. 7 (47 gr.), but no stars on obverse.

Undated. Obv.: Within two line circles enclosing beads crowned arms between A M.

Rev.: Within similar circles monogram between D M.

Tanga. (i) Diameter: ·70 in. Weight: 61·9 gr.

(ii) Diameter. ·62–·74 in. Weight: *48·033* gr.

1632. As last, but date below monogram

Tanga, Diameter: ·74–·80 in. Weight. *48·033* gr.

1633–4. As last, but date under arms. Also below monogram, 1634.

Tanga: Same size and weight.

1635–40 As last, but arms between A M or M A, and date under monogram. Quadruple tanga (? Ceylon xerafim). Diameter: 1·09 in. Average weight: 188·9 gr.

1635–40. The same, but A M and date under arms or monogram.

Double tanga (? Ceylon half xerafim). Diameter: ·90 in. Average weight: 92·6 gr.

2.

164(5). Obv. Within similar circles crowned arms between (?A) Ɖ

Rev. In similar circles monogram with date at the four corners: 4 5 ?
1 6

Tanga, Diameter: ·7 in. Weight: 32·5 gr.

3.

Undated local Ceylon, *vide* text.

(*a*) Diameter: ·57–·70 in. Weight: 47·8, 48, 50·1, 50·4 gr.

(*b*) Diameter: ·62 in. Weight· 32·2, 32·6, 37·9 gr. All worn and cracked.

4.

1642, 1643. Obv.: Within two line circles enclosing beads crowned arms between G A.

Rev.: Within similar circles monogram between D S; date below.

Double Tanga, Diameter: ·76 in. Weight: *67·6* gr.

Tanga, Diameter: ·64 in. Weight: *33·8* gr.

1644, 1649. Double Tanga of same weight and size.

II.—Gridiron Type.

1640. Obv.: Within two line circles enclosing beads crowned arms between C L°.

Rev.: Within similar circles gridiron between date.

Tanga, Diameter: ·63 in. Weight: 33·1, 33·5, 34, 35, 35·5, 36·4, 36·8, 37, 40 gr.; average, 35·7 gr.

1645. As last, but arms between G A.

Double Tanga, Diameter: ·76 in. Weight: *67·6* gr.

Tanga, Diameter: ·62–·64 in. Weight: *33·8* gr.

1645. As last, but arms between B O.

Double Tanga, Diameter: ·80 in. Weight: 66·7, 67·6, 67·7 gr.

Undated. As last, but arms between A and Ɖ; gridiron between A ?L.

Tanga, Diameter: ·64 in. Weight: 30·4 gr. ?A forgery.

Undated local Ceylon, *vide* text.

		Diameter. In.		Weight. Gr.
(c) Rough ; arms and gridiron	..	·62	..	33, 36·5, 36·8
(d) Same design ; S L ..	..	·70	..	33·1, 33·6, 36·9, 37·4, 38·4
(e) Tutenag. Sphere and gridiron	..	·62	..	44·5
(f) Tutenag. Arms and gridiron	..	·47	..	22·05

III.—Saint Type.

Gold. S. Thomé.

1594. Obv. : Within two line circles enclosing beads crowned arms of Portugal between G A.
Rev. : Within similar circles St. Thomas with carpenter's square standing l. between S T.
Diameter : ·61, ·61 in. Weight : 51·6, 52·6 gr. Two varieties with large and small letters.

1632, 1634. Obv : Crowned arms between G A ; in margin between a bead and a line circle PHILIPVS III·REX·PORTVG.

Rev.. St. Thomas with carpenter's square standing l. between date; in margin between similar circles, S THOME·

Diameter : ·82 in. Weight : 51·8 gr.

The 1634 coin has S· THOME. Diameter : ·82 in. Weight : 53·2 gr.

Silver, unless otherwise stated :—

1640. Obv. : Within two line circles enclosing beads crowned arms between G A.
Rev. : Within similar circles St. Philip holding a cross between S F and in lower area date.
Double Tanga, Diameter : ·76 in. Weight : *67·6* gr.

1642, 1643, As last, but with St. John Baptist between S I.
1644. Double Tanga, Diameter : ·77–·80 in. Weight : *67·6* gr.
Tanga, Diameter : ·66 in. Weight : *33·8* gr.

1650–53. As last.
Double Tanga.

1653. As last, but arms between C B or B C.
Double Tanga, Diameter : ·79 in. Weight : *67·6* gr.
Tanga, Weight : *33·8* gr.

1654–56. As last, but arms between Å D.
Double Tanga, Diameter : ·76 in. Weight : *67·6* gr.

1653. As last, but arms between obliterated letter and I, the top of this letter being in the shape of a cross.
Tanga, Diameter : ·70 in. Weight : 32·6 gr.

IV.—Miscellaneous.

Undated local Ceylon, *vide* text ; both copper.

(g) Arms and sphere. Diameter : ·53–·55 in. Weight : c. 31·3 gr.
(h) Do. Diameter : ·3 in Weight : c. 7·7 gr.

Undated. Obv. : Arms. Rev. : Cross cantoned by ? stars.
Diameter : ·6 in. Weight : 29·6 gr. Very worn. Tutenag : ? G. 1522.

Undated. Obv. Crowned arms between G A, all within line circle.
Rev.. Cross of the Holy Sepulchre cantoned by four stars, all within line circle.
Diameter : ·55 in. Weight. 33·6 gr. Slightly clipped recently on one side, showing a white metal core within a dark outer coating.

1654. Obv. : Within two line circles enclosing beads crowned arms between C B.
Rev. : Cross of the Holy Sepulchre cantoned by four stars and the date 5 4
1 6
Diameter : ·7 in. Weight : 59·9, 63·3 gr. G. 1364.
Copper ; Bazaruco.
Similar, but arms between (H) and O. On rev. date obscure.
Weight : 59·5 gr. Copper ; Bazaruco. G. 1365.

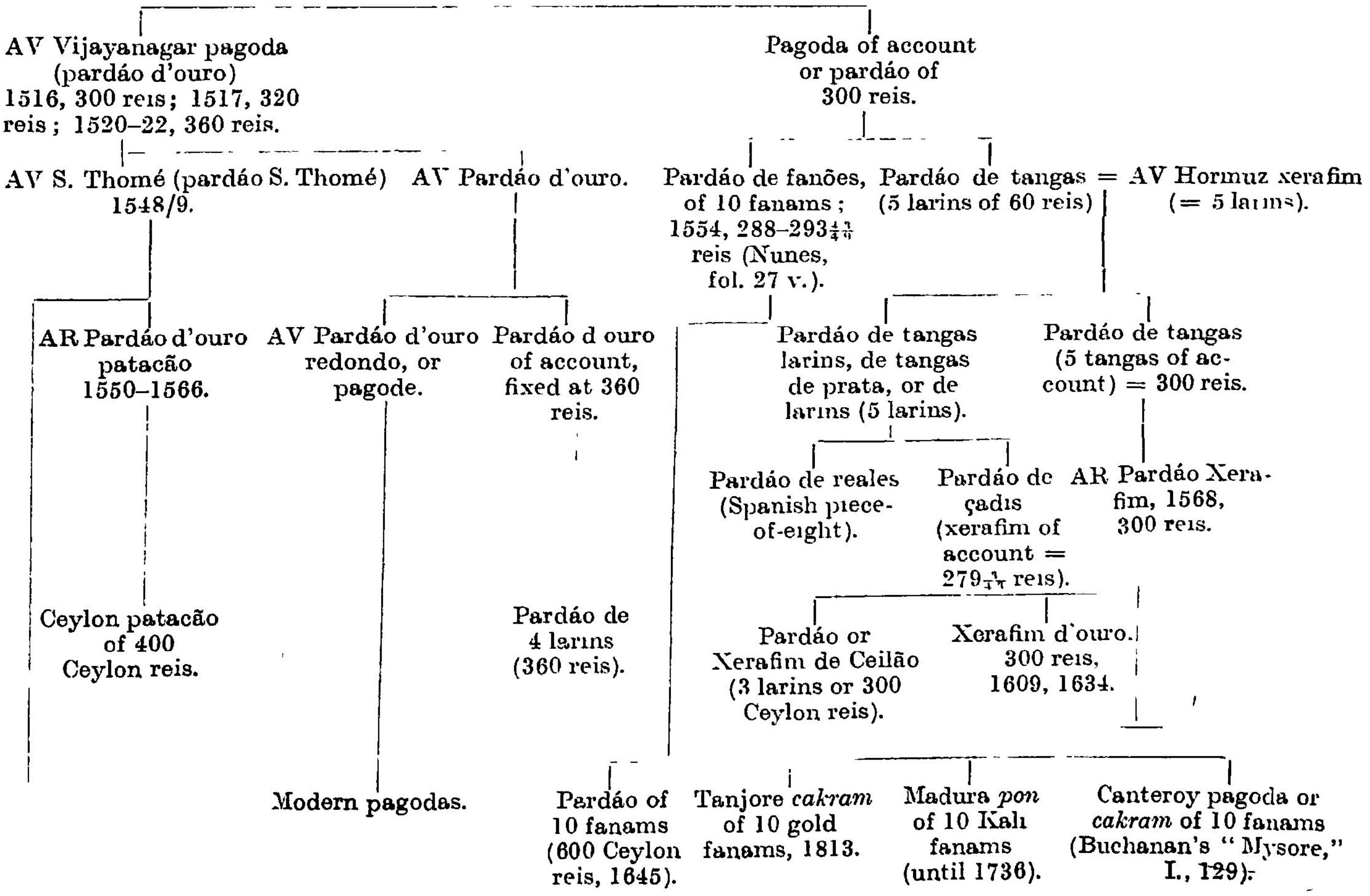
27. The following table shows the issues of silver coins from 1594 to 1656 with the weights in grains; those in italics are given in documents. Unless otherwise stated, the coins are tangas or multiples thereof. BO = ? Barcelor-Onor; CB = Chaul-Basseim; CL = Ceylon; D = Diu; G = Goa; M = Malacca; X = xerafim.

	Malacca Type.	Gridiron Type.	Saint Type	Cross Type.
1594	—	—	c. 56–58·4	—
c.1612	CL. c. 50·4	—	—	—
1614	—	—	—	G *101·191; 50·595*
c.1619–22	CL c. 38–40	—	—	—
1623–30	—	CL. c. 38–40	—	—
1629	M. ? 48·033 (Botelha)	—	—	—
1630	M. 48·033	—	—	G. *265·1* patacão: *44·1*
1631	G. *48·033*	CL. c. 38–40	—	—
1631–34	M. 48·033	—	—	—
1635–40	M. 192·13; 96·6	—	—	—
1637	G. *240·169* X; *48·033*	—	—	—
1640	—	G. (CL°) c. 38–40	G. 33·8	—
1641	—	—	G. 33·8	—
1642–50	—	—	G. *169·079* X; *33·815*	—
1642–3	G. (DS) 67·6; 33·8	—	—	—
1644	G. (DS) 67·6	—	—	—
1645	—	G. 33·8; BO. 67·6	—	—
1649	G. (DS) 67·6	—	—	—
1650–56	—	—	—	G. *162·162* X; *32·432*
1650–53	—	—	G. 67·6	—
1653	—	—	CB. 67·6; 33·8	—
1654–56	—	—	D. 67·6	—

28. Mint and other letters are :—

Å D	Tanga de Diu.	D S	De Seylão.
A M	Asia Malaca.	G A	Goa.
B C	Baçaim Chaul.	M A	Malaca
B O	? Barcelor Onor.	S I	São João.
C B	Chaul Baçaim.	S L	São Lourenço.
C L°	Ceilão or Colombo.	S T	São Thomé.
D M	De Malaca.		

29. The pedigree of the Pardáo is as follows :—



Ratings of Coins in Reis at Goa, &c.

A = Aragão ; D = Aragão's Documents ; L = Larin : T = Tanga.

Year.	Larin.	Pataca (Piece-of-eight).	Xerafim of Hormuz.	Pagoda.	S. Thomé.	Venetian.	Remarks.
1516	55[1]	—	300[1]	300[2] 320[3]	—	—	Barbosa
1517	—	—	—	320	—	—	D. 1: cruzado = 397⅓
1522	—	—	—	6 T (360)	—	—	A. p. 123
1525	60	—	—	—	—	—	Lembranças
1534–5[4]	60	—	5 L	6 L	—	—	D. 4
1545–8	(60)	—	5 L (300)	6 L (360)	6 L (360)	7 L (420)	D. 9
1546[5]	62⅖	—	—	6 L (374⅖)	—	—	A. p. 96
1551[6]	72	—	300	360	—	420	Inventario
1554	72 ; with premium 77·7–79·2	—	300 new	360 and more with premium	—	420	Nunes
1557	72	—	300	360	—	—	D. 4
1565	—	—	—	450	—	—	—
c. 1568	72[7] 96	all with premium					D. 9
1569	72	—	—	360	360	420	DD. 9, 11
1580	75 and more with premium	400 ; with premium 473–488	5 L (375)	Old 480 ; new 430	—	570 ; with premium 585–600	Balbi
1578–81	—	376 430	300 450	360 540	—	420 600	D. 16
1581–4[8]	82½	—	—	495	—	—	A. pp. 96, 156
1583–88	84–86 1/15 : with premium 96½–101⅗	436 on arrival ; with premium 487½–507	—	Over 480	420–480	600	Linschoten
1587	—	450 and more in monsoons	—	—	—	(600)	D. 20
1588–91	90[9]	—	—	—	—	—	A. p. 104
1591–3	—	460	—	—	—	—	D. 24
1593	—	448 400[10]	—	—	—	—	D. 26
1595	—	—	—	-	Till now 510[11]	—	D. 34
1601	—	480	—	—	—	—	D. 43
1607	90	—	—	—	—	—	D. 49
c. 1608	90[12]	—	—	—	—	—	A. p. 192
1609	(96	480	—	—	600	600)	Pyrard[13]
1610	90[9]	—	—	6 L (540)	—	—	A. pp. 195–6
1614	100[6]	—	—	—	—	—	Tombo
1618	—	—	—	570–600	600	690–720	—
1619	94½[14]	480	—	—	—	—	DD. 64, 65
1622	—	5 L	—	—	—	—	Della Valle
1624	96[15] 90	480	—	780 (39 pontos)	866	960[16] 930 866	D 69

[1] Hormuz.

[2] Vijayanagar

[3] Batecala

[4] Date of building Diu fort.

[5] Date of occupation of Salsette and Bardez : 62⅖ reis = 52 leaes.

[6] Ceylon.

[7] 60 leaes forced currency in Goa ; 80 leaes or more on mainland.

[8] Bardez.

[9] Chaul.

[10] Pataca ordered to run without premium.

[11] Now to find own place in currency.

[12] Damão.

[13] Larin c. 8 sous, xerafim 25, piece-of-eight 40, and S. Thomé and Venetian 50.

[14] 48 larins = 15 xerafins 45 bazarucos.

[15] Persian at 96, others at 90.

[16] Venetians "of two figures," old, and new respectively.

Year.	Larin.	Pataca (Piece-of-eight).	Xerafim of Hormuz.	Pagoda.	S. Thomé.	Venetian.	Remarks.
1629	—	—	—	—	912 900	—	D. 72
1630	—	550, 540[1]; at most 570	—	—	—	—	DD. 75, 76, 83
1631	—	550 480[2]	—	852 (38 pontos)	912 (39½ pontos)	—	DD. 79, 80
1638	—	540	—	—	—	—	—
1640–2[3]	(120	600)[4]	—	—	—	—	—
1638–45	—	630–660	—	—	—	—	D. 87
1645	—	720 (and some reis more)	—	—	—	—	D. 87
1646	—	—	—	—	1230 of old touch	—	D. 88
1643–49[5]	—	720	—	—	—	1440	—

CHAPTER IX.

DUTCH.

I.—1602–1681.

THE Dutch East India Company was incorporated in 1602. In Java, where there was no suitable native money to adopt, the Spanish piece-of-eight or "reaal" (real) was prevalent; it was also known in the Netherlands, where it passed in 1594 for 45 stuivers, in 1603 for 46, in 1606 for 47, and in 1622 for 48. This last rating became fixed in the factories of the Company, where the piece-of-eight was popularly reckoned as the equivalent of the rix-dollar; it was thus slightly over-valued. Dutch money was introduced into the East at least as early as 1617; it chiefly consisted of "payement" or small change, often the clipped and base coins demonetized at home. Such "payement" was packed in bags or "payement packjes" purporting to be worth 10 rix-dollars; in 1698 they were often found to be from a quarter to two or more rix-dollars short, and to contain many clipped and debased pieces. This small change was allowed to pass for unlimited sums, and the Netherlands coins of full weight, being at a premium, were exported. Silver was much prized in the Far East and was largely bought up for export by the Chinese, the disappearance of the larger coins being helped by wrong ratings and the presence of clipped money. Accordingly, with a view to keep the lion dollar (leeuwendaalder) or kroon of 40 stuivers in Batavia, it was raised locally to 42 stuivers, and in 1639 to 48. Other large coins not being raised with it were thus under-valued and disappeared, but popularly the real was also raised; this was legalized in 1640, when it became 60 stuivers, as did also the cross rix-dollar, which in the Netherlands was rated at 50. Thus, there came into existence two reals, one the actual coin of 60 stuivers, the other a money of account or "reaal courant" of 48, in which the books were kept. The heavy coins still left for the reasons already stated, and in 1645 the Batavian Government issued locally made kroonen of 48 stuivers each; they were withdrawn in 1647.[6]

2. The home authorities, who had the valuations of the coins current in the East under consideration, in 1649 fixed the ratings, among others, of the rix-dollar and the real at 52 and 50 stuivers respectively (*v.* 1652), and directed that all bad money, such as 8 and 4 stuiver pieces, should be treated as bullion. The Batavian Government, however, considering that the enhanced ratings had been in use for ten years, feared a total export of coin and contented itself with publishing, without ratings, the list of coins authorized to be current in all the possessions of the Company, namely, the rix-dollar of the United Provinces, the lion dollar or kroon of the same, schellings, double and single stuivers, and Spanish reals-of-eight and their parts; also provisionally Brabanders

[1] 540 reis at 57¼ grãos or 410·4 grains plus 1 real (1¼ bazarucos) for each grão over.

[2] Malacca.

[3] Ceylon.

[4] De Opkomst (*v.* sect. 17); larin 10 and piece-of-eight 50 stuivers.

[5] De la Boullaye-le Gouz (Hobson-Jobson, *s.v.* Xerafine in Supplement).

[6] Batavia Plakaat Boek, 28/2, 30/4/1698; 11/7/1639; 10–12/3/1640; 14–26/2/1645; and 23/9/1647.

or cross dollars, of the proper weight, and ducatoons "now and then come to India." This last coin was that of Spanish Flanders, the Dutch one not being struck until 1659. The light and debased real-of-eight, called Peruse or peruleros, so called from the country of issue, and worth about 32 stuivers, were forbidden. The home authorities and the Batavian Government now entered into a controversy on the question of the currency; the latter wished to retain "light" money as more likely to remain in the country, with the rix-dollar at 60 (clipped) stuivers; the Company, on the other hand, wished to have "heavy" money, *i.e.*, of full weight, in circulation, and pointed out that the calculated profits from the employment of light money were illusory, though it realized that the course advocated by it was not pleasing to those who made a profit of 25 per cent. on the difference. The home authorities persisted in their contention, and finally, on May 4, 1652, their scheme of rating was introduced into all the Company's possessions :—

Rix-dollar of the United Provinces	.. .. ..	52 stuivers
Real-of-eight (of Seville and Mexico, but not of Peru)	.. .	50 stuivers
Lion dollar or kroon } of the United Provinces	..	42 stuivers
Schelling } of the United Provinces	.. ..	6 stuivers
Double and single stuiver } of the United Provinces	..	—
Oortgens (¼ stuiver) and duits (⅛ stuiver) coined and admitted in the United Provinces		—
Brabant and cross dollars } by toleration	.. ..	50 stuivers
Ducatoons, now and then come to India } by toleration	..	63 stuivers

All other coins were to be treated as bullion.

On May 21, 1652, these ratings were revised at Batavia, the silver real, the cross dollar, and the provincial dollar, viz., the silver rix-dollar, being valued at 51 stuivers, and the real of 48 stuivers being abolished. This modification was disapproved of by the Company by letter of April 15, 1654.[1]

3. Silver was relatively more valuable in the East than in Europe, and, according to van den Berg, both parties seemed to think that the only way of making this concrete was to raise the rating of the large coins in terms of stuivers, an impossible proceeding, as the stuiver was also more valuable in the same degree. According to this theory, 50 stuivers in Europe were worth 60 in the East. There is, however, no doubt that the authorities understood that the question was one of the use of heavy or light coin, that is of full weight or clipped. But what was not realized at home was the wretched condition of the "payement." Had this been remedied, the sole difficulty with which to contend would have been the export by the Chinese. As it was, the new rating really under-valued the coins of full weight, which consequently were bought up and carried out of the country, and this so speedily that on August 26, 1652, it became necessary to put quantities of demonetized coin into circulation. Thus no improvement was effected.

In 1654 the silver real was raised to 62 stuivers and treated as merchandise. The import of coin from Europe was stopped by the war with England; money left Batavia, and in 1656 the importunities of the local Government at last obtained a reversion to the old ratings. Thus, the rix-dollar, real, and the Brabant cross dollar were now valued at 60 stuivers, and the lion dollar or kroon of full weight at 48; all other species of money were to be rated as by Proclamation of May 4, 1652, viz. the schelling, the dubbeltje and the stuiver at 6, 2, and 1 stuivers, respectively. In contracts the real of account or "reaal courant" was to be of 48 stuivers; it was ordered in 1657 to be reckoned in the Negotie and other books of the Company at 51 stuivers, a privilege to the Company's servants by way of "mesnagie."[2]

4. When the home authorities had agreed to a reversion to the old ratings in 1656, they had at the same time ordered that the "payement" should follow the ratings of the large coins, the schelling to be at 7½ stuivers, the dubbeltje at 2½, and the stuiver at 1¼. This was not then carried out by the Indian Government, who objected that the rix-dollar of 60 stuivers at 1¼ each was the same as that of 48 at 1, and that if this were done, the restoration of the old ratings was illusory; a further objection was the absence of any small coin as the unit. But the Company insisted, and accordingly on November 4, 1658, the schelling became 7½ stuivers, the dubbeltje 2½, and the silver stuiver 1¼.[3] Thus, the unit became an imaginary stuiver called "light," either as representing the clipped silver stuiver, or perhaps merely in opposition to the "heavy" or silver coin; 60 of these coins of account equalled 48 Netherlands silver stuivers supposed to be of full weight. The whole proceeding was, therefore, quite pointless; clipped coin was still current passing as of full weight, and the only results were a complication in the accounts, which were thenceforward kept in "light money," and a fictitious currency money, such as prevailed in the English West Indies. Thus, the guilder or florin of account, which at

[1] Van den Berg, Letter of 29/3/1649; B. P. B., 6/10/1649; B. P. B. under dates.

[2] Van den Berg, p. 9; B. P. B. under dates.

[3] B. P. B. under dates.

home was equal to 20 silver stuivers, became in India a sum composed of 20 imaginary stuivers, each ⅘ of a silver one ; and, similarly, the schelling of account was 6 light stuivers. The "current real" of 48 stuivers was, it is true, ordered to be calculated in "heavy" money, as representing the silver real or rix-dollar of 60 light stuivers, but in practice it continued to be a money of account equal to 48 "light" and so to 38⅖ "heavy" stuivers, while the 48 "heavy" stuivers were reckoned a "current" rix-dollar of account. The total result was that the position of 1652 was really retained, one silver stuiver being styled a heavy stuiver and rated as 1¼ stuiver of account. It is not, therefore, a subject for wonder that the retired Governor Baron van Imhoff, writing in 1741, says :—

(1) De tous les articles qui concernent le service de la Compagnie, il n'y en a aucun sur lequel on ait plus écrit, & sur lequel on se soit moins entendu que sur celui-ci (*sc.* le cours des monnoyes) . . . . Loin de développer l'utile, il semble que ces calculs n'ayent abouti qu'à rendre le *Noeud Gordien* encore plus difficile à dénouer.

(2) La distinction du poids des Especes (in the Dutch, distinction between light and heavy money) en est une preuve. Personne jusqu' ici, du moins que l'on sache, n'a encore pû approfondir le mystere de cette réduction ; peut être même est-il impénétrable. Chacun suppute un profit de vingt-cinq pour cent, en appréciant le florin à 25 sols, ou l'écu de 48 à 60, ce qui revient au même ; mais lorsque les marchandises des Indes se payent en *pagodes* sur le pied de 96 sols, ou en écus de 48 ou en *roupies* de 24, le tout argent d'Hollande, le benefice imaginaire disparoit par l'évaluation des unes à 120 sols, des autres à 60 et les dernières à 30 ; ce qui n'est pas tout-à-fait juste par rapport aux roupies (which were undervalued) . . . Toutes ces distinctions ne tendent qu'à rendre les Comptes difficiles & obscurs. Il seroit à souhaiter que les choses fussent mises sur un pied égal, & les différences proscrites des Régistres de la Compagnie.

(3) La diversité du cours des monnoyes entre les Indes & l'Europe ne regarde que les Especes, & non les Marchandises ; il y a un benefice réel sur l'or & l'argent, & la Compagnie n'en jouira pas moins de celui qu'elle trouve dans les denrées.

(4) Aux Indes la valeur intrinsique de l'argent est estimée depuis 20 jusqu'à 22 & 23 pour cent de plus qu'en Europe, parceque ce métal y est plus rare, & par conséquent plus recherché. L'or au contraire y abonde plus qu'en ces Pays ; cependant il rend un gain de 10 à 12 pour cent, quelquefois plus, quelquefois moins ; de sorte qu'en profitant sur l'argent dans les voyages, & sur l'or dans les etours, le Commerce des Provinces-Unies à la Chine rapporteroit à coup sûr environ 40 pour cent.

(5) De-là il s'ensuit que comme les Especes d'argent, & même les lingots sans distinction, valent aux Indes beaucoup plus qu'en Europe, il faut nécessairement de deux choses l'une ; ou mettre les Especes, dont se sert la Compagnie, à un taux proportionnel au-dessus du nôtre, ou qu'elle ne paye les Marchandises, qu'elle y achete, que suivant la valeur de l'argent dans les Provinces-Unies." ("Considerations sur l'état present de la Compagnie Hollandoise des Indes Orientales" in *Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux* by du Bois, 1763).

5. The war between the Netherlands and Spain involved the possessions of Portugal, the crown of which was personally united with that of the latter belligerent. The Dutch first appeared off the coast of Ceylon in 1602, and, having entered into a treaty with the King of Kandy with the object of ousting the Portuguese, secured possession of Galle in 1640, Colombo not falling into their hands until 1656. On May 23, 1638, a treaty was contracted between the King and the Dutch Commander Adam Westerwold, the fourteenth article of which dealt with the coinage, and provided that no money should be issued at a higher or lower rate than the contracting parties should agree upon in unison.[1] This scheme, however, was still in the air in 1640, when Coster called the attention of the King to the subject ; he met only with vague promises, and the matter dropped.[2] In 1644 the Government at Batavia had copper half and quarter stuivers cast for use in Banda, Malacca, and Ceylon. These bore on the obverse a sword or dagger, the arms of Batavia, and on the reverse the Company's monogram, and as late as the eighteenth century were still current in Coromandel ;[3] the half stuiver piece was known in Ceylon under the name of "tammekasje."[4] During the early years of the Dutch occupation of Galle the currency consisted of Portuguese gold S. Thomés, and cruzados and other silver coins, as well as of Spanish pieces-of-eight and larins. Netherlands double and single silver stuivers are mentioned as early as 1642–3 ;[5] gold and silver

[1] Baldæus, ed. 1672, p. 58. Anthonisz's "Dutch Records," p. 130, has : "No one except when appointed thereto by the King and by the Dutch shall have power to coin, make, or circulate money, much less to make base coin." The provisions of a former treaty entered into by Marcellus de Boschhouwer on May 11, 1612, were :—

Paragraph 23. Niemandt dan zyn Majesteyt zal vermogen eenig geld te munten, of hooger 't zelve doen uytgeven, als by zyn Majesteyt en Nederlanders, in gelegentheyt van het geld 't welk uyt Hollandt mochte komen, zal gestelt zyn ; en zoo yemand van wederzyden bevonden wierd valsch geld geslagen te hebben, dat men de dood zal gestraft werden.

Paragraph 25. Dat de Munte, die in den gank nodigh wierd geacht, alle drie Jaren zoude werden verandert, te weten drie Jaar in Candy, en drie Jaar in onze verblyf-plaatzen (Baldæus, p. 26).

[2] Dag Register of Batavia, in "Ceylon Literary Register," II. (1887–88), p. 336.

[3] B. P. B., 16–19/8/1644 ; Thunberg, "Travels," III., p. 354.

[4] Valentyn, Deel IV., Stuk 1.

[5] Dag Register.

fanams doubtless were also employed. In 1655 it was found that many of the Portuguese " 10, 6, and 5 stuiver pieces " were forged, though not the gold, nor the whole and half silver pardáos, and it was resolved by the Galle Council to call in the coins of the lower values referred to, and to stamp all such as were found to be genuine with the monogram ₲ (G A L E), the false pieces being defaced.[1] The step so taken does not appear to have been effective as the countermark itself was forged. The coins in question, on the basis of the gold fanam being then worth 5 stuivers or 60 reis, were in Portuguese currency 120, 72, and 60 reis, and consequently the first and the last were the double and single tanga ; the second coin of 72 reis would seem to be the heavier Malacca tanga.

6. In 1658 the Batavian Government struck copper pieces for use in Java in the same shape as the "tangen" on the coast of India, " Seylon," Coromandel, Bengal, and Aracan, having at either end a small mark to prevent the coin being shortened. The weight was 4 engels or 94·9 grains ; it bore no likeness to any European coin,[2] and is said to have been made of copper wire (van den Berg, p. 26). It is mentioned here, as its prototype is quite unknown in the Island.

7. In the same year Jaffna fell into the hands of the Dutch. This place with its district, as has been seen, had a different currency system from that employed in the south and south-west of the Island ; this appears to have been continued by the new masters. From the Instructions for the Commandeur Paviljoen issued on October 31, 1658, we learn that in the matter of the valuation of gold the pagoda was to be rated at 90 stuivers or 20 fanams until definite orders were received from Batavia. The rix-dollar was of 10 fanams, but it is possible that the pardau is really meant. We have here also the first mention of the Persian 'abbásí, said to be worth in Dutch coin 16 stuivers or 9½ (*lege* 3$\frac{5}{9}$) fanams. The fanam was, according to the above information, 4½ stuivers, but had been at one time 5, and the Commandeur suggested that it should be raised again to this sum, so that the " perdau " or 10 fanams should equal 2½ guilders. The reason assigned by him for his proposal was that the payments made to the garrison were calculated in guilders which did not agree with calculations in fanams, while the revenues were in perdaus He also recommended that the 'abbásí should be fixed at 18 stuivers, which was its value calculated on the Spanish real-of-eight rated at 60. From the approval of his proposal as to the rating of the fanam given on September 11, 1659, we learn that there were no fanams current in Jaffna, *i.e.*, the fanam was a money of account ; at the same time he was urged if possible to introduce such a currency and rating as existed on the west coast of Ceylon, reckoning the rix-dollar of 8 schellings at 51 stuivers[3] (*cf.* Mesnagie at Batavia, *v. supra* section 3).

8. The Persian silver 'abbásís and also mahmúdís appear to have enjoyed some popularity at this time in Southern India, and they were imported wholesale. Ceylon appears to have been a sort of clearing house in the trade, for, to quote only two instances, in 1660, 137,200 'abbásís to the value of fl. 98,116·11 0 were brought from Persia for use in Coromandel, and in 1665 fifteen chests of the same coin were despatched from Ceylon to the Coast. A similar trade in rupees passed through Ceylon, the coins being brought from Surat to be sent *viâ* Coromandel to Bengal. The first mention of this is in 1676.[4]

9. It is unfortunate that the Ceylon Plakaat Boek is not forthcoming, all that remains of it being a very incomplete index in English and another in Dutch. From this it would appear that on July 10, 1660, Portuguese coins were declared to be no longer current; the true purport, however, is probably furnished by an Appendix to the Instructions given on July 21, 1661, to the Dessave of Matara, " The coin in Ceylon is to be kept up on its present basis. No Portuguese coins, such as peruse, reals, and paternosters, or any Indian coins, such as rupees, abaseys, pagodas, fannums, &c., are to be accepted without having been stamped with the Company's mark," while no Spanish reals were to be current unless of the proper weight. About 1661–2, according to Wouter Schouten, the principal coin was the silver larin worth 10 stuivers, and silver and gold fanams; of these the gold were mostly in use, and their value did not exceed 5 stuivers each. " These larijns or Fanums as well as Pagodes or Moorish Ducats [Othmanli sequins] are the money which principally circulates in Malabar, Coromandel and Ceylon," and, in addition, Spanish paternosters and " Kopstucken " or such like Dutch coins. At the same period, of the copper coin current in Ceylon, it was customary for 10 pitzens to equal 1 stuiver in Jaffna, though in Colombo and Galle 8 pitzens were the equivalent ; the usage in the North was assimilated to that of the capital.[5] Pitzens or pitjes (from the Malay *pitis*) were circular coins pierced with a square hole, and of the

[1] Resolution of the Galle Council (Galle Records, Vol. V., Colombo Archives).

[2] B. P. B., 9/11/1658.

[3] Resolutions of Council, II., 11/9/1659.

[4] R. C. II., 6/7/1660 ; IV., 6/7/1665 ; XIV., 8 and 16/6/1676.

[5] The following are the Plakaat headings in the Index : 1/4/1658 Portuguese boeseroeken not current ; 23/10/1660, all Portuguese Indian money abolished ; 15/2/1661, abolition of Peru reals ; 2/3/1661, explanation of the last. Oost Indische Voyagie (J.R.A.S., C.B., XI., No. 40, p. 349). Instructions for A. Paviljoen in reply to his Considerations (1661).

same type as the well-known Chinese cash.[1] As early as 1640 the Indian Government had given the manufacture of copper pitjes for use in Batavia on contract to a Chinaman, and a new issue was made in 1664, five of which went to a heavy stuiver. The Company's Pegu ship which passed by Coromandel on its way to Persia also carried Chinese pitjes as merchandise.[2] These coins must have gone out of use with the influx of copper coins struck by the Company for use in Ceylon But it is possible that in Ceylon " pitjen " connoted the native copper coin.

10. The Company in 1663 assimilated the price of Coromandel pagodas in Jaffna to that prevalent in Colombo and Galle, namely, at 2 rix-dollars of 63¾ stuivers each. This resulted in a great flow of these coins from the Coast into Jaffna. In view of the possibility of a bad price being realized in Tuticorin and Malabar for these pagodas with loss to the Company, the question of altering the rating was discussed.[3] 63¾ light equalled 51 heavy stuivers, and the valuation of the pagoda was thus 137 light or 102 heavy stuivers. What was done is not known, but in 1666 and 1697 the pagoda was valued at 2 rix-dollars presumably of 60 light stuivers each. By local plakaat of November 16, 1668, the accepting or giving out of "Pagodas, Pulicat bullion, and Spanish money not having the ordinary weight," was prohibited. Presumably the lighter coins were left in circulation, for in the following December, in view of the export of the better Netherlands coins, especially the ducats and provintie-daalders (or rix-dollars), by the Moors and others, Council resolved that the provintie-daalders should be current for 11 schellings or 66 light stuivers, being reckoned at 2 to the ducat which then ran in Colombo for 22 schellings or 2¼ rix-dollars.[4]

11. In 1670 the Government assayed the Cochin fanam, the introduction of which into Ceylon the Supreme Government had in view as a better coin than that then circulating ; these fanams turned out to be of inferior fineness, and Council resolved that the Indian Government at Batavia be requested not to let them be current in the Island. and reported that, when no Dutch " payement " was available, it would be more reputable to the Company to send Pulicat fanams, which agreed better with the alloy of the pagoda [5] The Pulicat fanams presumably were current until displaced by those of the Negapatam mint (v. 1693).

12. The trade at Tuticorin and in the interior of the Nayak of Madura's territory was reported in this year to be draining away the rix-dollars or provintie-daalders, and in a greater degree the ducats; and it was resolved that these coins should not be raised higher than 60 and 120 stuivers respectively, as provided by regulation, as otherwise there would be not only a great loss on the coinage, but the profits of the Company in Ceylon would be diminished. With this object it was provided that the rix-dollar and the ducat should not be current in the Island, but be treated as merchandise, allowing as formerly to be current copper cassen, schellings, double and single stuivers, as well as rupees, 'abbásis, and Pulicat pagodas and fanams It was also resolved that the Supreme Government be requested that all provintie-daalders and ducats or other European species sent to Ceylon from Batavia be taxed no higher than those come direct from the Netherlands, and that such ducats and gold coins be sent to Coromandel. At the same time it was proposed to obtain from the Nayak of Madura the right of minting at Tuticorin on the same terms as at Pulicat; this resolution was again passed in 1677. The first notice of coinage in the Island itself occurs in 1675, in which year the Koopman François Mountaineer was given a bonus for completing the work of minting copper cassen in Colombo ; these presumably were of the wreath type.

In 1674 the people were forbidden by plakaat of February 14 to accept whole and half stuivers, having on one side " Moors " letters, and on the other the Company's monogram surmounted by X and V, by which description the Pulicat copper is clearly indicated.[6]

13. In 1673 Vijayaraghava, the last of the old Nayak dynasty of Tanjore, ceded Negapatam to the Dutch. The times were troublous, and in 1675, at the proposal of the Council of that town, it was resolved that the artisans, who had been driven from their homes by the wars, should be employed, among other things, in making copper tammekassen, such as were then current in the Island, and that 400 chests of bar copper be sent thither to be coined according to the currency of "this place," *i.e.*, Colombo.[7] It may be noted that many of the tammekassen found in Ceylon are considerably lighter than the prescribed weight of those made at Batavia in 1644. Next year it was reported that, though silver money had been brought into vogue at Negapatam with much trouble, there was at present much loss through lack of silver specie ; two chests of 'abbásis, therefore, were directed to be despatched thither in exchange for pagodas.[8] Later in the same year Ekoji, the new Mahratta Nayak, confirmed the cession of 1673, and consented to the Company striking in Negapatam fanams and pagodas,

[1] A Chinese cash of Chuang Lieh Ti (A.D. 1628–1642) countermarked with the Galle monogram is known: Lockhart's " Currency of the Farther East," No. 719.

[2] Valentyn, IV., 1, p. 260.

[3] *Ib.* V., p. 197.

[4] R. C., VII., 8 and 10/12/1668.

[5] R. C., IX., 29/5/1670.

[6] *Ib.*, IX., 4–9/7/1670 ; XIV., 20/2/1677 ; XIII., 12/3 and 12/4/1675 ; Ceylon Plakaat Boek Index, 14/2/1674.

[7] R. C., XIII., 26/3 and 12/4/1675.

[8] *Ib.*, XIII., 4 and 5/2/1676.

the former to be after the fashion and alloy of those in use in the territory of Tanjore, *i.e.*, of 3½ mat or 8·4 carats, and the latter of the alloy of Pulicat, namely, 8⅝ mat or 20·7 carats, as already agreed upon with his predecessor in 1674; each contracting party was to receive half of the profits, while the Raja was to appoint an officer to keep account.[1] No mention is made of the coinage of copper, though Valentyn (*v.* p. 6) states that this was carried out by agreement with the Nayak; this privilege, perhaps, was obtained after 1680. By resolution of the town of Negapatam, dated November 5, 1677, in view of the order of the Supreme Government that the die of the local pagodas should be changed to distinguish them from those of Pulicat, it was determined to insert the letter N in the margin.[2] The change of design seems to have been a mistake, for on this account the Negapatam pagodas were not acceptable at Pulicat or Madura. They were current locally for 120 stuivers, but in 1680 were ordered to be accounted for at a rate not higher than 105 stuivers on the Coast outside the factory.[3] In this year it was also directed that the Japanese gold kobangs, which were in the greatest demand for the purchase of cloths on the Coast, should not be used for coinage into pagodas, but only into fanams. As the mint had no special officer in charge, beyond the accountant of either contracting party, a Brahman official was appointed head of the moneyers in 1677, and two years later a Dutch onderkoopman was made overseer.[4] In 1680 Negapatam became independent of Ceylon.

14. About this period (1676–1682) Christopher Schweitzer in his "Relation of a Voyage"[5] states that at Jaffna "the current money is made of copper, and is either shillings, Twopences, Penypieces, *Damagasties*, Halfpenies and farthings," by which are meant schellings, dubbeltjes, stuivers, tammekassen, half stuivers, and oortjens: the Wreath series is plainly indicated. The absence of the silver coins mentioned in 1670 is very noticeable, though in 1681 we hear of the demonetized 4 stuiver pieces passing as schellings.[6] The currency of the time is dealt with in a Memoir of 1679 by Governor R. van Goens, junior, for his successor Laurens Pyl:—

Coinage.—The subject of copper coin, from which the Honourable Company derived much profit during the hard times of war and scarcity of money, will now be considered. Your Honour will find full mention of the subject in the letters forwarded to Batavia. Their Honours wished to know the total value of the copper coin now current in Ceylon, information which it is hardly possible to give. The question of a fresh coinage is being considered, but this cannot be done without great loss, as the current value of the coin in circulation is nearly twice as high as the value of the copper . . . More money should not be coined until Your Honour is in a position to see things clearly. The copper coin in the Company's treasury in Ceylon amount to the sum of 200,300 guilders. Coin of other metal is hardly in use. This tends to unduly raise the value of silver and gold coin. It would be well, therefore, if Your Honour would see that no rupees, abacys, pagodas, coebangs, ducats, reals, and other coin of a similar kind are given to the cashiers, but only copper coin of value must be received for purposes of commerce and the excess sent to Coromandel and Bengal. Gold and silver coin must be tolerated only as articles of commerce except on the coast of Coromandel, Madure and Negapatam, where 25, 30 or more per cent. profit can be made on rupees, abacys and pagodas. In connection with this matter of the coin I may mention that instructions have been given not to draw any money from outside except for commercial purposes. That we have striven to do so and have succeeded is proved by the fact that in addition to the cotton goods, areca-nuts, chanks and cinnamon, which have been sent to India and the sale of which yielded a considerable profit, a sum of 50,000 guilders more than we received from outside have been sent by this Government in cash to Coromandel. Your Honour ought to be able to furnish a further 200,000 guilders from Negapatam, for which the order has already been received, and 50,000 guilders could also be sent in rupees and abacys by the ships which are to come from Bengal and are to return with areca-nuts and chanks. This proves that Ceylon, instead of receiving, sent out in one year in cash 300,000 guilders.

Jaffanapatnam has not only sufficient coin for its own use, but also can supply Batticaloa, Trincoenemale, and to a large extent, Colombo with the necessary money. Galle needs but little, and if the Bengal Moors as well as the inhabitants of Galle buy a considerable quantity of areca-nuts, as they have been doing nearly every year, that district also would be able by the sale of cotton goods and by leases and other revenues, to provide for itself. Colombo will not want more than 100,000 guilders a year, and perhaps this could be obtained from Negapatam out of the sale of areca-nuts, if that trade continues to be as profitable as it is now. In Madure it is anticipated that the cotton goods will sell half on credit and half for cash, and the sale of areca-nuts will yield a considerable sum as profit. The capital wanted for the purchase of cotton goods must be regulated by the influx of this article and the number of orders for Batavia and the Fatherland. It is beyond doubt that the establishment of Ceylon can be maintained with the profits derived from its own products. The importance of this fact is clear. We hope Your Honour will continually work towards

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[1] *Ib.* XIV., 11/12/1676.

[2] *Ib.*, XV., 10/12/1677.

[3] *Ib.*, XVIII., 12/8/1680.

[4] *Ib.*, XVIII., 15/3/1680; XV., 10/12/1677; XVI., 11/2/1679.

[5] "Ceylon Literary Register," 1889–90, p. 124.

[6] Mediteerende Resolutie over de Zaaken . . . . op het Eyland Ceylon (in Council of India), 20–31/10/1681 (Colombo Museum, MS. 14/R5).

this end, and keep no money idle, but send on all rupees from Soeratta to Bengal as soon as possible, according to the orders of Their Honours in Batavia. The ducats brought from Mocha must be sent to Coromandel by the first opportunity. They will amount to Fl. 161,245·16. At the transfer of the Government it was discovered that besides the ducats just mentioned there were in hand various coins amounting to 675,000 guilders. From this must be deducted, as mentioned before, 250,000 guilders for Coromandel and Bengal. These brief references to the monetary system prove clearly that nothing has been neglected. (Translation by Miss Sophia Pieters, p. 9, Ceylon Government Press, 1910.)

15. The Company in the Netherlands disapproved of the local policy, in spite of the satisfaction of the late Governor. Copper for Ceylon was struck at Pulicat and in such quantities that on November 30, 1681, the home authorities wrote to the Supreme Government that the coinage of this money, with which Ceylon was being flooded, should be stopped, and its importation into the Island prohibited. They further directed that in future no one on behalf of the Company was to receive any copper money in Ceylon or elsewhere either in interest or by way of exchange, which was to be done in silver money, the rix-dollar reckoned at 60 stuivers being the standard coin; copper was to be used for small change only.[1]

II.—1681–1768.

16. About this time, when the silver rix-dollar was re-affirmed as the standard coin, the ducatoon, which was to supplant it in practice, came into common use in the Eastern possessions of the Company. The Netherlands ducatoon or silver rider was first struck in 1659, and was valued at 63 silver stuivers at home. Between 1676 and 1681 it had been rated in Batavia at 90 light stuivers or 1½ "current" rix-dollars, equal to 72 heavy stuivers. It was thus over-rated, and as the home policy was that the ducatoon in the East was to be equal to the ducatoon in the Netherlands, it was by plakaat of August 11/12, 1682, reduced to RD. 1¼ or 75 light (60 heavy) stuivers, by which valuation it was under-rated. As ducatoons were not current in Ceylon, the local Government did not call in the coins and re-issue them at the reduced value, but merely published on October 19 that they would be current at five-fourths of a rix-dollar. At Batavia on September 24, 1682, owing to lack of "payement" in the local treasury, the ducatoons were raised to 11 schellings (66 heavy stuivers). By plakaat of September 3/7, 1686, the ducat and the ducatoon stamped with a B and a ruytertje or small horseman respectively were raised at Batavia to RD. 2¼ (108 stuivers) and 12 schellings (72 stuivers), those not so marked continuing at RD. 2 and 11 schellings. The home authorities disapproved of ducatoons of two values being current, and in 1692, by plakaat of February 22, those countermarked were recalled. Though there is no trace that any of these alterations in value from that of September 3/7, 1686, inclusive, were put into effect in the Island, the recall of the countermarked ducatoons was ordered by biljet of July 5, 1692, time being given to bring them to the Treasury till August 5.[2] The ducatoon from 1693 to 1700 remained at 66 heavy stuivers.

17. The Persian silver 'abbásís and maḥmúdís, which had been imported in former years and issued without being stamped by the Company with its "chiap," had been partly so stamped later, but in 1688 a quantity of unstamped ones were still current, whereby the Company's coin could not be distinguished from that privately imported. Notice, therefore, was given on September 4 that Commissioners would sit to stamp all such coins between the 8th and 30th of the month, and that thereafter all unstamped 'abbásís and maḥmúdís would not be current. In 1691 it was discovered that there were divers false 'abbásís of lead, copper, and pewter among those stamped; all such were declared to be not current.[3] The Ceylon Plakaat Boek index shows that on February 8, 1702, the 'abbásís and maḥmúdís were demonetized. The former coin was of two denominations, the "great" or five sháhí piece and the usual one of four sháhís, and were current at the rate of 2½ and 3⅓ to the rix-dollar, or 22½ and 18 light stuivers respectively.[4] The maḥmúdí was the half of the smaller 'abbásí.

18. Falsification of the coin continued. In 1693 complaints were received that of the Negapatam fanams in circulation half were false. The genuine coin had been introduced by the Company, and it was pleaded when acceptance was refused that there was no other money in which to pay. Suspicion lay on the skippers from the Coromandel coast, and the Governor proposed that, if the situation did not improve, in view of the lack of money in the Treasury and the consequent impossibility of recalling the fanams, all those then in the Government coffers should be held back pending orders from Batavia, but that in the meantime all those tendered should be received. Early in 1694, however, it was discovered that the offenders were Sinhalese silversmiths, in whose houses the dies for coining the small fanams and the great or "dubbelde" fanams were found. It was now resolved to receive no more fanams of either kind until money changers could be brought over from Negapatam to sort the good from the bad, and on their arrival to call in all fanams without distinction from private parties,

[1] Van den Berg, p. 40.

[2] R. C., XVIII., 19/10/1682, and Advertentie of same date; B. P. B. under date; R. C., XXIV., 5/7/1692.

[3] R. C., XXII., 4/9/1688; XXIII., 27/1/1691.

[4] Valentyn, IV., 1, Tables.

three days' time being given, at the end of which all should be considered as bullion.[1] The currency then consisted of pagodas and copper coin, and in 1697 the outgoing Governor Thomas van Rhee recommended to his successor that neither pagodas nor copper money should be accepted for remittance on the Netherlands or on Batavia.[2]

19. In the north of the Island we find that in 1694 at the Arippu pearl fishery 10 fanams were considered equal to a rix-dollar, each therefore being 6 light stuivers.[3] At Jaffna, however, since 1659, the same number of fanams made a pardau or 50 stuivers. The currency system, according to Zwaardecroon's Memoir, as employed in the Government accounts at that fortress in 1697, consisted of rix-dollars, fanams, tammekassen, and duits, as follows :—

Duit.		Tammekasse.		Fanam.		Rix-dollar.		Light Stuivers
1	..	—	..	—	..	—	..	—
4 =	..	1	..	—	..	—	..	½
40 =	..	10 =	..	1	..	—	..	5
480 =	..	120 =	..	12 =	..	1	..	60

Zwaardekroon further says that the Company's servants were paid in pagodas which in Batavia equalled RD. 2, but that the Chetties would never give them 24 fanams for a pagoda. The Governor thereupon ordered that none but Negapatam and Pulicat pagodas should be current for 24 fanams or RD. 2.[4] On the Madura Coast and at the Tuticorin pearl fishery in 1708 10 fanams equalled 1 pardau or 3 guilders ; one fanam, therefore, was 6 stuivers.[5]

20. The Council Proceedings of the years 1700, 1701, and 1702 are missing. The Batavian Plakaat book, however, gives two important edicts relating to the coinage, which seem to have been extended later to Ceylon (*v.* 1704). Owing to the falsifying of the ducat stamped B (*vide* plakaat of September 3/7, 1686), and to the practice of clipping, the stamped ducats as well as all good unstamped European ducats weighing 72 to the mark (52·75 grains) or 2 engels 7 asen each (52·664 grains) by plakaat of April 9/12, 1700 were rated at 18 schellings (108 heavy stuivers) ; all others were to be taken at the value of the gold, at RD. 16 the reaal weight fine of 24 carats. The weight assigned to the ducat is noticeable as in the Netherlands this coin weighed 70 to the mark. By plakaat of August 20/23 of the same year the ducatoon weighing 86 Japanese condryns or about $1\frac{7}{16}$ reaal. in order to keep it in the country, was to be current at 13 schellings or RD. $1\frac{5}{8}$ (78 stuivers) under the express condition that they were so current in the town of Batavia and its dependencies, while the unstamped Surat rupee weighing 30 condryns or about $\frac{7}{16}$ reaal was to pass for 30 heavy stuivers. This rupee had been rated for very many years at 24 heavy or 30 light stuivers, that is, as half of a piece-of-eight ; thus, in 1608–9 90 rupees were equal to 45 reals-of-eight (Hawkins, in Purchas, I, 220) and in 1648 the rupee was valued at 24 Holland stuivers (Van Twist, 26).

On July 25, 1704, the Colombo Treasury was well provided with " payement " and with ducats, both for the Madura trade and for daily issue ; Council, however, seems to have anticipated a shortage of small change, and resolved to seek the Governor General's assent, enabling it, if this came to pass, to rate the ducat at RD. $2\frac{1}{4}$. the ducatoon at RD. $1\frac{5}{8}$ and the rupee at RD $\frac{5}{8}$, or at 108, 78, and 30 heavy stuivers, respectively.[6] This would bring the Ceylon ratings into line with those prevailing at Batavia since 1700.

21. In November, 1705, the authorities at Tuticorin reported to the Ceylon Government that, owing to the disorders prevalent in the interior, the fanam mint at Trichinoply had been closed, that almost all the small money had been taken from the country, and that the Company's cloth trade was suffering from lack of fanams. The exchange of the ducat, which had been fixed in 1702 at 21 fanams, was raised apparently in 1704. owing to lack of silver specie, to $21\frac{1}{2}$, but now, owing to the difficulties and dangers of trade, was reduced temporarily by a quarter fanam. By 1710 it was again at $21\frac{1}{2}$ (Becker, p. 321), while in 1727 it was resolved to send to Tuticorin for promotion of trade 10,000 European ducats to be exchanged not below, but if possible over, 23 fanams each.[7]

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[1] R. C., XXV., 15/6/1693 ; XXVI., 4/2/1694 ; 8/2/1694 ; 24/3/1694.

[2] Memoir, Colombo Museum, MS. 14/ R6, p. 297.

[3] Accounts of Fishery, "Ceylon Literary Register," III., 1888-89, p. 128. But at Tuticorin 72 fanams equalled 10 rix-dollars, and therefore one was worth $6\frac{2}{3}$ heavy stuivers (R. C., XXVI., 24/3/1694).

[4] Memoir of Zwaardecroon. The Jaffna "Seventy-two Orders," dated 25/4/1704, forbid the bringing of the copper coin of other countries into these territories. "Moreover excepting the Pagodas of Negapatam, and Pulicat, no other shall be circulated in this Province." The fines are calculated in reals of 12 fanams.

[5] "Ceylon Literary Register," III., p. 159.

[6] R. C., XXX., 25/7/1704.

[7] *Ib.*, XXXI., 5/12/1705 ; XLIX, 19/4/1727

22. The state of the currency was not improved by the action of the home authorities, who in 1703 sent to Ceylon 12,173 European ducats, which purported to be of full weight, but were in fact not so, and again in 1704 RD. 148,846¼ of "payement," including a sum of RD. 12,875 in single stuivers, the greatest part of which were worn and unfit for currency.[1] The scandalous condition of many of the coins in circulation is seen from the Batavian Plakaat of April 8/29, 1707, published in Ceylon on October 15 following. In it is stated that Surat rupees with various dots or marks on the edge or on the face or with a crack or hole, and also schellings and dubbeltjes, which are worn with circulation and have become somewhat red or have a crack or hole, are passed by many lovers of filthy lucre at lower rates, namely, the rupees for 4 instead of 5 schellings, the schellings for 4 instead of 6 stuivers, and the double stuivers for one. It was therefore enacted that all Surat rupees, if not clipped, should be current for 5 schellings or 30 heavy stuivers, and that all schellings (with the exception of four kinds prohibited on December 7/10, 1699) and dubbeltjes "so long as the impression on one of both sides can be distinguished," even if worn on one side and somewhat red in colour or with a crack or hole, should pass for 6 and 2 stuivers. In 1711 matters were so bad that the coinage by proclamation was to be taken no longer by tale but by weight, the only exception being the "heavier, large, old Friesland ruyter schelling." Of the "payement" no schelling or dubbeltje was to be accepted under the weight of 12 or 4 Japanese condryns respectively, and even this was soon reduced to 3½ in the case of the last-mentioned coin, while no ducatoon or Surat rupee, however light, was to be refused, one heavy stuiver being paid for each condryn short.[2] Whether these regulations were published in Ceylon does not appear.

23. A shortage of silver and copper money seems to have been prevalent for some years, as the carrying of copper coin from one place to another was forbidden throughout the Island on pain of forfeiture by plakaat of February or September 14, 1713; while another of April 30, 1722, prohibited the export of silver dubbeltjes from Ceylon without the consent of Government. In 1724 there was an abundance of pagodas with a scarcity of copper and silver, which were unobtainable and at such a premium that the pagoda exchanged with a loss of 1, 1½, or even 2 fanams. Such proceedings had been ordered to cease though without effect, by plakaats of February 7 and July 8, 1719, the latter of which further provided that good and current silver and copper coin of all sorts, not being bullion, should be imported and exported freely and without agio, both in and out of the Vanni districts, and by the ports into the Island from outside.[3]

24. The coins said to have been current at this period by Valentyn appear with their ratings in "light" money in the following list; it is not, however, certain that all mentioned were actually in use in 1726, as, judging from his tables for Batavia and elsewhere, these are compilations from documents. Those probably obsolete at the time are marked with a star:—

Deel IV., stuk 1.

		RD.	Gld.	St.
COLOMBO.				
1 Coer Sjanco (Chank) = 1 pagoda of		—	—	120
1 rupee	=	—	—	30
*2⅝ great Persian 'abbásís	=	1	—	—
1 Do.	=	—	—	22½
*3⅓ common 'abbásís	=	1	—	—
1 common or small 'abbásí	=	—	—	18
1 ducat	=	2⅝ (*lege* 2⅕) =	6	12 [=132 st.]
1 copper casje, Colombo money	=	1/60	—	= 1
1 piece like a Zeeuws-oortje, but five times as thick	=	—	—	1½
1 sort, somewhat smaller stamped I S	=	—	—	1
1 sort, somewhat bigger stamped II S	=	—	—	2
1 tammecasje	=	—	—	½
1 atacassi, Company's copper	=	—	—	— 2 duits
1 cacassi	=	—	—	— 1 duit
1 schelling	=	—	—	6
*1 serafyn	=	—	1	0
GALLE.				
5 laryns of 12 st. each (so also at Tuticorin.)	=	1	—	= 60
1 Moor ducat, 19 fanams of 6 st.	=	—	5	14 = [114 st.]

[1] *Ib.*, XXXII., 12/2/1706.

[2] B. P. B., 16/4/1711; 6/5/1711.

[3] R. C., XLVI., 14/3/1724.

	RD.	Gld.	St
JAFFNA.			
1 Coast pagoda	= 2 of 3 gld. each	— ..	[120]
MANNAR.			
1 European ducat	= $2\frac{1}{4}$ of 60 st. ..	— ..	[135]
1 Moor ducat	= 2–$2\frac{1}{8}$ ..	— ..	[120–$127\frac{1}{2}$]
1 Mamoedi Ganze pagoda .. .	= $1\frac{7}{10}$ ..	— ..	[102]

In Deel V., p. 55, Valentyn professes to give those coins current in Ceylon, which do not appear in Knox's work. In addition to some others in the above list, he mentions the rupee as worth 24 or 30 stuivers, the fanam 5 stuivers, and the provintie-daalder RD. $1\frac{1}{10}$. This is the value this coin bore in 1668, and it at least must have been long obsolete. In 1708 the fanam is said to have been $6\frac{3}{4}$ " light " stuivers, *i.e.*, $5\frac{5}{8}$ heavy stuivers, at the Pearl Fishery (Becker, p. 12), and in 1716 $\frac{1}{12}$ rix-dollar or 5 stuivers, which agrees with Valentyn's rating. The larin in 1707 and 1723 was valued at 12 light stuivers ; it may probably have been then a money of account, as was the schelling of 6 similar stuivers (*v.* December 8–10, 1688).

" Atacassi " and " cacassi " may be the Tamil *araikkásu* and *káṭkásu*, the " half " and " quarter " of the " cash " or tammekasje (Tamil, *tampakkásu*), *i.e.*, the $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ stuiver of the Wreath series, which was issued to represent " light " money.

25. In 1727 a new departure was made at home by the Company in striking its own coinage, and in 1728 the issue of a new silver ducatoon with its monogram thereon, rated at 13 schellings or 78 heavy stuivers, was published ;[1] by April, 1729, however, it had not yet been put into circulation. The Company's new duits, which had been introduced into Batavia in 1727 at the rate of 4 to the heavy stuiver, were first made current in Ceylon at five to the double stuiver, one being equal to one-half light stuiver, by plakaat of August 8, 1731. They were recalled on October 30 of the next year, and re-issued on February 5, 1733, in compliance with the order of their High Mightinesses at the rate prevalent at Batavia, namely, 8 to 1 Holland double stuiver or 1 to $\frac{5}{16}$ light stuiver.[2] The duits thus introduced were destined to become the main currency of the country, both in and out of the Dutch territories.

26. In 1727 we again hear of complaints touching the coinage, and proclamations were issued against the clipping of all kinds of coin, and in particular of the silver dubbeltjes, as well as against the issuing of the new single silver stuivers received from home for a higher value than they were worth.[3] Similar trouble had been experienced for many years at Batavia, the good money being driven out of circulation by the clipped coins ; in consequence in 1735, when a shortage of " payement " was felt, an important edict was issued,[4] by which the single and double silver stuivers and all kinds of schellings, not forbidden and of the proper weight, with the exception of the so-called " sestehalver," were raised a quarter above their existing values, while all clipped coins and those with illegible designs were to be treated as bullion. At the same time it was provided that no person should be bound to accept more than a ducatoon's worth of " payement " in RD. 100, or than RD. 10 in RD. 1,000. The ratings now were :—

1 stuiver	$1\frac{1}{4}$ (heavy) stuiver or 5 duits
2 stuivers	$2\frac{1}{2}$ (heavy) stuivers or 10 duits
1 schelling	$7\frac{1}{2}$ (heavy) stuivers or 30 duits

the other coins remaining as before :—

Coubang RD 10 of 48 heavy st. .. .	[480] stuivers	of 4 duits each
Ducat	108 stuivers	
Ducatoon	78 stuivers	
Surat rupee	30 stuivers	
Sestehalf	6 stuivers	

These valuations were introduced into Ceylon by plakaat of September 19, 1735, in accordance with resolution of Council dated August 16 (Vol. LIX.). In spite of this proclamation it was found in the following year that the old silver was still current, more or less clipped, and by resolution of September 14, 1736 (Vol. LXI.) the receipt of clipped money was entirely forbidden, all the silver being declared bullion (al het zilver 't eenemaal billioen te verklaaren).

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[1] B. P. B., 12/11/1728.

[2] Ceylon Plakaat Boek Index ; R. C., LIII., 1/8/1731 ; LV., 31/1/1733 ; Memoir of J. C. Pielat, 1734.

[3] R. C. XLIX., 5/9/1727 ; 4/11/1727.

[4] B. P. B., 25/5/1735.

According to van Imhoff's Memoir to his successor written in 1740 there was then in the Treasury the large sum of fl. 687,838·15·8 in " payementen " or small silver money received from home on various indents (veroorzaakt door de successive eysschen), of which all but RD. 12.823½ had been received prior to the raising of the ratings in 1735. The withholding of these coins from circulation was done deliberately. Van Imhoff was alive to the evil of clipping, " to which we are subject here as much as any where else in India," and adds : " I therefore contented myself with the issue and receipt of duyten on behalf of the Company, with as many Pagodas as we could collect together." This policy was continued until November 2, 1741, when by plakaat the new Netherlands " payement," " which for some time previously has been sufficiently suppressed " (het nieuwe Nederlandsch payement, dat sedert eenigen tyd herwaarts genoegsaam is gesuprimeerd geweest), was again put into circulation at the ratings of 1735, with stringent provisions against clipping.

27. In 1737 samples of copper duits pierced in the middle and threaded on a thin wire of the same metal riveted at either end were submitted to the Council, with a view to mitigate the difficulty of handling large quantities of this coin perhaps due to the demonetization of silver in the preceding year ; strings of 8, 16, and 24 duits, it was proposed, should serve as 1, 2, and 3 double stuivers. It was resolved to treat in this way four or five thousand rix-dollars' worth of duits, with a small stamp on the rivet to prevent fraud.[1] The scheme probably was a failure, as nothing more is heard of it.

In this year the latest orders from Batavia were to receive the pagoda at the Treasury for 14 schellings or 84 heavy stuivers at the most even for remittances home. The rating had hitherto remained constant in Ceylon at 96 stuivers, and the people having received the pagoda at this rating from the Treasury were naturally reluctant to lose 12½ per cent.[2]

28. In June, 1740, the Opperhoofd of Tuticorin reported that, in accordance with resolution of Council dated April 29, he had tried to issue the gold pagodas lying in the local Treasury at 24 Madura fanams, but without success. The mint had long been at a standstill, and as a result of the consequent great scarcity of these small coins, even gold ducats could not be changed for more than 24 fanams. On instructions from the Indian Government dated October 30, 1739, and forwarded from Colombo on March 30, 1740, the mint was again put into working order by August of that year, but the greatest difficulty was experienced in getting the coins into circulation among the natives. Between August 23 and September 6, 10,013 fanams had been struck at a cost of 5 st. $3\frac{762}{1001}$ penn. each, and were issued at Tuticorin and the subordinate offices mixed with old fanams, than which they were somewhat better. It was, therefore, ordered on September 14 that more fanams should be struck costing not more than 5 stuivers with all charges.[3]

The rating of the fanam had been under consideration as early as March 12 of this year, when Governor van Imhoff in his Memoir had contemplated its reduction from 6¾ to 5 light stuivers. Action was taken by the Indian Government on July 27 and the rating lowered to 6 light or 4⅘ heavy stuivers, but this was not carried out pending reference to Batavia on the ground that the native Madura fanams were worth about 6 st. 12 penn., and the profits of the new minting would disappear. In 1741 it was reported that the Company's fanam was $\frac{1}{16}$ mat less in touch than the native ones, and on March 27 it was resolved to make them $\frac{1}{16}$ mat better, as the sole means of getting them into circulation. In August the Tuticorin officials represented that the cloth trade again was endangered by the lack of fanams, the only coin apparently with which the trade could be carried on, and asked for authority to issue pagodas at 19 instead of 20 fanams, and ducats at 23 fanams ; the first request only was granted.[4]

29. On November 24, 1741, the late Governor van Imhoff wrote his " Considerations on the present State of the Dutch East India Company," Chapter VII. of which deals with the coinage. Of this, paragraphs 1–5 have been quoted above. The author then proposes to replace ducatoons by three-florin pieces, to raise the imaginary rix-dollar from 48 to 50 stuivers as in Europe, and to fix the rupee at 30 stuivers, which was about its real value, at the same time suggesting that the small change or " payement " should consist of the half and quarter florin as ¼ and ⅛ rix-dollar respectively and of pieces of 1½ and ¾ stuiver. He proceeds in paragraph 8 to propose the abolition of the Netherlands " payement," as it could not be retained in the country unless clipped, and the substitution therefor of copper coins of the same quality as that of the better duits, from two stuivers to half a stuiver in value, and also of half and quarter duits, which would be the eighth and sixteenth of the " Indian stuiver." According to him, gold was cheaper in India than in Europe, and the pagoda in use in Ceylon and Coromandel, whatever its intrinsic value, was never worth more than 3½ rupees ; by the error of believing that there was a greater profit on gold in Coromandel, the pagoda had been kept at a very high rating and valued improperly in the Company's books in relation to the silver coins.

[1] R. C., LXIII., 28/8/1737.

[2] Ib., LXV.

[3] Ib., LXVII., 15/6/1740 : LXVIII., 6/8 and 14/9/1740.

[4] Ib., LXIX., 27/3/1741 : LXX., 2/8/1741.

The opinions of van Imhoff prevailed in part, and by the Batavian plakaat of July 19, 1743, published in Ceylon in the November following, " light money " was abolished in the Company's accounts, except in the " soldij boeken," in which the pay of its servants was entered ; henceforth the rupee was rated at 30, the pagoda at 96, and the ducatoon at 78 heavy stuivers. By circular letter of the same date the Indian Government directed that native coins not in use by the Company were to be regarded as " trade coins," and their value computed according to their weight and fineness.[1]

It may be noticed that among others the " Aliaroerse " and " Madraspatnamse " pagodas were made current in Ceylon in 1741. Two years later Porto Novo pagodas were sent from the Island to Malabar.[2]

30. Meanwhile all had not been well at Tuticorin, for a draft contract dated December 23, 1742, between the Company's assayer and the moneyers provided that these should be provided with houses under the guns of the Fort as a protection from the Polygars. Next year, though the sympathies of the Dutch were with the pretender to the throne of Madura, it was resolved on April 17, as the native merchants refused the Company's latest fanams, firstly, to endeavour to come to an agreement with the Mahratta usurpers, and to secure for the Company as a prerogative a free mint, which should survive all change of government ; secondly, to strike fanams so alloyed that with all expenses they should not exceed 5 light stuivers each, at which rating they would get a sufficiently good start of the native Madura fanams ; and thirdly, to strike a small quantity of fanams with the Company's mark on one side and the local type on the other, in order to ascertain whether it were possible to introduce them into the trade to the exclusion of all others. This measure seems to have had a temporary success, for in July it was reported that the Company's fanams were now greedily sought after, and to all appearances would be accepted in a short time at the weekly markets. The Opperhoofd, therefore, proposed to strike thirty or forty thousand fanams equal in fineness to the last, viz., 3¾ mat in touch.[3]

On November 5, 1743, the Indian Government directed that the Company's fanam, so long as the scarcity of that money continued and the coin was of the then existing fineness, should be reckoned in the Company's books at 4⅘ stuivers, but from the financial year 1744-45 onwards at 4⅕ or exactly 10 to the rix-dollar of 48 stuivers.[4] The Indian Government, however, by letter of August 28, 1742, had already declared itself dissatisfied at the neglect of its order of July 27, 1740, and attention to this was called on January 11, 1744, by the Ceylon authorities ; the fanam was now reduced provisionally to 6 light, *i.e.*, 4⅘ heavy stuivers, but was not to be admitted into the Company's books, which were to be kept in guilders. The Tuticorin officials were also directed to expedite the work of the mint, as the 71,000 fanams struck from the date of its institution were a negligible amount on the Madura Coast ; and further, with a view to improving the coin, the method of minting employed at Cochin was recommended. But the merchants on the Coast persistently refused to be paid in the Company's fanams, which could not be disposed of in the interior of the country ; payment, therefore, was allowed in pagodas rated at not more than RD. 2, and in April minting was abandoned provisionally, until it could be seen whether the expedient of letting no goods out of the warehouses except for Company's fanams was successful, in which case minting was to be resumed forthwith.

In 1745 it was resolved to approach the Mughal Nawab of Trichinopoly, " since he must be regarded as representing the Nayak of Madura at present," but the hope that minting could be resumed with his permission was not then realized.[5]

31. In 1744 the Batavian authorities had published their intention of issuing a gold coin of the same weight and fineness as the Netherlands ducat for all the colonies of the Company in India, to be rated at four rupees,[6] and by plakaat of March 29, 1745, further details of its weight were given to the public. Under the same date in the Index to the Ceylon plakaats appears a notification to the effect that this coin or " Derham Djawi " was current at Batavia.

By January of this year the unusual lack of duits had brought daily trade, in particular that in arecanuts, to a standstill, and, as the Kandyans would not take any money but duits, it was decided to issue to the Cashier the small quantity then in the Treasury to be paid to purchasers of areca, and also to publish a notice strictly forbidding the changing of copper coins for a premium, and recommending the people to bring all not required for daily use to the Treasury to be exchanged for rupees and pagodas. The Ceylon plakaat ordering all copper duits to be delivered to the Treasury and pagodas and " paper money " to be issued in their stead may be the notification, or a reiteration thereof, as its date is given in one place as 1745, and in another as January 30, 1746.

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[1] *Ib.*, LXXVIII., 4/11/1743.

[2] *Ib.*, LXXIX., 28/4/1744; Selections from the Records of the Madras Government: Dutch Records, No. 13, p. 86.

[3] *Ib.*, LXXV., 31/3/1743; 7/4/1743; LXXVI., 6/7/1743.

[4] *Ib.*, CVIII., 9/2/1757.

[5] *Ib.*, LXXIX., 11/1/1744; 18/4/1744; 28/4/1744; LXXXIV., 28/8/1745.

[6] B. P. B., 28/2/1744.

To relieve the situation the Indian Government by secret letter of September 24, 1745, sanctioned the minting of " bazaroekken," and in July, 1746, it was resolved to commence work. The alloy was to be half lead and half tin ; the coin was to be pierced with a hole for the purpose of stringing, was to weigh 338 or thereabouts to the pound (22·4 grains Troy), and was to be current at 64 to the Holland double stuiver or 192 to the schelling, that is, at one-eighth of a duit. The work seems to have progressed slowly, for in May, 1747, it was reported that one Marcellus Bles had all in readiness for casting these coins, which were put into circulation by plakaat in the same year ; in 1756, however, it is stated that they were issued in 1746. As was to be expected, they were promptly forged, and in January, 1748, a reward of RD. 300 was offered for the detection of the offenders.[1]

In 1746 a sea captain, Jean Belleveauw, asked for permission to pay in for purposes of remittance nineteen to twenty thousand Spanish " matten," which was allowed at RD 130 of 48 heavy stuivers the hundred. The coins, however, were found to be keyserdaalders, and were accepted for the Mocha trade at 50 stuivers each.[2]

By plakaat of April 21 of the following year the silver " Derham Djawi " was declared to be current at Batavia.[3]

32. This year also saw another monetary innovation in the " New Negapatam pagoda " of 8 mat or 19 carats $2\frac{2}{5}$ grains fineness. It was first struck for private parties (D. 295, March 8), and was put into circulation in Ceylon at RD. 2 by plakaat of the same date, which further prohibited its exchange for other coins. The new pagodas were not received favourably, and were refused at first by the people, as their colour was not uniform.[4] November 1 had been fixed by the Indian Government for the circulation of this coin with an addition of 8 pagodas in the hundred ; this rated the pagoda at $88\frac{8}{9}$ stuivers, an extremely inconvenient fraction in Ceylon with a currency of dubbeltjes and duits, and accordingly by resolution of October 12 each pagoda was now rated at 88 stuivers, and $8\frac{1}{3}$ pagodas added to every hundred. A Negapatam record dated October 25, however, states that the Ceylon Government only credited for one hundred of the new $92\frac{1}{2}\frac{4}{7}$ old Negapatam pagodas, which ran at 96 stuivers each.[5]

According to minting report dated March 31, 1749, 14,088·11 New Negapatam pagodas equal in value to fl. 62,620·6·0 were struck at Negapatam on behalf of the Ceylon Government, and by Ceylon plakaat of November 18 108 new pagodas were declared to be current for RD. 200 ; one, therefore, was worth $88\frac{8}{9}$ stuivers. The rating, however, had been raised by the Indian Government on October 17 of this year to 90 stuivers, but, as the merchants of the Madura Coast were independent of the Company and the pagoda was commonly issued there for more than that amount, it was decided on receipt of the order on November 27 to make no alteration there.[6]

33. The condition of the silver " payement " at Batavia, and presumably also in Ceylon, continued bad. According to a Batavian plakaat of December 29, 1749, the double stuivers were worn and illegible, and were to be exchanged by weight ; at last on February 20, 1751, all coins of this denomination of 1730 and earlier were demonetized. About this time, on December 31, 1750, the half duit was introduced at eight to the stuiver, and must have come into use in Ceylon not much later.

The Memoir of Governor van Gollenesse for his successor Vreelandt, dated February 28, 1751, shows that at this period pagodas were taken from Ceylon for the Madura trade, and also exported by private parties, a gain being made by exchange in India, with the result that the Ceylon currency consisted entirely of the Company's duits. In consequence the renters of the year were allowed to fulfil their obligations by paying one-third of the rent money in pagodas and two-thirds in duits ; this was still the position in the following year, when the exporters of arecanuts by sea paid for the produce half in silver and the residue in copper. Meanwhile the pagoda was reported to have fallen on the Coast to $15\frac{1}{8}$ old fanams or 12 schellings, though it was still 16 schellings in Ceylon.[7]

In 1752 a consignment of Persian rupees, piastres, and " sialotten," being not current in the Island, was sent to Negapatam to be exchanged for pagodas.[8]

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1 R. C., LXXXIII., 8/1/1745 ; LXXXVI., 11/7/1746 ; XC., 5/5/1747; CVII., 1/12/1756 ; XCII., 22/1/1748.

2 *Ib.*, LXXXVIII., 24 and 31/12/1746.

3 Also B. P. B., 17/2/1747.

4 Selections No. 15 (Negapatam), p. 7 ; R C., XCIII., 17/7/1748.

5 R. C., XCIII., 12/10/1748 ; XCIV., 8/2/1749. Selections, p. 15.

6 Selections, p. 67 ; R. C., XCVI., 29/11/1749.

7 *Ib.*, C., 30/8/1751 ; CI., 28/3/1752 ; 5/9/1752.

8 *Ib.*, CI., 9/3/1752. For " Sialotten " *cf.* Selections, No. 15, p 6, under date 25/10/1748 :—Fl. 207,000 in silver specie sent from Basrah under the name of piasters and sjalotten, valued at 36 and 27 stuivers each. Sjalotten were also sent from Gombroon. The piaster's fineness was penn. 6·15½, and that of the " sjeletten " (*sic*) 6·14½. The coins of both denominations would seem to be Turkish.

Next year on November 6, in compliance with the Indian Government letter of August 31, a plakaat was published reducing the ducatoon from 13 schellings to 12, and rupees current locally, provided that they were good and of proper weight, from 30 to 27 stuivers.

On December 31 of this year Netherlands ducats stamped "Java" in Malay characters were put into circulation at Batavia; one specimen at least has been found in Ceylon.

In 1754 the despatch from Batavia of a quantity of round Spanish reals or "Mexicans" rated at 64 stuivers each reveals the fact that this coin was never current locally, and could not be issued even at 60 stuivers. They were, therefore, sent back.[1]

34. The Tuticorin officials forwarded by letter of May 19, 1755, an urgent request of the cloth merchants that the pagodas, wherewith they were paid by the Company, might be received at one fanam less than usual, that is at 16½ fanams, in view of the fact that this coin was not then exchanged for more than 14¼ fanams or 68⅜ stuivers. The pagoda was still very scarce at Colombo, where it was rated singly at 96 stuivers, and the Coast authorities were directed to issue the coin on the old footing until further orders. The same officials were also unable to issue gold ducats at a higher rate than 20½ or 20¼ fanams each, and it was decided to send them to Cochin to be issued at 130 stuivers at the lowest in accordance with the orders of the Indian Government. On September 30 this Government had by general rescript directed that the pagoda should be received at 90 stuivers for "gagie" and "kostgeld" by the Company's servants. In 1756 these protested vigorously, as they were unable to exchange the pagoda for more than 14 fanams or 67⅕ stuivers; the native servants made similar representations, and, as they threatened to seek service elsewhere, the concessions demanded had to be given subject to the approval of the Supreme Government.[2]

35. The Jaffna officials, having reported by letter of September 1, 1756, that Porto Novo pagodas were imported against payment of the rents, were directed to receive the same and to send them to Colombo for valuation; at the same time Tuticorin was asked whether they could be issued on the Coast for 90 stuivers, the rating of the Negapatam pagoda.

There being still great scarcity of coin in Ceylon, and not more than 6,000 Netherlands milled ducatoons in the Treasury, it was decided to countermark them after the Batavian method, and to circulate them at 22 schellings each.

The Ceylon Plakaat Boek Index includes a prohibition of "Boezoeroeken" under date April 23, 1749. The supporting resolution of the 21st of that month, however, shows that this proclamation dealt with the amount for which these coins could be taken and given as legal tender, namely, for the sum of one pagoda, or for fractions of rix-dollars, schellings, &c., above that sum. On December 1, 1756, it was stated in Council that these coins immediately on their first issue were refused by the Kandyans, and only accepted by the Company's subjects under compulsion, and, as it was impossible to issue those remaining in the Treasury, it was resolved to recall those in circulation.

On December 26 effect was given to the letter of the Indian Government dated September 30 directing that the silver coins should be fixed at their old rating, viz., the ducatoon at 78 stuivers, the Surat rupee at 30, the new schelling at 7½, the stuiver at 2½, and the duit at ¼ stuiver. This appears to have been done at Batavia by plakaat of May 23 of the preceding year. At this juncture a sudden scrupulousness manifested itself among the people in accepting the so-called "blue stuivers," which are stated to have been in circulation in the Island for a very long time, and on January 8, 1757, a plakaat was issued to the effect that these coins were current money, and would be accepted by the Company in small sums. Their identity is not clear, but they were probably the copper coins of the "Wreath" type, which circulated in parts of the Island till much later.

It is to the credit of the Ceylon Government that old "payement" remitted from Tuticorin, mixed with good, current new double stuivers, were melted down to be made into articles for the service of the Kandyan ambassadors.[3]

On February 23, 1759, "light money" finally disappeared; all payments to the Company's servants henceforth were to be in rix-dollars reckoned at 48 stuivers, the former reduction not taking place.[4]

36. The drain of gold to the Coast continued. In August, 1760, it was resolved to despatch thither 10,000 Old or 10,800 New Negapatam pagodas and 5,000 milled Holland ducats, and again in September, in view of the lack of coin on the Coast, a further sum of 12,000 New Negapatam pagodas.

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[1] R. C., CII., 5/11/1753; B. P. B., 31/12/1753; R. C., CIII., 19/4/1754.

[2] *Ib.*, CIV., 8/6/1755; CV., 8/12/1755; CVI., 13/4/1756.

[3] *Ib.*, CVII., ?/10/1756; 12/11/1756; 1/12/1756; 26/12/1756; CVIII., 7/1/1757; CX., 31/8/1757.

[4] B. P. B., 23/2/1759.

About this time we first hear of the pagoda mint at Tuticorin, a letter from that station dated January 31, 1761, requesting the despatch of gold to be coined into pagodas. The mint is also referred to in Schreuder's Memoir to van Eck of March 27 of the following year. Repeated and insistent requests were also received from Tuticorin for the coinage of RD. 4,000 worth of fanams, pending the orders of the Indian Government, and on June 1, 1763, this was allowed by the Ceylon Council at the officials' own risk.

The mint now was in full working order. The first coinage report extant dated March 28, 1764, records the striking of $29{,}557\frac{18}{25}$ " New Tuticorin pagodas," in value fl. 131,367·13·0, of the same standard as the New Negapatam, namely, 19 carats $2\frac{2}{3}$ grains fineness and $72\frac{1}{4}$ to the mark (52·5 grains Troy) in weight. The officials in charge were the Mintmaster, F. Damman, and two Commissioners, the Assayor Jan Collet and Paulus des Cotes. The mint continued to be worked, with the exception of a short transference to Colombo, till the end of the Dutch period.[1]

37. By plakaat of January 8, 1763, the new milled ducatoon, struck in the Netherlands since 1753 and current at Batavia since October 21, 1755, for 80 stuivers, was declared legal tender for the same amount, the new schelling for $7\frac{1}{2}$, and the dubbeltje for $2\frac{1}{2}$ stuivers. All coin was scarce in Ceylon. and no pagodas circulated, as they were reserved for the Madura trade; consequently the Ceylon Government was obliged, contrary to express instructions from Batavia, to accept for remittance to the Netherlands Surat rupees and both milled and unmilled ducatoons.

Early in 1766 the Governor of Coromandel informed the Ceylon Government that Porto Novo pagodas were circulating on the Coast two schellings less in fineness than the New Negapatam, and were brought over in large numbers to Ceylon. He requested that steps should be taken in the matter, as the Negapatam pagodas were being exchanged for these with a premium of 4 per cent for the purpose of re-coinage at Porto Novo; it was resolved on February 11 to forbid the receipt of the Porto Novo pagoda at the Government offices and to declare it bullion. This was done by plakaat of February 22, which set forth that the Porto Novo was three fanams less in fineness than the Negapatam pagoda. On receipt of this resolution at Jaffna, it was pointed out by the officials that the Porto Novo pagoda circulated in that Commandement, that the renters were bound by their conditions to pay half the rent money in pagodas, and that Negapatam pagodas were not to be had. A relaxation of the prohibition for the current year, therefore, was conceded. The equation of two schellings with three fanams indicates the existence of the fanam of account of four heavy stuivers, which traces its origin to the old rating of the gold fanam as the twenty-fourth part of the pagoda valued at two rix-dollars.

By resolution of October 22, 1765, the New Negapatam pagoda in remittances drawn in Colombo on Negapatam was to be reckoned at 96 stuivers The result was that next year in the case of a large remittance received from Negapatam for the cloth trade each pagoda was charged for at the Ceylon rating instead of at 88½ stuivers as in former years. It was then explained that the resolution of October 22 was " mere shooting at " covetous individuals and should not be used to the detriment of the Company, pagodas sent to Tuticorin for the trade being reckoned not higher than 90 stuivers.

In 1767 the rent moneys were paid in pagodas rated at 90, new milled ducatoons at 80, old ducatoons at 78, and Surat rupees at 30 stuivers, and also in duits. Pagodas were so scarce, now that the Porto Novo were excluded, that they were exchanged by the Coast skippers at 102 stuivers, and Government proposed to borrow on interest these coins rated at 90 stuivers each for the Madura trade.[2]

38. In 1768 there came into force the " New Rating," authorized by circular of the Indian Government dated January 8, by which all coins were to be valued in the Company's books at their intrinsic worth reckoned on that of the new milled ducatoon and of the Netherlands ducat of 66 and 105 Holland stuivers. At this date the system of " Indian money " was definitely recognized. As has been seen, the Batavian plakaat of 1656, by which the rix-dollar and the piece-of-eight were rated at 60 stuivers was rendered meaningless by the raising of the " payement " two years later to $1\frac{1}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ stuivers. These ratings being in " light " money, no real change was effected; and from 1658 onwards the rix-dollar theoretically was of the same value in Holland as in the Indies, the only difference being that it was reckoned in the East at 48 instead of 50 Netherlands stuivers. The acceptance of the ducatoon in practice as the standard coin with its progressively increasing ratings. doubtless due to the bad state of the " payement," while it remained in Holland at 63 stuivers, gradually altered the value of the " heavy " stuiver, which, differentiated from that of the Netherlands, came to be known as the " Indian." Other coins followed the rating of the ducatoon, either officially or popularly. Thus, the Spanish dollar, which

[1] R. C., CXXI., 9/8 and 8/9/1760; CXXIV., 10/2/1761; CXXVIII., 1/6/1763; CXXXI., 25/5/1764.
[2] Colombo Diary, 11/6/1763; R. C., CXXVIII., 16/9/1763: CXXXVI., 11/2/1766; 2/4/1766; 26/4/1766; Mooyart's Memoir, p. 11; R. C., CXL., 27/7/1767; *ib*, 21/11/1767.

in 1658 was rated at 60 " light " stuivers, re-appears in the Batavian Plakaat Boek in 1745 valued at 60 " heavy " stuivers. Nevertheless, the " payement," the silver schelling, dubbeltje, and stuiver, did not pass for more than 6, 2, and 1 heavy stuivers until 1735.

Van den Berg [1] considers " Indian " money to be the same as " light," and to have its origin in the rating of the rix-dollar at 60 stuivers in 1656 ; and he, therefore, finds the action of the Batavian Government in 1735 difficult of explanation, as being a repetition of the raising of " payement " in 1658. But it is quite clear from the Plakaat Boek that the " Indian " stuiver was the " heavy " stuiver ; though it is true that owing to the rating of the ducatoon this " heavy " stuiver in time practically became the equal in value of the earlier " light " stuiver.

Year.	Heavy Stuivers per Ducatoon.	Holland Stuivers per Rix-Dollar of 48 Stuivers.	Holland Stuivers per Indian Stuivers.
1682	66	45·8	·954
1686–92	72	42	·875
1692	66	45·8	·954
1700	78	38·7	·805
1755	80	38·1	·793

CHAPTER X.

DUTCH—(*contd.*).

III.—1768–1796.

UNDER the " New Rating " the principal coins and their values were the following :—

Milled ducatoon	66 Holland stuivers	80 Indian stuivers
Old ducatoon	63 do.	78 do.
New Negapatam and Tuticorin pagoda	83 do.	100$\frac{20}{33}$ do.
Surat rupee	24 do.	30 do.

and these values remained in force theoretically until the end of the Dutch rule in the Island. In practice however, the rating of the pagoda in Indian money was most inconvenient, and on March 30, 1770, it was resolved to receive and issue this coin at the " Kleine Geld Kasse " at 101 stuivers ; it was, however, still reckoned in the Company's books at the figure fixed under the circular of January 8, 1768.[2]

2. The fineness of the New Negapatam and Tuticorin pagoda had been lowered from 19 carats 2$\frac{2}{5}$ grains to 18 carats 5$\frac{1}{2}$ grains shortly before June 9, 1770, and on that date, the reason for the resolution of February 11, 1766, thus being no longer valid, it was decided, owing to lack of silver specie, to use the banned Porto Novo pagoda, which was employed in the elephant trade, and to issue it at Colombo and Galle at 101 Indian stuivers. This pagoda was imported to the exclusion of all others from the Coromandel Coast into Jaffna, and on December 31, 1776, the officials of that place were instructed to receive it at a rate not higher than 96 Indian stuivers, its old price, with the object of stimulating the import of the Company's pagoda.[3]

3. In 1769 the copper coinage was in excess of requirements at Jaffna, Colombo, and Trincomalee. The coins current about this period appear in the report on the " Kleine Geld Kasse " of April 12, 1771[4] :—

5,000 Porto Novo pagodas	worth RD.	10,520·40
4,281$\frac{1}{2}$ current silver rupees	Do.	2,675·45
Copper duits	Do.	16,988· 2$\frac{3}{4}$

[1] Van den Berg, p. 45, note.
[2] R. C., CXLVII., 30/3/1770.
[3] *Ib.*, CXLVIII., 9/6/1770 ; CLXI., 31/12/1776.
[4] *Ib.*, CXLIV., 17/1/1769 ; CL., 12/4/1771.

4. In 1777 Thunberg, in his account of the Island (Voyages, Vol. IV., pp. 227 ff., ed. Paris, 1796), states that the natives used for small purchases Dutch copper of two sorts, distinguished by size and thickness, which must be the coins struck locally and in the Netherlands, but that in transactions between them and Europeans only pagodas and rupees were employed. The latter coins with their halves and quarters were of gold and silver; "elles abondent à Ceylan." The pagodas, which he values at 2 rix-dollars 1 schelling (102 stuivers), were of two kinds:—(1) Those received at the Dutch offices, which had dots in relief on the reverse; and (2) the English Star pagoda. There were, however, many false pagodas in circulation. He also mentions the Elephant (Gajapati) pagoda, very rare and difficult to obtain; the Masulipatnam or three sami pagoda, imported from Coromandel into Ceylon, where they were current; and the Mangalore with two figures on the obverse. Of this, there were two varieties, the old with a legend, and that still used in commerce with a crescent on the reverse; he also mentions the half pagoda of this mint. The small money in use in Ceylon as well as in Coromandel and Malabar consisted of gold and silver fanams of low touch struck by Indian princes. Thunberg's Masulipatnam pagoda, known also as the "Madras," was 20 carats 8⅗ grains in fineness, and was imitated by the Dutch at Negapatam.[1]

Few pagodas, however, seem to have been current, as in May, 1780, only copper was in circulation. Keizerdaalders and Spanish reals or piastres were brought from time to time to Ceylon. They were under-valued being current locally for two rupees, and were exported to Coromandel with profit to be exchanged for Porto Novo pagodas; in November, therefore, they were both rated at 63 Indian stuivers, in view of the fact that the keizerdaalder, though more valuable than the piastre, was less sought after by the Coast traders. In 1783 the keizerdaalder had risen to 11½ schellings or 69 stuivers. In 1781 it was decided that, although the notification of the Indian Government dated March 10, 1780, by which all Surat, Persian, and Bengal Arcot rupees were rated as that of Batavia at 30 stuivers, was not applicable to Ceylon, where less silver specie circulated than at Batavia, yet it should be published, as thereby the bad Porto Novo pagodas would be carried out of the country.[2]

5. In 1780 the Netherlands were involved in the war between Great Britain and the American Colonies. Negapatam was taken by the British in 1781, and the mint was transferred from Tuticorin to Colombo, whither the Mintmaster Fredrik Damman had come by November 30. The other officials were the two Commissioners, Godfried Stiegling the Assayer, and Hermanus Engelbert Dender. All three continued in office at least until September, 1793; by June of the following year, Stiegling was Mintmaster, and Dender and F. Bosman Commissioners. On April 12, 1782, it was resolved that the pagodas struck at the new mint, as well as the New Negapatam and Tuticorin, should be issued at 102 stuivers, at which rating the Company's pagoda for many years had circulated among the people, though it was exchanged even for a higher figure.[3]

6. In the latter half of this year various foreign coins from the wreck of the ship "Vrouwe Johanna Margaretha" were accepted for remittance on Batavia. These were gold "Kerimchansche" whole, half, and quarter rupees struck by the Persian Karím Khán (A.D. 1750–1779), gold rupees called "Indostansche" and "Aamoedische" or "Amoide," each valued at 16 and 15½ silver rupees respectively, Persian silver rupees, Venetian and Turkish ducats, as well as a considerable quantity of keizerdaalders. Of the gold specie none was known in the Island except the Venetian ducats, which with those of Holland were then issued at 22 schellings each, and gold rupees, which found their own level in the market, and it was therefore resolved to send all to Cochin, except the Venetians and the silver specie. The first three coins, under the names of Crimcamse, Hendi, and Amodi rupees, stated to be all Persian, as well as Venetian and Turkish ducats, were made current at Batavia owing to the lack of specie caused by the war in December of the same year.[4]

7. In order to make good the ever-increasing lack of coin, it was resolved on February 4, 1783, to strike copper "doedoes" (*tuṭṭu*) of 1 duit each, "which aforetime were in use in Ceylon and still circulate at Jaffanapatnam," and also to issue the locally struck gold fanams at 5 Indian stuivers. Shortly afterwards the Mintmaster suggested that in addition coins of 4 duits or 1 Indian stuiver should be made, and this was approved by the Council; by April the Galle authorities had followed suit. In these and subsequent issues 37 stuivers or 148 duits were struck from a pound of metal. With the same object it was decided on May 12 to coin at Colombo silver rupees of the same weight and fineness as the Batavian, and to give all private parties freedom to have their silver so coined, provided that they were willing to lend the rupees struck to the Company on interest at one-half per cent. per mensem.[5]

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[1] Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, Dutch Records, No. 15, p. 68 *ff*; R. C., CLVII. 3/10/1774.

[2] R. C., 20/5/1780 (*v. ib.*, CCVIII, 1/12/1791); CLXIX., 23/11/1780; CLXXV., 27/11/1783; CLXXI., 12/7/1781.

[3] R. C., CLXXI., 30/11/1781; CLXXII., 12/4/1782.

[4] R. C., CLXXIII., 24/9/1782, 15/10/1782, 12/12/1782; B. P. B., 2–16/12/1782. The "Indostansche" rupees must be Mughal. A gold rupee of Karím Khán (*cf.*, B. M. C., Persian, No. 329) has been found in Ceylon. "Aamoedische" and its variants may conceal the name of his contemporary, Aḥmad Sháh Durrání.

[5] R. C., CLXXIV., 4/2, 13/2, and 1/5/1783; CLXXVII., 14/12/1784; CLXXIV., 12/5/1783.

In August a quantity of gold coins once current on the Malabar Coast was re-coined, on account of the crown of France, to which the Company was indebted, into 34,904$\frac{5}{6}\frac{3}{8}$ Porto Novo pagodas of the best alloy, equal to fl. 178,014·3·13 Indian money; the fineness was 17 carats, to which very few Porto Novo pagodas then in circulation are said to have attained. In the following November more Persian gold rupees of the three varieties above mentioned were accepted from a ship's captain for remittance on Batavia, and were ordered to be coined into Porto Novo pagodas of the same fineness; the "Indostansche" rupees are here styled in the alternative "goude mooren" or gold muhrs. Pagodas of the same denomination, but of 15 carat fineness, were struck in 1788 at Tuticorin; the value of each coin was 66½ Holland stuivers.[1]

The resolution of May 12, 1783, was approved by the Indian Government. The Ceylon Council, however, realized in time that rupees of the Batavian standard would not be accepted on the Coromandel Coast, and decided on April 1, 1784, to issue coin as near as possible in conformity with the rupees of Surat and Bombay, each piece to be 11 dwt. 16 grains fine and to weigh $7\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{8}$ engels. The minting reports dated June 30, September 20, and November 12, 1784, show that 121,538 "Ceylon rupees" of the Surat standard were issued. Another of January 9, 1786, however, indicates a reversion to the Batavian standard of 10 dwt. fine with a weight of $18\frac{2}{7}\frac{6}{7}$ to the mark or 202·2 grains Troy, the reason being that the silver available approximated that touch; of this rupee only 1,636 were struck, rated at 30 stuivers each.[2]

8. In March, 1785, the removal of the mint back to Tuticorin was under consideration. The accounts of that factory refer to fanams recently struck there in August, 1786; the minting reports for New Negapatam pagodas and Tuticorin fanams are dated at Colombo from January 20, 1785, until June 20, 1786. From the restoration of the mint pagodas continued to be struck on the same standard until 1794: the fineness of the fanams underwent more than one diminution.[3]

9. According to Bertolacci, Governor van de Graaff, who succeeded Falck in 1785, "found the revenues of the island inadequate to the expenses; and the Treasury exhausted by the additional number of troops, which the Company had been under the necessity of raising, since the year 1780, for the protection of the colony, on account of the American war. To obviate these difficulties, he, for the first time in Ceylon, issued a paper currency. This consisted of Treasury notes, called *credit brieven*, payable to the bearer, on presentation, in Ceylon copper coin, at the rate of forty eight stivers for each rix-dollar." Kredit Brieven had been introduced at Batavia as early as December, 1782, owing to the lack of specie caused by the war, and the Indian Government recommended their employment in Ceylon by letter of April 19, 1784. This had not been considered desirable during the war, when the people had constant need of the small sums at their disposal. Before the hostilities, however, it had been customary at Colombo for the cashiers or their accountants to lend certificates of safe custody of the moneys lodged with them (de Kasjiers of hunne Kannekappels bewysen verleend hebben van de Kontanten, die by hem in bewaaring gebragt zyn), and these were circulated to the great convenience of the inhabitants. It was therefore resolved on March 19, 1785, to put into circulation at first RD. 25,000 worth of Kredit Brieven in various denominations: these were not to be forced on any one, and were convertible at the Treasury. This first issue was dated May 10, 1785, and consisted of notes for RD. 50, 100, 500, and 1,000. Each note was in Dutch, Sinhalese, and Tamil in the following form, signed by the Hoofd Administrateur Sluysken and the Acting Negotie Boekhouder Raket and countersigned by Secretary Billing:—

> L^a. A: N^o. . . . . . goed voor ryksdaalders 1,000.
>
> Wy ondergetekende certificeeren, dat toonder deeses, by De Compagnie te goed heeft Een duizend ryksd. van 48 zwaare Stuyv^s. Ind: geld
>
> Kolombo den 10^e. Mai Anno 1785.
>
> Letter A. Number . . . . Good for RD. 1,000.
>
> We, the undersigned, certify that a sum of a thousand rix-dollars of 48 heavy stuivers, Indian money, is due from the Company to the holder hereof.
>
> Colombo, May 10, 1785.

Each note had to be endorsed by the holder, and, judging from the last issue taken over by the British in 1796, bore interest at 3 per cent.[4]

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[1] R. C., CLXXV., 25/8/1783, 27/11/1783; CXCIV., 29/12/1788.

[2] R. C., CLXXVI., 5/3 and 1/4/1784; CLXXVII., 23/7 and 30/9/1784; CLXXVIII., 4/4/1785; CLXXX., 22/11/1785; CLXXXI., 16/1/1786.

[3] R. C., CLXXVIII., 19/3/1785: Tuticorin Cash Accounts, D 2775.

[4] Bertolacci, "View of the Agricultural, Commercial and Financial Interests of Ceylon," p. 80; B. P. B., 2-16 12/1782: R. C., CLXXVIII., 19/3/1785, 10/5/1785

10. On October 20, 1785, as it was found that the "doedoes" were insufficient for the needs of the settlement, it was resolved to strike half larins in the shape of small bars of copper on the same footing, viz., 37 stuivers to the pound, and to rate them at 4¾ Indian stuivers. This method involved less work and loss of copper, and is stated to have been carried out before, the reference being to the 6 stuiver bars of the Wreath series. At the same time it was decided to revive the "boezeroeken," and to coin them as duits of the same alloy of ⅔ tin and ⅓ lead; those of 1747, however, were half and half of either metal. These new pieces bore the canting arms of Colombo, a dove (columba) on a mango tree (Sinh. *amba*). In 1786 is the first mention of the Jaffna mint. The currency now consisted entirely of base metal and paper, for which gold and silver exchanged for a premium, then about 10 per cent.[1]

11. The great scarcity of silver coin led to the minting in 1787 of a small quantity of rupees destined for internal use only. The mint entrusted with the coinage of the precious metals being now once more at Tuticorin, the work was given to Renier Hendriksz, "Baas of the Smiths," with peculiar provisions for assaying. Silver of 10 dwt. fineness was then not obtainable for less than 48 rupees the pound, and expenses and loss being reckoned at two rupees, fifty was fixed as the number of coins to be struck from each Amsterdam pound of metal; the new rupee thus weighed 152·5 grains Troy. For purposes of assay Hendriksz was directed to send all coins struck to the Keurmeester, one Christiaan Pieters, who was to test each piece by touching, and set thereon the "Kleyne Keur," or hall mark indicating a fineness of 10 dwt.; this consisted of the arms of Colombo, above described, between the letters K K and was stamped upon the edge of the rupee. The whole was then handed over to sworn commissioners, who saw whether all had been "touched," weighed them by fifties, and further delivered one from each minting sealed to the Hoofd Administrateur to be sent for assay to Tuticorin. The value at issue of the new rupee was 30 stuivers. Twenty thousand were ordered to be struck, the design to be that of the previous "Ceylon rupee" with alteration of the date. At least two mintings took place, as a coin of the second was found on examination in September to be 10 dwt. 3½ grains fine.[2]

12. To return to the base metals. The Indian Government had observed that it was unnecessary continue the coinage of "doedoes," larins, and "boesoeroeken," as a new supply of duits had come from Europe. In 1787, the Ceylon Government in reply pointed out the convenience of the existing arrangement, inasmuch as the sum of fl. 29,935·3·0 in duits received from the Netherlands could not last long in the Island, where nothing but copper coin circulated, and further resolved, as no more Japan copper was available, to make a trial of coining from the metal of old unserviceable cannon. This was carried out, 8 lb. of old or new red copper being added to 100 lb. of the aforesaid metal, but does not seem to have been continued, as in 1788 Japan copper was again employed. The mints working in October, 1787, were Colombo "in de bangzaal by de Kaymans poort" under the sworn Minter Hendriksz, and Jaffna and Galle, which two being of less importance were conducted by native minters under the supervision of the local Administrateurs. In April, 1788, the Madura Coast officials recommended Damman, Mintmaster and First Resident of Ponnekail, who had conducted the mint at Tuticorin for the last twenty-five years for promotion to the rank of Onderkoopman: his first appointment, therefore, was in 1763.[3]

13. A report of the Hoofd Administrateur, dated July 4, 1788, on the coins best suited for paying the expenses of the establishment, favours, in the first place, whole and half Holland guilders, which he equates with the rupee and proposes to issue at 30 stuivers; and secondly, Holland ducats, which then circulated in the Indies at 132 stuivers. The new ducatoon was current for 80, and the old for 78 stuivers; scheepjes schellings passed for 7½, and new Holland dubbeltjes for 2½, while "Mexicans" and keizerdaalders were issued at 63 stuivers; but all the foregoing commanded a premium owing to the lack of specie. On this it was resolved to apply for fl. 800,000, half in gold and silver specie, and half in duits. But by September 14, 1789, the Company still had issued no guilders in the Island.[4]

14. In 1787 it had been proposed to mint rupees at Tuticorin. This was approved, and "Ceylon rupees" of the Surat standard were issued from that mint in 1788 and 1789: they were used for the Madura trade and rated at 25 Holland or roughly 30 Indian stuivers. Fra Paolino da S. Bartolomeo, who was in the Colony in the last-named year, states that "the Dutch rupee, current in the island of Ceylon, consists of silver alloyed with

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[1] R. C., CLXXX., 20/10/1785; Jaffna Cash Accounts. D. 2759; R. C., CLXXXII., 7/8/1786.

[2] R. C., CLXXXV., 5/4/1787; CLXXXVI., 12/5/1787; CLXXXVII., 11/9/1787

[3] R. C., CLXXXV., 5/3 and 17/3/1787; CXCVI., 25/6/1789; CXCVII., 29/12/1789; CLXXXVIII., 19/10/1787; CXC., 18/4/1789. Wilhelmina Catherina, widow of August Frederic Damman, Junior Merchant, died on November 4 1822, *aet.* 65; their daughter, baptized at Tuticorin, March 10, 1775, married the Rev. A. Armour (J. P. Lewis, "List of Inscriptions on Tombstones," p. 96)

[4] R. C., CXCII., 7/7/1788; CXCVI., 14/9/1789

tin" ; for the earlier Colombo issues, however, Japan copper was employed. He also gives as current the following coins and their values :—

Madura gold fanam	—	7 French sous
Pulicat do.	—	9 do.
Tanjore do.	¼ silver rupee	—
Star pagoda	4 do.	9 livres 12 sous
Porto Novo do.	3 do.	—
Haydar 'Ali do.	4 do.	—
Mangalore do.	4 do.	—
Venetian, about	4 do.	—
Spanish piastre	2 do.	—

These figures clearly represent the official ratings at issue, for in September, 1788, Lieutenant-Colonel de Raymond of the Luxemburg Regiment had complained bitterly that his officers and men were paid at the rate of 63 copper stuivers as the equivalent of the silver Spanish piastre, which in the market was worth from 84 to 85 stuivers. It was in fact impossible to get silver money, and the Company, which made no payments except in copper and paper, was obliged in 1789 to accept this copper coin for remittances. Even duits were scarce, and on May 19 of this year it was resolved to make duits of an alloy composed of $\frac{2}{3}$ lead, $\frac{1}{6}$ tin, and $\frac{1}{6}$ tutenag, eighty coins going to the pound.[1]

15. The Indian Government now objected to the coinage of "doedoes" at places other than Colombo. The reason for establishing mints at Jaffna and Galle was the difficulty of transporting so heavy a coin as the "doedoe" and of striking at Colombo a year's supply, so that these stations could be provided during the sailing season ; this was felt so much that on August 26, 1789, it was decided to strike "doedoes" "for this occasion only" at Trincomalee. This mint, however, became permanent. Hendriksz, the Colombo Minter, was first in charge, but was succeeded in 1790 by Jurgen Arnoldus Hikken, who was occupied in the same work under the British at Jaffna in 1803. The material first used was old cannon metal.[2]

16. The premium on gold and silver specie as against copper coin had not decreased since de Raymond's complaint, and occasionally rose even considerably higher. About 1787 or 1788 the silver guilder was taken as equal to 30 stuivers, the rupee to 36, and the pagoda to 125 stuivers, all in paper money ; in March, 1791, a rupee was worth a rix-dollar, a Venetian ducat 204, and a piastre from 96 to 99 stuivers in copper, whether of local or European manufacture. The effects of the premium, however, were only felt in purchasing goods imported into Ceylon, and the people, moreover, were accustomed to a copper currency. As pointed out to the Indian Government in 1791, "for the last forty or fifty and assuredly many more years, duits, 'doedoes' which in earlier times were struck at Jaffenapatnam, and even lead money under the name of 'pitjes' struck here at Colombo more than thirty years ago have been the most usual coin of the country," and the Company for some years had issued no gold or silver for internal use.[3]

17. On December 24, 1791, the Lieutenant and "afgaande fabriek" Renier Hendriksz retired with the rank of Captain and "oud fabriek" ; he died at Colombo, aged 73 years, on June 13, 1805. He continued at work, however, for some time longer after retirement.[4]

18. For some time complaints had been received as to the circulation of false lead duits, indistinguishable by the ignorant from genuine coins, and on December 29, 1791, this coinage was demonetized and called in. On July 5 following a fresh issue of duits, at 80 to the pound, was authorized. On February 13, 1792, also, the larins of copper and "metaal," forgeries of which were current, were similarly demonetized with the object of re-coining them into "doedoes" ; half of those called in were found to be false. About this time false fanams were found to be circulating in Trincomalee ; the presence of similar forgeries in the Galle Commandement had for many years past deterred the people from accepting the genuine coins.[5]

In October, 1792, there was a great lack of copper money in the country, and all persons who changed gold and silver coins at the Company's offices were declared bound to take at least half in copper. The usual

[1] R. C., CLXXXVII., 7/8/1787 ; CXCVI., p. 695 ; Fr. Paolino's "Voyages to the East Indies," English trans., London, 1800 ; R. C., CXCIII., 26/9/1788 ; CXCV., 9/3/1789, p. 347 ; CXCVI., 19/5/1789.

[2] R. C., CXCVI., 26/8/1789 ; Trincomalee Cash Accounts, D. 2763 and D. 2778 ; J. P. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

[3] R. C., CCIV., 11/3/1791 ; CCVIII., 25/10 and 1/12/1791.

[4] R. C., CCVIII., 24/12/1791 ; J. P. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

[5] R. C., CCVIII., 29/12/1791 ; CCXII., 5/7/1792 ; CCXI., 13/2/1792 ; CCXIII., 3/9/1792 ; CCXII., 26/7 and 13/11/1792.

premium on gold and silver specie was then 50 per cent., the ducatoon thus being worth 120 stuivers. In this year the attention of the Mintmaster was called to the complaint that many of the " doedoes " were not round and of equal thickness, and not well stamped.[1]

19. By letter of January 4, 1791, the authorities of the Company in the Netherlands had directed the Indian Government to impose a levy of 2 per cent. on all goods movable and immovable in the form of a " Liberal Gift." Effect was given to this order by the local plakaat of June 28, 1792, in accordance with which this benevolence was payable in four instalments, half in gold or silver money and the remainder in bank certificates, Kredit Brieven, or copper coin. The levy must have brought into the Treasury the little specie left in the country. The coins collected were as follows :—

Pagodas.	
New Negapatam	514
Porto Novo, old and new	310
Scott	1,106
Colombo, old and new	30
Star	14
Sulṭánì	2
Miscellaneous Gold.	
Holland ducats	14
Venetians	6
Johannes (Portuguese)	2
Surat muhr	1
Batavian rupees	14½
Gold rupees	3
Rupees.	
Surat (including Sulṭánì)	1,680
Batavian	731
Colombo	335
Pondicherry	245
Bengal and Arcot	180
Arcot	29
Persian (including English)	20
Portuguese	8
Maldivian	1
Quarter Rupees	2

Other Silver.	
Ducatoons, new	980
Do. new, half	17
Do. old	277
Do. old, half	33
Spanish Piastres, Pillar	596½
Do.	259
Do. Reals, whole	108
Do. half	58
Do. quarter	3
Keizerdaalders	100½
Guilders	31½
Scheeps-schellings	127
New Dubbeltjes	630
Dertiendehalven	1
Sesdehalven	[illegible]
Kwartjes	2
Daalders (Netherlands)	2
Schellings, old and new of sorts	60
⅛ Zeeland rix-dollar	1
French Crowns, whole	10
Do. half	1
Do. quarter	11
Miscellaneous	
Blue Stuivers	3,459
Copper and lead coins	RD. 326·4¾

We must now turn to the new policy of Governor van de Graaff. According to Bertolacci, it occurred to him " that by making all the public payments from the Treasury in paper money, he might sell by public auction, with some profit, the gold and silver coins which were annually imported into Ceylon by the Company ; which idea he actually put into practice. This may be considered as the first step, in lowering the Ceylon exchange, and the depreciation of the currency. So long as there was in the settlement a sufficient quantity of specie, in gold and silver, which could be withdrawn from circulation in consequence of the paper currency taking its place, the profit of the specie sold by Government was trifling ; but as the supply in the market was gradually decreasing, and Government withheld that which it had received from Holland, the premium rose higher. The silver ducatoons, which, in 1785, had been exchanged for not more than eighty stivers, were sold, in 1795, for one hundred." Bertolacci states that before this measure the real currency of the Island was not the copper stuiver, but the ducatoon, for which stuivers could always be changed, and continues : " The moment that Governor Vandergraff allowed the exchange to fluctuate, the Ceylon copper coin became the true standard currency of the colony ; and foreign exchange was no longer adjusted at the former fixed rate of eighty stivers to one ducatoon, but with an immediate reference to the actual value of the quantity and quality of the copper contained in the stiver; taking into account the inferiority of the copper that had lately been coined, the expenses and inconveniences attending its exportation, the doubt of finding an easy sale for it, and the uncertainty of its price in the other Indian markets. In a short time, this copper coin, in its depreciated state, formed, with the paper money, by far the greatest part of the currency of the colony."

[1] R. C., CCXIII, 19/10/1792 ; CCX, 3/3/1792.

This account gives no date for the decision to sell the specie, and there are reasons to doubt its accuracy. Apart from a sale of rupees at Tuticorin in 1791, the first two recorded sales of specie in Ceylon were on March 12 and April 20, 1793, and the third on August 30 following. The prices fetched were :—

New ducatoons	.. of	80 stuivers	.. $114–117\frac{1}{16}$ stuivers
Guilders (and three-guilder pieces in proportion)		24	.. 34
Scheeps-schelling	.. ..	$7\frac{1}{2}$	.. $8\frac{2}{5}$
New dubbeltje	.. ..	$2\frac{1}{2}$	.. $2\frac{3}{4}$
Scott pagoda	.. ..	102	.. $135\frac{9}{16}$
Old Porto Novo pagoda	.. ..	102	.. $142\frac{1}{2}$
Mexican	.. ..	64	.. 96

As has been seen, for some years previous to 1791 no gold or silver had been put into circulation. The specie in the "Groote Geld Kasse" was already much diminished in 1787, and in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791 had entirely disappeared, all received being sent to Tuticorin for the cloth trade ; from 1792 onwards, however, there was as much in the Treasury as during the war, and silver as well as copper and Kredit Brieven were accepted for remittance home It was precisely in these years of scarcity that the premium on gold and silver coin rose high, and the depreciation of the Dutch currency must be attributed to the fact that only copper and paper circulated, and that the paper had no backing beyond the copper money. The sale of specie merely continued the existing state of affairs, and the premium in 1795 still remained at 50 per cent., the ducatoon thus being worth 120 stuivers and not 100 as stated by Bertolacci.[1]

20. In 1793 certain Kredit Brieven were found to have been falsified by alteration of the figures, and on March 28 rules were framed to protect the public The principal of these provided that the transfer from one holder to another was to be in the following form : Dese Kredit brief groot . . . word by desen door my getransporteerd aan . . . Kolombo den . . . . " This Kredit brief worth . . . is hereby transferred by me to . . Colombo (and the date)." On December 17 all Kredit Brieven issued before September 1, 1792, were recalled to be exchanged for new notes or for copper coin.[2]

By a plakaat dated December 18, 1795, notice was given of an issue of paper money of the denominations of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 10 rix-dollars. The proclamation rehearses that owing to the threatened investment of Colombo by the British doubts had arisen among the populace as to the ability of the Government to redeem the Kredit Brieven and reassures them on this point Even copper money was now scarce and it was decreed that—

(1) Those who claimed payment for goods purchased with gold or silver must accept payment in paper with that premium which obtained on the day of payment ;

(2) In all other transactions Kredit Brieven were to be accepted at their face value :

(3) In all transactions no difference was to be made between Kredit Brieven and copper money, both of which were to be of the same value:

(4) No one was to exchange Kredit Brieven for copper money at a premium : and

(5) In view of the Kredit Brieven being for large sums Kas-briefjes or Kas-nooten (currency notes) were to be issued for the convenience of the public, redeemable in the same way as the Kredit Brieven ; they were not, however, to be endorsed.

A specimen in the Colombo Museum contains, within an ornamented rectangular frame and between the Company's monogram surmounted by C and the arms of Colombo in circles at the four corners counterchanged, a large 2, the numeral of value, intersecting the legend in Dutch, Sinhalese, and Tamil . in the first-named language this reads Goed voor twee Ryksds · "good for two rix-dollars." The signatures of the Hoofd Administrateur Christiaan van Angelbeek and the Negotie Boekhouder Abraham Samlant appear above and below. On the back is printed : Kolumbo den 1. January 1796

21. Early in 1795 a new variety of pagoda appears in Jaffna, namely, the Tranquebar Porto Novo or Tranquebar Scott pagoda. Of these, a hundred were valued at Tuticorin as equal to $86\frac{3}{4}$ Company and $94\frac{1}{2}$ new or $95\frac{1}{2}$ old Porto Novo pagodas. The Company's pagoda was now worth 153 instead of 102 stuivers owing to the premium, and accordingly this new pagoda was valued at $132\frac{17}{100}$ stuivers. At the end of this year, when the British were closing in on Colombo, guilders and copper money became very scarce . the rupee rose to 60 stuivers,

[1] R. C. CCXIV., 9/12/1792 ; CCXVIII, 30/5 and 11/11/1793 : Bertolacci, *op. cit.* pp. 81 *ff.* ; R. C. CCV., 1/5/1791 ; R. C. CCXVIII., 30/5 and 20/4 1793, CCXXII., 28/1/1794 ; CCXIV., 2/11/1792. For the process of depreciation see note on the Value of the Rix-dollar in Sterling *in sect.* 40

[2] R. C., CCXVII., 28/3/1793

the piastre to 120, the ducatoon to 150, the Tuticorin and Porto Novo pagodas to 168, and the Star with others of like value to 192. Colombo capitulated on February 15, 1796. Trincomalee had already surrendered on August 26, and Jaffna in September of the preceding year. One of the first entries of the Jaffna Diary embodies a document of August 31, 1795, which reveals the curious fact that the old revenue reckoning was maintained to the end by the Dutch. By this the rix-dollar was divided into 12 fanams, 120 tammekassen, and 600 duits, or in Valikamam only 1,920 of the last denomination; 12½ Jaffna duits equalled the stuiver. In the rest of Ceylon the rix-dollar was popularly divided into 12 fanams, 48 stuivers, and 192 duits.[1]

22. The numismatic history of Tuticorin differs from that of Ceylon. The surrounding country was not under the dominion of the Company, and the necessity of maintaining the cloth trade compelled the Ceylon Government to keep the factory supplied with specie acceptable to the native merchants. This always proved a heavy drain on the Island. The coining of pagodas and fanams has been dealt with above.

Under the " New Rating " of 1768 the Company's pagoda was valued at 100$\frac{20}{33}$ Indian stuivers. But for some reason unrevealed the resolutions of the Indian Government of September 26 and October 8, 1743, to the effect that all good and current pagodas should be received in Ceylon for purposes of exchange at 90 heavy stuivers without premium continued to be followed at Tuticorin. In 1770 a sum of 10,000 rupees was received from Colombo and rated at one-third of a pagoda apiece, that is, 30 stuivers. Again, in 1773, rupees from the same place were ordered to be issued at 83 to 24 pagodas, one of the latter coins, therefore, was equal to 3$\frac{11}{24}$ rupees. Next year ducats, ducatoons, and rupees were similarly sent for the cloth trade with directions that they were to be issued at the existing rates as shown in the " Specie Book " ; it was then pointed out by the Tuticorin officials that these coins had no fixed value in the country, but found their own level in the market and that ducatoons were not acceptable to the people.[2]

23. The factory was practically abandoned during the American war. In March, 1785, the Ceylon Government resolved to abolish entirely the erroneous rating of the pagoda at 90 stuivers, which was to be retained only in the calculation of the salaries and emoluments of officials paid in pagodas : " for 90 Indian stuivers, therefore, we pay now exactly 90 Indian stuivers and not more, thereby writing off 74¼ Holland stuivers or $\frac{297}{332}$ pagoda ; before, according to the old custom, for these 90 stuivers a whole pagoda was written off, and thus 83 Holland stuivers, wherewith now we pay 100$\frac{20}{33}$ Indian stuivers instead of 90." The approval of the rating of 90 stuivers by the Indian Government's letter of November 17, 1786, was certainly understood by the Ceylon Council as a confirmation of its action.[3]

In May, 1786, it was reported that the native bankers received the Star pagoda at 19½ or 20 schellings (117–120 stuivers), and even changed the bad Porto Novo pagodas with a premium of from 5 to 6 per cent. All the Company's fanams had then disappeared, the less valuable Madura fanam being the only one in circulation.[4]

24. This year saw the first issue of the Company's silver guilder with its multiples and fractional parts. It was introduced on to the Madura Coast, and immediately become the cause of much trouble. It may not be out of place here to record the history of this coin in the East. In the Netherlands it was first struck by individual provinces in 1680 and by the Confederation in 1694, and seems to have been first issued officially at Batavia in 1764. It was rated at all times at 20 Holland stuivers or in India at 25 light stuivers. The light stuiver being the basis of calculation in the East, 20 were known popularly as a guilder of account, which, of course, was really equal to 16 heavy stuivers. Later on this imaginary guilder was reckoned as consisting of 15 Indian stuivers, perhaps being assimilated to the half rupee, though it was still 16 at the Cape of Good Hope in 1773, for the payment of the Company's servants it was treated as 13 Holland stuivers. The silver guilder, though strictly 24$\frac{8}{33}$ stuivers by the " New Rating," was current in Ceylon for 24 stuivers or half a rix-dollar, or, with the premium on silver as against paper, for 30, the correct valuation of the rupee. By secret letter of August 24, 1786, conveying the Council's decision of the 16th of that month, the Tuticorin officials were directed to issue the guilder at 20 Holland stuivers, that is, 83 guilders for 20 Company's pagodas, they wished, however, to raise the valuation, perhaps in view of the premium commanded locally by this coin.[5]

25. About 1787 the Visitateur Generaal investigated the question of ratings at Tuticorin, and held that the order of the Ceylon Government just recorded was in error, contending that the intention of the circular of January 8, 1768, was not to supply a scheme of ratings as between different coins, but to reduce independently

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[1] R. C., CCXXVIII, 13/1/1795 ; " A Collection of Notes on the Attack and Defence of Colombo, from the French of M. de la Tombe " (Ceylon Literary Register, V, 221).

[2] R. C., CXCVI, pp. 4001 *ff.* ; CCVIII, 25/10/1791.

[3] R. C., CLXXVIII, 19/3/1785 ; CXCII, 22/8/1788 ; CCVIII, 25/10/1791.

[4] R. C., CLXXXI, 24/5/1786.

[5] B. P. B. 20/10/1764, R. C., XXXIX, 17/10/1716 (600 light guilders = R. D. 200), R. C., CLXVIII, 25/2/1780 ; Thunberg, Travels, I, pp. 362–3 ; " Nederlandsch India," p. 28, Anon., Batavia (1776–84) ; R. C., CLXXXVI, 12/4 and 24/5/1787, CXCVI, pp. 4001 *ff* ; CCVIII, 25/10/1791.

into Netherlands currency the actual local value of each species of money. Thus, the premium being taken into consideration, he equated the guilder with the rupee, and ruled that 3 should go to the pagoda, which he fixed at 90 stuivers. This resulted in 3 guilders being valued higher than the ducatoon, their superior both in weight and fineness Nevertheless, the decision was enforced by the Indian Government by letter of April 15, 1788, and no protests induced them to reconsider their order. The sole result of a protracted correspondence was that no one would accept 3 guilders for a pagoda, and in 1792 the Ceylon Government resolved that silver was to be used in the Madura trade only when absolutely necessary or when gold was not available. Later in this year the Indian Government's order seems to have been disregarded, for in July Tuticorin was directed to give to the merchants certain silver specie, which had not found a sale at the former prices, viz., 800 Spanish reals for 500 Company's pagodas, 600 ducatoons for 477, and 178 guilders foi 43.[1]

Coins of the United Provinces found in Ceylon.

Gold.

26. Netherlands Ducat (from 1586). Weight : 2 eng. 9 azen (54 gr.) ; fineness. 23 carats 8 gr. (variant : 23 c. 6½ gr.). Type (1) of Verkade is rare. Type (2) : usually of the sixth, seventh, and eighth decades of the eighteenth century. Occasionally found marked B (Batavian Plakaat Boek 3-7/9/1686) and " Java " in Malay characters (*ib.*, 13-31/12/1753).

Double Ducat (from 1606). Zeeland, 1658.

Rider (from 1749). Weight : 6½ eng. (154·2 gr.) ; fineness : 22 c. 1 gr. Rare.

Stuiver. Holland, 1725.

Silver.

Ducatoon, whole and half (from 1659). Weight : 21 eng. 6 gr. (502·9 gr.) ; fineness : 11 penn. 7 gr Type (2) of Verkade ; milled, usually of fifth to eighth decades of the eighteenth century.

Lion Dollar (from 1606). Weight : 18 eng. (427·2 gr) ; fineness : 9 penn. West Friesland 1644 ; Gelderland, 1653.

Daalder of 30 stuivers. West Friesland, 1684 (Verkade, Pl. 67, Fig. 3).

Guilders (from 1694 to 1796). Three guilder pieces, single and half guilders.

Schellings :—

(i.) Old heavy Ruyter-schelling of Friesland, 1622, rare (Verkade, Pl. 128, Fig. 2).

(ii.) Roos schelling (floriate cross). West Friesland, Zeeland, Utrecht, and Holland ; all from 1601.

(iii.) Scheepjes-schelling (ship). Gelderland (from 1706) ; Holland and West Friesland (from 1673) ; Utrecht (from 1702) ; Zeeland (from 1750).

(iv.) Hoedjes-schelling (lion couchant supporting hat on spear). Zeeland (from 1672 to 1750).

(v.) Staten or Plakaat schelling. Utrecht, 1679, 1680, 1691 ; Kampen, 1691 ; Deventer, 1686, 1690 ; Zutphen.

These have the obverse type of a knight on horseback.

(vi.) Arend-schelling (eagle). Kampen, Matthias I., A.D. 1612–1619. Zwolle, Matthias, and Rudolf II., A.D. 1576–1612.

Dubbeltjes or Double Stuivers :—

(i.) Cross. West Friesland, end of the sixteenth century ; Nymegen, 1620, countermarked with an eagle.

(ii.) Lion of the United Provinces (from 1614). Gelderland ; Holland ; West Friesland ; Zeeland ; Utrecht ; Friesland ; Overijssel ; Deventer ; Kampen , Zwolle.

In or about 1672 in some mints the lion has neither sword nor arrows.

West Friesland. Also of the same type with reverse : WEST FRISIA II. STUI : 1673 (Verkade, Pl. 74, Fig. 1).

(iii.) Provincial Arms. West Friesland ; Zeeland ; Utrecht ; Holland.

(iv.) Arms of the Confederation. Overijssel ; Gelderland.

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[1] R. C., CXCVI., pp. 4001 *ff.*, 4013 *ff.*; CCVIII., 25/10 and 24/12/1791; CXCII., 22/8/1788; CCXI., 24/3/1792 ; CCV., 1/5/1791 ; CLXXXVI., 12/4 and 24/5/1787; CCXII., 26/7/1792.

Jager or Half Flabbe. Groningen, 1604, 1605 (*cf.* Verkade, Pl. 186, Fig. 4).

Stuivers :—

(i.) Cross. West Friesland (undated); Friesland; Kampen; Zwolle; Groningen (Brabandsche stuiver, *cf.* Verkade, Pl. 187, Fig. 1).

(ii.) Bezem stuiver (bundle of arrows). Gelderland, usually of 1640; West Friesland; Friesland; Overijssel; Zeeland.

(iii.) Lion nasant. Zeeland (from 1682 to 1737).

(iv.) Provincial Arms. Holland; Groningen en Ommelanden.

Copper.

Duit. Groningen en Ommelanden, 1681 (Verkade, Pl. 183, Fig. 3).

VEREENIGTE OOST—INDISCHE COMPAGNIE.

Coinage of the Eastern Mints.

Ceylon.

A.—Wreath Series.

(Struck at Colombo and Jaffna.)

27. (1) *Leafy Wreath.*—On either side a wreath of leaves, within which the value.

(i.) Leaves at top revolving to left.

6 stuiver piece, half larin (*v.* 1785) :—

Copper bar, stamped with two devices on either end; on each face, to right VI in wreath, and to left S؟ in similar wreath. Length : 4·64 in. Weight : 1389·3 gr. Grogan, 549. Pl. 122 (fragment).

2 stuivers :—

IIS؟ ; variant, on one side II·S؟
Diameter · 1—1·1 in.
Weight : 400, 399·5, 398·4 gr.

1 stuiver :—

(*a*) IS؟ (*b*) IS؟ ; variant, on obv. I·S؟
Diameter : ·82—·86 in.
Weight : 220·3, 220·2, 217·9, 205·2, 204·4 gr. G. 541, 542. Pl. 123.

(ii.) Leaves at top revolving to right.

1 stuiver :—

IS؟
Diameter : as above.
Weight : 206·4 gr. Pl. 124.

(iii.) Divided wreath.

1 stuiver :—

(*a*) Small letters.
(*b*) Large letters.
IS؟ İS؟ İS؟ : on one or both sides; also IS؟ : on one side and ÏS؟ on the other.
Diameter : as above.
Weight : 198.7, 197·5, 208·8 gr. G. 539, 540. Pl. 125.
(*c*) Roughly executed wreath resembling next type.
Weight : 245·7 gr.

(2) *Thorny Wreath.*—On either side a thorny wreath, within which the value.

1 stuiver :—

IS7

(*a*) Small letters.

(*b*) Large letters

(*c*) Inverted legend.

Diameter · ·84—·98 in.

Weight : 243·8, 236·6, 227·7, 224·7, 224·1, 221·2 gr G. 537, 538.

½ stuiver :—

½ S7 ½.S7 The 2 of the fraction is usually S reversed.

(*a*) Large letters.

(*b*) Small letters.

(*c*) Small wreath.

Diameter : ·64—·70 in ; also one of ·86 in.

Weight : 122·3, 119·8, 118·8, 118, 115·9, 108·4, 107·6, 107·5, 107 gr. G. 543–546.

¼ stuiver :—

¼ S7

Diameter : ·57—·59 in.

Weight : 60, 55·2, 52·8, 51 gr. Still circulating in Jaffna, 1783. **Pl. 126.**

⅛ stuiver :—

⅛ S7

(*a*) Small 8.

(*b*) Large 8.

Diameter . ·41—·49 in.

Weight . 29·6, 27·7, 25·8, gr. G. 547, 548.

Lowsley, p. 227, mentions a one-stuiver piece of the Wreath series in silver , if genuine, it may have been a pattern.

The unit of weight seems to be the *lood,* equal to 237·3 grains Troy, *cf.* the Batavian half and quarter stuiver of 1644

B.—Colombo.

28. Rupee. (i.) Surat standard : 7$\frac{11}{18}$ engels (180·6 gr.), 11 penn. 16 gr. fine. Resolution of April 1, 1784

Obv. : Within border of dashes :

وڠ
ولند
كمڤني
كلمبو

Rev. : Within similar border :

ڤوڤو جزيرة
سيلوڠ
1784

Above, quatrefoil.

Diameter : ·94 in. G. 550. **Pl. 127.**

(ii) 50 to the Amsterdam pound (152·5 gr.) ; 10 pennings fine. Resolution of May 12, 1787.

As last, but legend better executed and change of date. On edge hall mark, within oval dove upon mango tree between K and K (" Kleine Keur "). G. 551. **Pl. 128.**

The legend on both rupees is in badly written Malay-Arabic, the final forms of letters being used for the medial in some places. The last word on the obverse, which has been read as *suku*, " quarter dollar," which a rupee is not, is the name of the mint town (Catalogue of the Coins in the Colombo Museum, 1914, p. 60). The legend may be translated ;—Obv. : " Coin of the Holland Company, Colombo. " Rev. : " Money of the Island of Ceylon."

Half Larin. Resolution of October 20, 1785.

A bar or ingot of copper with flattened ends which are stamped with two devices counterchanged :—

(1) Within bead and line circle Company's monogram with C above.
(2) Within similar circles in two lines 4¾ ST

Type (1) : Value to left, monogram to right. G. 552.

Variations : O slightly oval.
O round : C on top with projection to left.
O more oval : tail of 4 in numeral and fraction long.
Value upside down : 4 normal, O round.

Type (2) : Monogram to left, value to right.

O round.

Weight : 974·7 gr. **Pl. 129.**

The stamped end of the coin has been found cut off apparently to serve as a separate coin

Stuivers, or Doedoes. 37 to the pound (205·2 gr.). Resolution of March 13, 1783.

Obv. : Within bead and line circle monogram surmounted by C.
Rev. : Within similar circles value 1 STUİVER and date in three lines, the numeral of value between two rosettes of four dots each. G. 555–578. **Pl. 130.**

1783. Small and large letters. Var. large date.

1784. Small and large lettering.

1785. Small and large lettering. Var. UİVER (*sic*) and SIUİVER.

1786. Small and large lettering ; 6 short and longer.

1787. Small and ? large lettering.

1788. Small and large lettering ; no dot on I.

1789. Small and large lettering ; I with and without dot ; date regular and with last two cyphers below line.

1790. Large lettering ; date as in last. Var. SIUIVER with irregular date.

1791. Large and ? small lettering.

1792. Large and small lettering.

1793. Large and small lettering. Var. O in lieu of C over monogram.

1794. ? Large and small lettering. Var. large 4.

1795. ? Large and small lettering, and thick letters.

Duits :—

(1) AE Resolution of February 4, 1783. Weight : 51·3 gr.

Obv. : In bead and line circles monogram and C.
Rev. : In similar circles value ¼ ST in two lines. **Pl. 131.**
Variants : Large and small lettering (4 varieties in Stephanik).

(2) Lead and tin. Resolution of October 20, 1785. " Boezeroeken."

Obv. : In line circle monogram with C ; below, date.
Rev. : In line circle, dove on mango tree, trunk dividing value I D. G. 579. **Pl. 132.**

1786. Weight : 154·5, 169·9, 172·3 gr.

1787. Weight : 239·2, 245·4, 247·2 gr. Variant : dot dividing date.

The last 7 is shaped like Z ; *cf.* Zber for September.

(3) $\frac{5}{8}$ lead, $\frac{1}{8}$ tin $\frac{1}{4}$ tutenag. Resolution of May 19, 1789; 80 to the pound (94·9 gr.).

(*a*) Obv.: In bead and line circles monogram and C.
Rev.: In similar circles I D T and date 1789 in three lines.
Weight: 92·3 gr. Grogan ·580. **Pl. 133.**

(*b*) Obv.: As (*a*). Rev.: As (*a*), but numeral of value between two rosettes each of four dots.
1789. Weight. 91 gr. Colo. Mus. 193. G. 581. **Pl. 134.**
1790, 1791.
Variant with dot between D and T:—
1789. Weight 35·6 gr. 1790. Weight: 54·8 gr.
Possibly old forgeries.

(*c*) Resolution of March 3, 1792; 80 to the pound.
Obv.: Monogram and C in bead circle. Rev.: In similar circle in three lines I DUIT 1792, the first and second lines between dots.
1792. Countermark T on obv. Weight: 89·3 gr. G. 583.
Variant without dots in second line. Colo. Mus. 194.
1793. As variant of 1792. Weight: 86·4 gr. **Pl. 135.**

This issue is frequently countermarked (**Pl. 136**). The date of Grogan's 582, given as 1790, requires verification.

Bazaroekken.

Resolution of July 11, 1746. One-eighth duit; half lead and half tin; weight, 338 to the pound (22·4 gr.); cast, with hole in centre.

C.—Jaffna.

(Resolution of March 13, 1783.)

29. Type I.

1783. Double Stuiver:—

Obv.: In circle of dashes monogram surmounted by I, between two quatrefoils; below, 2·S·
Rev.: In similar circle date over which quatrefoil; below, in Tamil "8 *salli.*"
Tin: G 605.

Type II.:—

Obv.: Monogram with I; value below.
Rev: In two lines date and value in Tamil. In value the position of the denomination and fraction varies.
பு = *P(aṇam)*. ௭ = $\frac{1}{2}$; வ = $\frac{1}{4}$.

1783. Double Stuiver:—

(i.) Obv.: In circle of dashes monogram between two annulets; 2·S·
Rev.: In similar circle date with annulet above; $\frac{1}{2}$ *P* with two dots between fraction and denomination and one after latter. G. 601.
Variants (1) O in lieu of C in monogram; (2) larger Tamil; no dot after *P*. G. 602.

Stuiver:—

As above, but 1·S· and one dot between $\frac{1}{4}$ and *P* only. G. 604.
Variant. Rev.: As last, but circle of dots.

(ii.) Double Stuiver:—

Obv.: In circle of dots monogram between two dots; 2·S
Rev.: In similar circle date and value; Tamil characters separated by a dot below. G. 603
Variant: Dot after date.

1784. Double Stuiver:—
As 1783 (ii.). Variant: Dot to upper right of numeral and to lower left of initial.

1787. Double Stuiver:—
G. 600. Obv.: Not described. Rev.: Date 178*L* with two dots above and one below. Date may be 1784

1788. Double Stuiver :—

(i.) Obv. : In line circle monogram between two rosettes each of four dots ; 2 S
Rev. : In line circle date and *P* ½ ; above to right of fraction two dots and one above to left of *P*.

(ii.) Obv. : In line circle monogram between two groups of three dots, two dots before value 2 S
Rev. : In line circle date and *P* ½ preceded by two dots.

(iii.) as (ii.), but 2·S and in lieu of dots on rev. one above *P* and another over but after ½. G. 606.

Stuiver :—

Obv. : In line circle monogram ; 1 S between two dots to right (and ? left).
Rev. . In line circle date and *P* ¼ ; two dots before *P*.

1790. Stuiver .—

Obv. : In line circle monogram between ? two groups of three dots. 1 S divided by a short upright stroke.
Rev. : In line circle date and value *P* ¼, a dot over each.
Variant : Dot over *P* to upper left instead of over letter. Colo. Mus., 205.

1791. Stuiver :—

Obv. : In line circle monogram and 1 : S
Rev. : In line circle date and *P* ¼ ; no dots. G. 607.

1792. Double Stuiver :—

Obv. : In circle of dashes monogram between three dots to left and a cross to right. 2 S divided by a short upright stroke, the whole preceded by two dots.
Rev. : In similar circle date followed by a dot ; value ½ *P* without dots. G. 608. Colo. Mus., 203 **Pl. 137.**
Variant . 2 S divided by a dot ; no dots before.

Stuiver :—

(i.) Obv. : In circle of dashes monogram and 1 : S
Rev. : In similar circle date and *P* ¼. G. 609.

(ii.) Obv. : In line circle monogram with three dots to left. 1 S divided by a short upright stroke.
Rev. · In line circle date and *P* ¼, a dot over fraction and another above and to left of *P*. **Pl. 138.**

(iii.) As (ii.), but a group of five dots on either side of monogram, and no dots on rev.

1793. Double Stuiver .—

As 1792, but on rev. *P* ½ followed by dot. Colo. Mus., 204.

179-. Stuiver :—

Obv. : In line circle monogram and 1 : S
Rev : In line circle date and *P* ¼ ; dot over and between letter and fraction.

D.—Galle.

(Resolution of March 13, 1783.)

30. Type I.—

Obv. : Monogram of Company, surmounted by G, between two rosettes each of four dots ; value below.
Rev. : Date and value in Sinhalese in two lines, with or without a rosette above or below.
Both sides in bead and line circle.
ඉ = *I(stíbri)*, " stuiver " ; ෨ = 2 ; ෧ = 1.

1783. Double Stuiver :—

(i.) Obv. : 2·S· ; rev. dot after date, two dots between initial and numeral ; above and below whole a rosette. **Pl. 139.**

(ii.) As (i.), but 1783 :

(iii.) As (i.), but 2·S and no dot after date. G. 585.

(iv.) As (iii.), but dot after date. Colo. Mus., 195.

Lowsley gives a double stuiver of 1783 in silver ; of very doubtful authenticity.

Stuiver : As double stuiver, but—

(i.) Obv. : 1·S and rev. two dots between Sinhalese characters ; no dot after date. G. 587.
(ii.) As (i.), but obv. 1·S· and rev. no rosette below, but one in field to left and dot after date.

1787. Double Stuiver :—

(i.) As 1783 (iii.), but in lieu of two dots between Sinhalese characters, one on same level as that over numeral.
(ii.) As last, but rev. no dots between or above letters.

Stuiver :—

(i.) (*a*) As 1783, but 1·S· and rev. a dot after but above each character ; rosette above and below. Variant : As last, but monogram reversed. G. 590. **Pl. 140.**
(*b*) Two dots between Sinhalese characters and one under date.
(*c*) No dots between characters or under date.
(ii.) As 1783, but 1·S and on rev. a dot after but above each letter. Rosette above and below whole. Colo. Mus. 199.
(iii.) Obv. : 1 S divided by dot. Rev. : In date the 7 with slight turn to right at bottom ; two dots between Sinhalese characters above which to left a rosette and to right a dot ; rosette above and below whole. G. 589.

1788. Double Stuiver :—

(i.) Obv. : As 1783 ; 2 S divided by dot. Rev. : Rosette over date, which is without stop, another in centre between date and characters, and another in field to left. Dot over numeral. **Pl. 141.**
Variant with small circle between 2 S
Variant : Obv. : 2 S divided by short upright stroke. Rev. : First 8 reversed, as also Sinhalese initial. Over letters one dot in middle, another over numeral, and two under the first 8. G. 591. ? Old forgery.
(ii.) As last, but 2 S
(iii.) Obv. : 2 S and rev. a dot on either side of Sinhalese and rosette above only.

Stuiver :—

(i.) As 1783, but 1·S· ; a dot on either side of Sinhalese, and no rosette below. Colo. Mus., 200.
(ii.) Obv. : As last. Rev. : A rosette on either side of Sinhalese and a dot above ; no rosette below. **Pl. 142.**

1789. Double Stuiver :—

As 1783, but 2 S and on rev. a dot to left of initial and over numeral ; no rosette below. G. 592.
Variants : (1) Dot to upper right of initial ; (2) the dots to upper left of each character ; (3) a dot over numeral only. Colo. Mus., 197. **Pl. 143.**

Stuiver :—

As 1788, but 1 S divided by short upright stroke.
Variant : No stroke on obv., and characters without dots on rev.

1790. Double Stuiver :—

As 1789 (i.), but no dot to left of Sinhalese. G. 594.

Stuiver :—

As 1789, but obv. 1 S and rev. a dot on either side of Sinhalese ; rosette above whole only.
Variant : A dot to left only. G. 595.

1791. Double Stuiver :—

As 1789 (i.). Also as same, but 2·S and ? two dots to left of initial. Colo. Mus., 198.

Type II.

1783. Double Stuiver :—

Obv. : In circle of dashes monogram and G between two annulets ; value 2·S· below.
Rev. : In similar circle date with stop ; Sinhalese as in Type I. ; no rosettes. G. 586.

Stuiver :—

Obv. : As last, with altered value. Rev. : No dot after date ; two dots between and one after Sinhalese characters.

Type III.

1792. Double Stuiver :—

As in 1789 (i.), but rev. a rosette of six dots between two dots over date, which is with or without stop ; no rosette below. A dot over the numeral. G. 597. **Pl. 144.**

Variant : the 2 of date smaller, Sinhalese larger. G. 598.

The double stuiver is also found in brass.

Stuiver :—

As in double stuiver, but with changed value ; no dot over numeral or after date. G. 599.

1793. Stuiver as last.

E.—Trincomalee.

(Resolution of August 26, 1789).

31. Stuiver :—

Obv. : In bead and line circle monogram surmounted by T.

Rev. : In similar circles in three lines 1 ST and date, the numeral of value between two rosettes of four dots each. G. 610-618. **Pl. 145.**

1789. Large and small letters.

1790. Monogram thick and thin.

1791. Monogram large ; also narrower with a dot in centre under T.

1792. Small letters.

1793. Monogram narrow, large T.

Stephanik has a stuiver of 1797. This date requires verification, as it falls within the British period.

Pulicat.

32. Pulicat, where Fort Gelria had been completed in 1615, was the head office of Coromandel until 1690, when it was superseded by Negapatam; it became so once more on the loss of this last place in 1781. At this factory the Dutch established their first mint in India, with the sanction of the Mughal Emperor, and presumably also of the King of Golconda before 1687, in which year he was conquered by Dehli (Valentyn, V., p. 6). " The Hon. Company has here also the right to sole coinage, which was wont to take place in the fortress and by itself gives over and above the revenue of the tolls and of the rice fields (which render quite 25,000 guilders) quite 35,000 guilders per annum ; also all the gold which was brought here from the West Coast (of Sumatra), or from Andragiri, Jambi, from Japan and Malacca, used to be melted here " (*ib.*, p. 6).

The mint was working about 1652, when Tavernier was in the neighbourhood ; according to him the coinage consisted of (1) pagodas, (2) rupees, and (3) copper.

(1) According to Havart's " Op-en-Ondergang van Cormandel," 1693, pp. 106 *ff.*, the pagoda had on the obverse the image of a god, and on the reverse certain " heathenish letters " ; it was of 8⅝ mat fine gold, and 1⅜ alloy, *i.e.*, 4 parts fine silver and 1 fine copper, and weighed about ⅐ of a Dutch ounce, 71¾ pagodas exactly going to the mark. Its weight, therefore, was 52·93 grains Troy. The Madras pagoda differed in having two gods on the obverse. Gold fanams were also issued from this mint, and are mentioned in Ceylon in 1670.

(2) The rupee figured by Tavernier seems to be one of Aurangzéb reversed, countermarked with the Company's monogram. Van Imhoff in his " Considerations " in 1741 states that the rupee had not been struck then for a long time, and bore the legend " Monnoye d'argont à l'usage de la Compagnie des Indes des Provinces Unies, de même poids et grandeur des Sicas." Its weight was 20¼ stuivers or 176·9 gr. Troy, and its fineness 11 penningen 11¼ greinen (Moquette, De Ropijen Munt te Batavia, 1910, p. 349).

(3) The copper coins were of six denominations, of 10, 8, 5, 4, 2, and 1 cash. On the obverse within line and bead circles was the Company's monogram surmounted by the Roman numeral of value, and in the case of the 8 cash piece also by PAL, the last two letters conjoined ; on the 1 cash coin no numeral appears, but in lieu of it P, which is sometimes reversed. On the reverse within similar circles is an unread legend in Persian or Arabic letters. G. 515–527. These coins are found in Ceylon. Similar coins exist with a blundered Nágarí reverse.

Officers of the mint are recorded in 1691 (Valentyn, p. 6), and Salmon, c. 1730, says that pagodas and rupees were being struck there. In 1753 no mint officers appear in the lists.

The currency according to Valentyn was :—

Rix-dollar	.. ..	51 st.
Pagoda	..= 16 great or 24 small fanams, though also in exchange $26\frac{1}{8}$ and $25\frac{7}{8}$ fanams ..= 6 gld.=	120 st.
Great fanam	.. ..	$7\frac{1}{2}$ st.
Small fanam	. . .. ..	5 st.

44 and also 40 copper casjes = 1 fanam.

Some of the early copper coinage for Ceylon is said to have been struck at Pulicat.

Negapatam.

33. This place was taken by the Dutch in 1658, and was under the Ceylon Government from 1673 to 1680. From 1690 till its loss in 1781 it was the head office of Coromandel.

" By permission of the aforesaid prince (*sc.* of Tanjore), the Hon. Company has here also a mint in the Fort, and by permission of the Mogol also in Palliacatta, under its servants, under whose supervision are struck by the servants of these princes gold pagodas at $1\frac{3}{4}$ RD. each and fanams at 24 in a pagoda, wherefrom the princes receive their revenue " (Valentyn, V., p. 6). The coinage of Negapatam, whilst under the Ceylon Government, has been dealt with above : the mint was still working in 1767 (Batavia Plakaat Boek). For an account of the Old and New Negapatam pagodas see Chapter XIII. under " Pagodas and Fanams." The Madras " Three Sami " pagoda was copied at Negapatam about 1749.

In 1758 this mint also issued " Pulicat " fanams.

About the same time, at " Jaggernaykpoeram," under the jurisdiction of Negapatam, ducatoons were minted into rupees, which had a better circulation than the Arcot (Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, Dutch Records, No. 15, pp. 6, 68, 188, 190).

The copper coins found in Ceylon are of two varieties :—

(1) 50, 25, and 5 cash pieces.

Obv. : Within a bead circle a rough human figure with sceptre over left shoulder, somewhat similar to that on the Viraráya fanam.

Rev. : Within similar circle Tamil legend *Nákapaḍḍaṇam*, divided by a horizontal line.

The sizes of the three denominations are about 1·06, ·90, and ·47 inch. G. 494–498.

(2) Obv. : In bead circle the Company's monogram surmounted by N.
Rev. : As (1).

The denominations were 1, 2, 3, 4, and 10 cash ; in the last two the numeral of value is under the monogram. G 499–510.

The currency according to Valentyn was :—

80 cassen or casjes = 1 fanam	.. .. ..	5 st.
24 fanams = 1 pagoda	.. ..	120 st.
Ducat = $1\frac{1}{8}$ or $1\frac{1}{32}$ pagoda ; pardau = 10 fanams	.. ..	$43\frac{3}{4}$ st.

Cochin.

34. This place was taken in 1662 and administered from Ceylon until 1669. By a treaty with the King of Cochin dated March 20, 1663, it was stipulated that the minting of fanams should be carried out by the king's mintmaster, and that the king should enjoy the profits, the expenses being deducted, nevertheless under the express provision that the Company should have the supervision. The mint also coined copper (Ryklof van Goens, 1675, in Valentyn, V., pp. 245, 247).

From 10 lb. of alloy, composed of 1 lb. fine gold, $4\frac{1}{2}$ lb. silver, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ lb. refined Japan copper, and thus of a fineness of 1 *máṭṭu* or $2\frac{2}{5}$ carats, were struck 13,000 Cochin fanams, 24 of which went to the rix-dollar (Selections, No. 14 ; Memoir of Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, 1677). In the eighteenth century the Cochin fanam was valued at $1\frac{1}{2}$ heavy stuivers.

The tin or rather tin and lead cast "basaroek" (bazaruco), one-eighth of a duit, bore on the obverse the monogram, plain or surmounted by 8, and on the reverse a chank shell, the types being within line circles. G. 532. Sixty went to the Cochin fanam. Valentyn also mentions copper basarceks, of which 275 went to the rix-dollar.

From 1753 onwards there is no mention of mint officials at Cochin in the Batavia Plakaat Boek.

Pondicherry.

35. Occupied by the Dutch from 1693 to 1698. The coins closely resemble issue (1) of Negapatam, but the legend on the reverse is *Putucceri*. G. 528–531.

Batavia.

36. The following are the coins found in Ceylon :—

(1) 1664. Copper half and quarter stuivers issued for Batavia, Ceylon. &c. They were cast and weighed ½ and ¼ lood (118·6 and 59·3 gr.) respectively ; the diameters are 1·16–1·20 and 1·00–1·06 inch. **Pl. 146.**

Obv. : In area arms of Batavia (a sword, point upwards); within two line circles, BATAVIA·ANNO· 1664·

Rev. : Within circle, Company's monogram ; above, ·½·ST· or ·¼·ST·

The half stuiver was known in Ceylon as the tammekasje, and was made at Negapatam in 1675. According to Thunberg, this coin in 1775 had then more currency in Coromandel than at Batavia (Vol. III., 354) ; they are fairly common in Ceylon. G. 619–623.

Stray coins of the following kinds are also met with :—

(2) Copper duits struck in 1764 and 1765. G. 633, 634.

Obv. : DUYT IAVAS and date. Rev. : The same in Malay.

(3) Copper duit, weighing ⅛ reaal (52·7 gr.), struck in 1783. G. 635.

Obv. : In laurel wreath DUYT JAVAS and date below.

Rev. : The same in Malay.

(4) Silver rupees of 1765, 1766, 1783, and 1801. G. 638, 640, 664.

VEREENIGTE OOST—INDISCHE COMPAGNIE.

COINAGE OF THE EUROPEAN MINTS.

37. Ducatoon, from 1726 :—

Obv. : Rider on horseback to r. ; below, crowned provincial arms. Legend as below.

Rev. : Crowned arms of the Confederation with supporters ; below, in ornamental frame the Company's monogram ; above, date between dots

CONCORDIA RES PARVAE CRESCUNT

Milled. Weight (average) : 500 gr. ; millesimal fineness : ·941 (Netscher).

Legend on obverse, with varying punctuation :—

Holland. MON : FOED : BELG : PRO : HOLL . IN USUM SOCIET . IND : ORIENT.
1726?, 1728, 1729, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1738, 1739, 1740.

Gelderland. MON : FOE : BELG : PRO : D : GEL. &. CZ. IN USUM : SOCIET. IND : ORIENT.
1738, 1739, 1740, 1753.

Utrecht. MON : FOED : BELG : PRO : TRAI : IN USUM SOCIET IND : ORIENT.
1738, 1740.

West Friesland. MON : FOED : BELG : PRO . WESTF : IN USUM SOCIET : IND : ORIENT.
Rider to left ; 1728, 1738, 1739, 1740, 1741.
Rider to right ; 1740, 1741, 1750, 1751.

Zeeland. MON : FOED : BELG : PRO : ZEEL. IN USUM SOCIET. IND : ORIENT·
1726?, 1728, 1737, 1739, 1740, 1741.
Also 1739, a dot after each word.

Overijssel (Kampen mint). MON : FOED : BELG : PRO : TRANSI : IN USUM : SOCIET : IND . ORIENT.
Only struck in 1737 and 1738 : no coins other than ducatoons were issued.

Three-Guilder piece, from 1786 :—
Obv. : Pallas ; below, date.
HAC NITIMUR HANC TUEMUR
Rev. : Crowned arms of the Confederation between 3–G^{L} ; below in frame monogram ; in the Utrecht issues no frame.
Average weight : 490·7 gr. ; millesimal fineness : ·941 (Netscher)
Legend on reverse :—
Gelderland. MO : ARG : ORD : FOE : BELG : D : GEL : & : C : Z :
1786, 1788.
Utrecht. MO : ARG : ORD . FOED : BELG : TRAI.
1786.
West Friesland. MO : ARG : ORD : FOE : BELG.WESTF :
1786, 1787.
Zeeland. MON : ARG : ORD . FOED : BELG : ZEL.
1789, 1790, 1791.

Guilder from 1786 :—
As last, but 1–G^{L}
Average weight : 159 gr. ; fineness : ·917.
Gelderland. As last, but GEL : & : C . Z. (or Z :).
1786, 1790.
Utrecht. As last.
1786, 1790.
West Friesland. As last.
1786, 1787, 1790.
Zeeland. MON.ARG.ORD.FOED.BELG.ZEL.
1789, 1790, 1791.

Half Guilder, from 1786 :—
As three-guilder piece, but obv. no date ; rev. arms between X–S and date above.
Average weight : 79·4 gr. ; fineness : ·917 (Netscher).
Gelderland. As in three-guilder piece, but GEL : & : C : Z : (& C Z)
1786, 1791.
Utrecht. As in three-guilder piece.
1786.
West Friesland. As in three-guilder piece ; date at end of legend.
1786, 1787.
Zeeland. Variant of 1791 HANC TEUMUR. Rev : MON : ARG ORD. FOED : BELG : ZEL.
1790, 1791.

Duit (from 1726). Reported on December 1, 1791. to weigh 160 to the Amsterdam pound ; it thus weighed 47·6 grains (R. C , Vol. CCVIII.). Half Duit (from 1749).

Holland. Duit :—
Obv. : In circle of dashes crowned arms of province.
Rev. : Monogram ; above, mint mark (rose) between two dots ; below, date.
1726–8, 1730–37, 1742–68, 1770–72, 1776–82, 1784–85. 1787–93. 1802–3.
In gold, 1732.
In silver, 1736, 1748, 1749, 1751–58, 1760, 1761, 1763.
Half-duit : Same design as duit.
1749–63, 1768–70, 1780–81.
In gold, 1756, 1763.
In silver, 1755–58, 1760–63.

Gelderland :—Duit as Holland, but—

(1) 1731 and 1732, shield with convex sides and legend ·IN DEO SP.NOS·
(2) From 1732, shield of usual type and legend IN DEO.EST.SPES.NOSTRA
1731, 1732, 1737, 1757, 1769–72, 1776, 1783–94, 1795, 1798, 1802–6.

Half-duit :—

(1) Legend as Duit (2). 1757 ; 1788–1790.
(2) IN DEO SPES NOST. 1790.
Verkade states that the minting of half-duits began in 1757.
In silver, duit 1757 IN DEO SP.NOS and half-duit 1757.

Utrecht :—

As Holland, but crowned arms of city with supporters.
Double duit and duit 1790 ; mint mark a star.
Duit, mint mark arms of city.
1737, 1742, 1744–46, 1752–55, 1757–58, 1761–73, 1776–81, 1784–94.

Half duit :—

1752–63, 1765–71, 1793–4.
In gold, duit : 1766 ; half-duit : 1762.
In silver, duit : 1742, 1758, 1762, 1772, 1773 ; half-duit : 1753–55, 1758, 1760, 1762, 1769, 1770, 1793.

Zeeland—

Duit :—

(1) Obv.: As Holland, but shield with convex sides and legend LUCTOR.ET.EMERGO (·).
1726–1729.
(2) As Holland ; usual type of shield, and no legend.
1730–39, 1744–58, 1764–68, 1772–73, 1776–81, 1784–94.
(3) On rev. garland over monogram.
1793, 1794.

Half-duit :—

(1) As duit (2). 1770–72, 1789.
(2) As duit (3). 1793, 1794.
In silver, duit of type (2). 1788.

West Friesland :—

Duit, as Holland.
1729, 1731–37, 1742–57, 1764–68, 1770–73, 1776–81, 1784–92 (according to Verkade, 1727–1794).

Half duit :—

1769, 1770.
In silver, duit (1) usual type, 1752 ; (2) monogram and date within laurel branches, 1756.

38. Abstract of Minting Reports :—

Tuticorin Pagodas on the New Negapatam Standard.

(1) Fineness: 19 c. $2\frac{3}{5}$ gr. Weight: $72\frac{1}{4}$ to the mark.

	Date.	Pagodas.	Fl.
Tuticorin	28/3/1764	.. $29557\frac{1}{2}\frac{4}{5}$	.. 131367·13· 0 Holl.

(2) Fineness : 18 c. $5\frac{1}{2}$ gr. Same weight.

		Pagodas.	Fl.
Colombo	27/12/1784	.. $35899\cdot13\frac{9}{16}$	.. 148983·17· 0 Holl.
Do.	20/1/1785	.. $5369\cdot13\frac{1}{2}$	.. 22284· 6·12 ,,
Do.	16/3/1785	.. $21535\cdot15\frac{15}{16}$	.. 89373·15· 8 ,,
Do.	21/4/1785	.. $21535\cdot15\frac{15}{16}$	.. 89373·15· 8 ,,
Do.	25/5/1785	.. $17418\cdot1\frac{3}{4}$	.. 72285· 1·11 ,,
Tuticorin	16/1/1787	.. $28720\cdot2\frac{3}{8}\frac{1}{4}$	.. 119188·11· 4 ,,

	Date.		Pagodas.		Fl.
Tuticorin	8/2/1787	..	11918·9$\frac{7}{16}$	..	49461·15·12 Holl.
Do.	29/6/1787	..	21166·10	..	87841· 2· 4 ,,
Do.	28/1/1788	..	27786·0$\frac{9}{16}$	..	115312· 0· 7 ,,
Do.	8/3/1788	..	37329·0$\frac{3}{4}$	.	154915·10· 5 ,,
Do.	18/9/1788	..	24877·5$\frac{11}{16}$	..	103240·16· 2 ,,
Do.	8/1/1789	..	28720·$\frac{1}{12}\frac{0}{60}\frac{7}{60}$	.	119188·11· 4 ,,
Do.	12/2/1789	..	28720·2$\frac{3}{8}\frac{1}{4}$	..	119188·11· 4 ,,
Do.	9/10/1789	..	45934·7	..	190627·12·15 ,,
Do.	20/11/1789	..	47369·17$\frac{1}{2}$	..	196585· 4· 7 ,,
Do.	16/8/1790	..	33015·13$\frac{3}{16}$	..	137015· 3· 6 ,,
Do.	16/9/1790	..	40208·14$\frac{1}{8}$	.	166866· 6· 8 ,,
Do	5/11/1790	..	37332·14$\frac{9}{16}$	.	154931· 0· 7 ,,
Do.	24/11/1791	..	14360$\frac{2}{7}\frac{1}{5}$	..	59595· 5· 7 ,,
Do.	28/11/1791	..	1436$\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{60}\frac{1}{60}$	..	5959·11· 9 ,,
Do.	24/12/1791	..	17232$\frac{1}{3}\frac{3}{60}\frac{9}{60}$	..	71514·14· 7 ,,
Do.	9/1/1792	..	14349·1$\frac{1}{4}$	..	59548·12· 8 ,,
Do.	22/3/1792	..	14351$\frac{2}{5}\frac{7}{60}$	..	59558·17·13 ,,
Do.	12/4/1792	..	11482$\frac{5}{6}\frac{9}{60}$	..	47654· 7· 9 ,,
Do.	19/10/1792	..	40207·12$\frac{15}{16}$	..	166861·18· 4 ,,
Do.	30/11/1792	..	39027·10$\frac{1}{16}$	..	161964· 5· 8 ,,
Do.	18/1/1793	..	24403·11$\frac{1}{8}$	..	101274·18· 3 ,,
Do.	1/3/1793	..	21526·8$\frac{3}{16}$	..	89334·14· 3 ,,
Do.	10/8/1793	..	24403·11$\frac{1}{8}$	..	101274·18· 3 ,,
Do.	14/9/1793	..	21533·13$\frac{15}{16}$	..	89365· 0·11 ,,
Do.	27/6/1794	..	12883$\frac{1}{3}\frac{7}{60}$	..	53466·16· 0 ,,

Porto Novo Pagodas.

Fineness : 17 carats. Same weight.

	Date.		Pagodas.		Fl.
Colombo	14/8/1783	..	34904·13$\frac{15}{16}$	..	178014· 3·13 Ind.

Fineness : 15 carats. Same weight.

	Date.		Pagodas.		Fl.
Tuticorin	31/10/1788	..	7106·8$\frac{3}{4}$	..	23629· 0· 0 Holl.

Tuticorin Fanams.

(1) Fineness : AV 8 c. 11$\frac{1}{2}$ gr. ; AR 2$\frac{1}{2}$ dwt. ; AE 10 c. $\frac{1}{2}$ gr. Weight : 701$\frac{3}{8}$ to mark.

	Date.		Fanams.		Fl
Colombo	18/7/1785	..	60075$\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{2}$ at 4$\frac{3}{7}\frac{3}{5}$ st. each		13296·16· 0 Ind.
Do.	20/6/1786	..	2987$\frac{3}{32}$	..	661· 2·13 ,,
Tuticorin	Aug., 1786	..	23219	..	— ,,
Do.	23/3/1787	..	49062$\frac{7}{8}$	..	10859· 4·15 ,,
Do.	7/1/1788	..	55769$\frac{7}{16}$	.	12343·12·11 ,,
Do.	19/1/1789	..	68016$\frac{3}{8}$	..	15054· 5·13 ,,
Do.	17/6/1789	..	67907$\frac{15}{16}$	..	15032·10· 1 ,,

(2) Fineness : AV 8 c. 10$\frac{4}{5}\frac{7}{60}$ gr. ; AR 4 c. 11[illegible] gr. ; AE 10 c. 2[illegible] gr. Same weight

	Date.		Fanams.		Fl.
Tuticorin	26/2/1790	..	56322$\frac{1}{16}$	..	12465·18·15 Ind
Do.	1/10/1790	..	28163$\frac{15}{16}$	..	6233·12· 5 ,,
Do.	27/1/1791	..	56331$\frac{7}{16}$	..	12468· 0· 7 ,,
Do.	28/1/1792	..	56320$\frac{15}{16}$	..	12465·14· 0 ,,

(3) Fineness : AV 8 c. 10$\frac{3}{8}$ gr. ; AR 4 c. 11$\frac{3}{8}$ gr. ; AE 10 c 2$\frac{1}{4}$ gr. Same weight.

	Date.		Fanams.		Fl.
Tuticorin	28/10/1791	..	11386$\frac{11}{16}$	..	2520· 5· 1 Ind.

(4) Fineness : AV 8 c. $9\frac{5}{16}$ gr. ; AR 4 c. $9\frac{13}{16}$ gr. ; AE 10 c. $4\frac{7}{8}$ gr. Same weight.

	Date.	Fanams.	Fl.
Tuticorin	10/5/1792	.. $28453\frac{3}{4}$	.. 6297·15· 4 Ind.
Do.	12/12/1792	. $28470\frac{5}{16}$	.. 6301· 8· 9 „
Do.	30/4/1793	.. 56897	.. 12593· 4· 0 „
Do.	31/10/1793	.. 56897	.. 12593· 4· 0 „

Ceylon Rupees.

(1) Surat standard : fineness, 11 dwt. 16 gr. ; weight, $21\frac{3}{17}$ to the mark.

	Date.	Rupees.	Fl.
Colombo	30/6/1784	.. 45658[illegible]	.. 68488· 3· 0 Ind.
Do.	20/9/1784	.. 44996[illegible]	.. 67494· 9· 3 „
Do.	12/11/1784	.. 30884[illegible]	46246· 2· 8 „
Tuticorin	26/9/1788	.. $24544\frac{5}{16}$	.. 36816· 9· 4 „
Do.	26/11/1788	.. $24522\frac{5}{16}$	.. 36786· 9· 5 „
Do.	12/12/1788	.. $16603\frac{1}{16}$	.. 29904·12· 0 „
Do.	26/3/1789	.. 16597[illegible]	.. 24896· 6·10 „
Do.	2/5/1789	.. $20913\frac{3}{4}$	. 31370· 6· 8 „

(2) Batavian standard : fineness, 10 dwt. ; weight : $18\frac{4}{9}$ to the mark.

	Date.	Rupees.	Fl.
Colombo	9/1/1786	.. 1636[illegible]	. 2455· 5·10 Ind.

39. Known issues of Krediet Brieven (the highest known number in brackets) :—

Colombo.

10/5/1785	.. A	.. RD. 1000 (5)	Cancelled 5/4/1787.
	B	.. 500 (10)	
	C	.. 100 (100)	
	D	.. 50 (100)	
24/10/1785	.. E	.. RD. 5 (200)	
	F	.. 10 (200)	
	G	.. 20 (200)	
	H	.. 50 (40)	
	I	.. 100 (100)	
	K	.. 200 (40)	
	L	.. 500 (20)	
21/12/1785	.. M	.. RD. 500 (40)	
	N	.. 1000 (10)	
1/5/1786	.. A	.. 1000 (5)	
	B	.. 500 (10)	
	C	.. 100 (100)	
	D	.. 50 (100)	

The numbers against these four issues are the totals authorized.

10/1/1787	.. P	.. RD. 1000 (4) ; RD. 500 (20) , RD. 100 (100).
11/4/1787	.. Q	.. RD. 1000 (9) ; RD. 500 (20) : RD. 400 (24) ; RD. 200 (50) ; RD. 100 (100).
31/7/1788	.. O	.. RD. 1000 (2) ; RD. 500 (24) : RD. 400 (19) ; RD. 100 (62).
24/9/1788	.. X	.. RD. 1000 (12) ; RD. 500 (24) ; RD. 400 (88) ; RD. 200 (39).
20/12/1788	.. W	.. RD. 1000 (9) ; RD. 500 (25).
28/4/1791	.. Z	.. RD. 1000 (9) ; RD 500 (34) ; RD. 200 (62) ; RD. 100 (29).
10/8/1791	.. AA	.. RD. 50 (38) ; RD. 25 (40) : RD. 5 (27).
19/10/1791	.. BB	.. RD. 15 (32) ; RD. 10 (38) ; RD. 5 (198).
15/3/1792	.. R	.. RD. 50 (40) ; RD. 40 (38) ; RD. 30 (47) ; RD. 25 (40) ; RD. 20 (25).
24/7/1792	.. S	.. RD. 20 (29).
18/1/1794	.. —	.. RD. 1000 (223); RD. 400 (335) ; RD. 100 (1081) ; RD. 50 (1032) ; RD. 25 (855).
17/9/1795	.. —	.. RD. 10 (814) ; RD. 5 (777).

Cash Notes of 18/12/1795 : RD. 10 ; RD. 5 ; RD. 4 ; RD. 3 ; RD. 2 ; RD. 1.

Batticaloa.

1/4/1789	.. X	..	RD. 500 (4); RD. 200 (8); RD. 50 (7); RD. 25 (39); RD. 10 (198): RD. 5 (482).
12/7/1790	.. Y	..	RD. 500 (1); RD. 200 (4); RD. 50 (20); RD. 25 (40); RD 10 (294): RD. 5 (445).

Trincomalee.

5/7/1788	.. X	..	RD. 25 (97).
	Y	..	50 (9).
	Z	..	100 (8).

Specimen Krediet Brief :—

No...... goet voor Ryksdaalders [5]

Zegge VYF Ryksdaalders.

Wy ondergetekende Certificeeren, dat Thoonder deezes, by de Compagnie te goet heeft Vyf Ryksdaalders van 48 zwaare Stuyvers, Indisch-Geld. voor welkers waerde dees Kredit brief overal ten deezen Eilande gangbaar zal gehouden worden.

(The same in Sinhalese and Tamil).

KOLUMBO den 17 SEPTEMBER Anno 1795

Signed by C. van Angelbeek, Hoofd Administrateur, and T. G. Hofland, Negotie Boekhouder.

Specimen Cash Note :—

Goed voor twee Ryxds :

(The same in Sinhalese and Tamil : the whole intersected by a large 2.) Signed above by C. van Angelbeek and below by Abraham Samlant.

On the back is—

KOLUMBO den 1. JANUARY 1796.

Value of the Indian Rix-dollar in Sterling.

40. The ducatoon and the Spanish dollar (*a*) were rated by Queen Anne's Proclamation of 1704 at 5*s.* 6*d.* and 4*s.* 6*d.*, and (*b*) at least from 1766[1] were equal to 5*s.* 9*d.* and about 4*s.* 7*d.* or strictly 5*s.* 8$\frac{8}{11}$*d.* and 4*s.* 7$\frac{1}{2}$*d.* at 11 Netherlands stuivers the shilling, the official rate of exchange employed by the Dutch Company.

		d.
1682	.. 66 heavy st. to the ducatoon of 63 Netherlands st. Thus, 45·8 Netherlands st. = 1 rix-dollar	48
1688–92	.. 72 heavy st. Thus, 42 = 1 rix-dollar	44
1692	.. 66 heavy st.	48
1700	.. 78 heavy st. Thus, 38·7 = 1 rix-dollar	40·6
1755	80 heavy st. = 66 Netherlands st. Thus, 39·6 = 1 rix-dollar ..	39·6

Value of rix-dollar calculated on that of the Spanish dollar at Batavia :—

1745	.. 60 heavy st.	43·2
1746	.. 100 Spanish dollars = 130 RD. of 48 st.	41·5
	100 do. = 125 do.	43·2
1749	.. 100 do. = 131 do.	41·2
1751	.. Square real, 60 st.	43·2
	New real, 60 st.	43·2
	Do. 61½ st.	42·1
	Do. 61⅝ st.	42·2
1764	.. Square real. 60 st.	43·2
	Do. 64 st.	40·5
	New real, 64 st.	40·5
	100 Spanish dollars = not less than 130 up to 136 RD. Usually 133–135 RD.	41·5 39·7 40·7–40
	100 Spanish dollars = 130 RD.	41·5
1788	30,000 Spanish dollars (at 50⅞ Netherlands st.) = 40,000 RD. ..	41·6
	20,000 = 26,000	42·6
	155,000 = 206,000	41·7
	At the usual rating of 64 Indian = 52·8 Netherlands st. the Spanish dollar, the rix-dollar is	43·2

[1] A View of the Coins at this time current throughout Europe. Thos. Snelling, London, 1766.

Value of rix-dollar calculated on that of various coins in Ceylon; the last column is based on the English rating of 4*s*. 8*d*. in use in the Island in the early years of the British Administration.

		d.	*d.*
1780 ..	Spanish dollar = 50⅞ Netherlands st. = 55½*d*., rated at 63 Indian st.	42·2 ..	42·6
1784 ..	Spanish dollar = 63 Indian st.	42·2 ..	42·6
	Ceylon rupee (176·4 gr. fine) of 30 Indian st. = 24¾ Netherlands st., at 11 st. the shilling	43·2 ..	—
1787 ..	Ceylon rupee (127·09 gr. fine) of 30 Indian st. = in value calculated on fineness to 21·6 Indian st. of 1784 or 17·8 Netherlands st.	31·0 ..	—
1787/8 ..	Rupee of 30 Indian st., now current at 36	36·0 ..	—
	Silver guilder of 20 Netherlands st., now current at 30 Indian st.	34·8 ..	—
1788 ..	Spanish dollar of 63 Indian st. now = 84 to 85 Indian st. ..	31·7 ..	32
		31·3 ..	31·6
1791 ..	Spanish dollar now = 96 up to 98 or 99 Indian st. in copper .	27·7 .	28
		27·1 ..	27·4
		26·8 ..	27·2
	Rupee = 48 Indian st. in copper = 24¾ Netherlands st. ..	27 ..	—
1792 ..	Ducatoon with usual 50 per cent. premium = 120 Indian st., or at Bertolacci's valuation of 5*s*. 5*d*.	27·4 .	26
	Rupee with do. = 45 Indian st.	28·8	—
1793 ..	March. Ducatoon sold for 114 Indian st. .. .	28·9 .	27·3
	April. Ducatoon sold for 117·1 Indian st. .. .	28·1 ..	26·6
1795 ..	Ducatoon with 50 per cent. premium .. .	27·4 ..	26
1795/6 ..	(End of Dutch rule) Ducatoon = 150 Indian st. ..	21·9 ..	20·8
	Spanish dollar = 120 Indian st.	22 ..	22·4
	Under the British in 1801 at 15 copper stuivers = 8*d*, the rix-dollar was valued at	25·6 .	—

CHAPTER XI.

BRITISH.[1]

I.—1796–1825.

1. The Dutch possessions in Ceylon were surrendered to the British forces in 1796, and the new Government succeeded to the financial difficulties of its predecessor. By Article 6 of the capitulation of Colombo it was agreed that the British should take up the promissory notes or Kredit Brieven of the Dutch Government, which were still in circulation, provided that they did not exceed the sum of £50 000 sterling, and should issue certificates for the amount bearing an interest of 3 per cent., payable half-yearly. To the request of the Dutch that the copper " doodies " should continue current for one stuiver, it was answered that the copper coin of the Island must find its own value in the course of exchange. The British, nevertheless, retained the popular Dutch denominations, the rix-dollar being divided into 12 fanams, 48 stuivers, now called pice, and 192 challies. The accounts were kept until 1802 in Star pagodas divided into Madras fanams and cash or into Ceylon fanams and challies, as well as in rix-dollars, fanams, and challies.[2]

2. The quantity of copper in the Dutch stuiver was very nearly the same as that in the Madras fanam, and the East India Company therefore fixed the value of the Star pagoda at 45 fanams or 180 stuivers, the rating prevalent on the Coromandel Coast. On March 22, 1796, however, Mr. Andrews, " Resident and Superintendent

[1] In the notes the initial B = Bertolacci; where it stands alone the reference is to his book " View of the Agricultural, Commercial, and Financial Interests of Ceylon."

[2] Jaffna Diary.

of all Ceylon," varied the exchange, making the Star pagoda equal to 46 fanams, the Porto Novo to 38½, and the Scott to 38. But the change was of short duration, and Major-General Steuart restored the old rating of the Star pagoda by General Order dated May 29. There was much objection, however, to the receipt of the pagoda at this rate, and, prices rising, great loss was experienced by all whose revenues were fixed in rix-dollars.[1]

By Proclamation dated June 8, 1796, currency was given to all Dutch copper coins issued by the late Government; all such "doodies" or stuivers so issued and in circulation were to pass at 48 to the rix-dollar or 180 to the Star pagoda. English copper coins also were to be current, the larger at one Dutch "doodie," the smaller at half that value. It is presumably these last coins, to which Bertolacci refers when he states that one of the first measures of the Company was to strike a new copper coin of the same weight and quality as the Dutch.[2] No locally struck pieces can be assigned to this issue, and it is probable that the $\frac{1}{48}$ and $\frac{1}{96}$ rupee of 1794 and 1797 are meant, the Arcot rupee being counted as a rix-dollar. These coins are found in Ceylon. They are said by Atkins to have been coined for use in the Circars as an attempt to assimilate the Muhammadan and Hindu currency systems, $\frac{1}{48}$ rupee being equal to 20 cash, ¼ fanam or 1 pice. Closely allied with these are some rare coins appearing only as patterns, the elephant on which connects them with the later Ceylon issues :—

(1) Obv. : As on the $\frac{1}{48}$ rupee.

Rev. : Elephant standing, left ; below value. Rim inscribed BY WISDOM AND FORCE.

Dates : 1794, 1797. Atkins, Nos. 64, 65.

(2) Obv. : As last.

Rev. : Elephant larger than on Atkins' No. 64 and not so tall, with trunk extended instead of pendent; rest as last, but legend on rim ends " & ". Spink's Numismatic Circular, November–December, 1914, 699. Also without date, *ibid.*, November–December, 1917, 590.

3. On October 12, 1798, Governor North arrived in the Island and found the Treasury nearly exhausted. The Kredit Brieven then amounted to no more than 45,138 Star pagodas or £18,055 ; the rest of the Dutch paper, about £33 in value, was found in the treasuries of Colombo and Galle and was cancelled. According to the Governor's despatch of February 26, 1799, the circulating medium was copper, the Dutch stuiver being about equal in intrinsic value to the Company's pice, though this was denied by the Dutch. The Arcot rupee was treated as a rix-dollar of 48 stuivers, for about which amount it had been current under the Dutch owing to the scarcity of specie for the ten years preceding the British conquest, though still rated officially at 30 stuivers. The excess of copper in circulation had raised the value of the Star pagoda, which by the settled exchange was 45 fanams to above 50 in the market. North wished to diminish the circulation of the copper money and to raise its value, but was compelled to submit to the want of gold and silver during the Mysore war, and early in 1799 had lately agreed to receive the value of 30,000 pagodas in copper from Madras.[3]

A supply of gold and silver used to be brought in by the pearl fishery, which had been revived in 1796 after a desuetude of some twenty-eight years under the Dutch, but the specie in circulation in 1799 was unequal to the wants of the Island, and was constantly drained off by the balance of trade in disfavour of Ceylon. A large quantity of copper money had been thrown into the country before North's arrival. He at first thought that it was too abundant, inasmuch as not being current on the Coast it could never be diminished. In January, 1800, however, he stated that, although he still believed that not an ounce had been exported, the want of a circulating medium was strongly felt, and was inclined to impute this seeming paradox to the activity with which the products of the Kandyan country, chiefly areca and coffee, were bought up ; he concluded by applying for a considerable quantity of copper coin.[4]

[1] B., Memorandum, 1813; Jaffna Diary, 17/8/1796; B., pp. 84–86, where it is stated that the exchange for the Star pagoda just before the capture of the Dutch settlements was about 32½ fanams or 130 stuivers ; he also makes the ducatoon equal to 100 stuivers. Burnand's Memoir on Ceylon, 1809 (Ceylon Literary Register, N. S., III., p. 223), gives the values of the Star pagoda and rupee as about 129 and 36 stuivers in 1795. An anonymous list of coins annexed to the Dutch index to the Ceylon Plakaats (Johnston's MSS.) states that the Star pagoda was 5 per cent. better than the Company's pagoda of 102 stuivers, and was worth 107. The records are explicit that at least from 1791 onwards the recognized premium on gold and silver coins was 50 per cent. ; the Star pagoda, therefore, was 160½ stuivers or just over 40 fanams, and the values given by B. and Burnand must refer to the period about 1787–88, when the rupee was 36 stuivers. The normal value of 120 stuivers assigned to the Star pagoda in de la Tombe's "Collection of Notes" must be erroneous, as 107 Indian = 88·1 Netherlands stuivers, which at 11 to the shilling make the pagoda a fraction over 8*s*., its usual rating at this period.

[2] Jaffna Diary. 17/8/1796 ; B., p. 84.

[3] Despatch. 27/10/98 ; 26/2/1799.

[4] Despatch. 26/2/1799 ; 30/1/1800 ; Despatch of the Madras Government, to Governor North, 10/11/1800.

4. In March, 1800, currency notes were issued to the value of RD. 30,000, followed by a second issue of RD. 45,000. These notes were generally of RD. 100, 50, and 25, exchangeable at the Treasury on demand at the rate of 45 fanams or RD. 3¾ to the Star pagoda. In October, 1801, paper to the value of about £10,000 was in circulation; though it bore no interest, it commanded a small premium on account of its superior convenience to the copper money. Bertolacci places the notes between 1802 and 1805; he possibly refers to later issues, but he seems to have written from memory, and his accuracy is not always to be trusted.[1]

At par RD. 375 were equal to 350 Arcot rupees or 100 Star pagodas; the pagoda was reckoned at 8 shillings, and thus 2½ pagodas or 9⅜ rix-dollars went to the pound sterling, both these sums being equal to 112½ Madras or Ceylon fanams.[2] When North arrived the exchange had been as high as 400 Arcot rupees for 100 Star pagodas, but in the course of two years fell to 360 owing to the successes of the British arms in India; in April, 1801, however, Madras raised the exchange to 365 Arcot rupees per 100 pagodas and Ceylon followed suit.

5. In the same month 62,000 lb. weight of copper bars, worth about 9,600 Star pagodas, were issued to Adriaan Pieter Blume to be coined into stuivers, while some old cannon were also broken up for the same purpose at Trincomalee. This first coinage consisted of pieces of 4, 2, and 1 stuivers. Bertolacci states that in 1811 he had ascertained by weighing that 36 of these stuivers went to the English pound, each thus being 194⅓ grains, but in 1813 he says distinctly that 50 pice of the 1803 issue " made 1 lb. English, instead of 36 of them making 1 lb. Dutch," and this, no doubt, is correct, if we substitute 37 for 36. By Blume's second contract dated March 29, 1803, it was stipulated that the Government should provide 110,966 lb. Japan copper, to be coined into pice of the weight of 50 to the pound, of which number 44 were to be delivered to the Government and 6 retained by Blume for the expenses of the coinage. In May of the same year J. A. Hicken was mintmaster at Jaffna, " all the brass ordnance ordered to be coined " was given to him on his application for metal to carry on his work. He had been in charge of the Trincomalee mint under the Dutch.[3]

6. Meanwhile in 1801 Governor North had written home to procure 100,000 lb. weight of copper to be coined into stuivers there at the rate of 37 to the pound for use in the Island, 15 stuivers at the established exchange to equal 8*d.* sterling, the copper was to be of the same quality as that of the good half-pence in England, and the total cost, inclusive of transport, was not to exceed £7,708. 6*s.* 8*d.* According to the Secretary of State's despatch of May 1, 1802, the concurrence of the Treasury had been obtained for the coinage of 10,000 lb of copper. In this year such a coinage took place at the Royal Mint, the denominations being the whole, half, and quarter stuiver. Bertolacci in a Memorandum of 1813 states that " some copper coin sent from England in 1802," namely this issue, ' weighed at the rate of 46 to 47 Pice to the pound English," or 152·1 to 148·9 grains each; the average weight of this stuiver as found in Ceylon is 147 grains. The standard, perhaps, was that of 50 to the pound Dutch. Coins of 1801, 1803, and 1804 of this type are known, but are very rare, and seem never to have been put into circulation; Lowsley mentions a pattern piece in silver of 1801.[4]

An estimate from Matthew Boulton for coining 100,000 lb. of copper into whole, half, and quarter stuivers, at 50 to the pound, was forwarded by the Agent of the Colony on October 1, 1803, but no action seems to have ensued.[5]

Bertolacci in his book states that in 1800 a new supply of copper coin was received from England in whole, half, and quarter stuivers of the old Dutch weight, and, again, that the new copper coin of 1802 weighed 50 to the pound avoirdupois. and was about 9 per cent. lighter than the Dutch. There is no record of the receipt of any coin from England in the first-mentioned year, and Bertolacci, perhaps, had in mind the application made in 1801 for metal for coinage on the Dutch standard. The second statement is more difficult to explain. The coin of 50 to the pound English was not 9 per cent. lighter than the Dutch, and it may be that he intended to compare the 1803 local coinage with the home issue of 1802 between which there is about the required percentage of difference.[6]

7. On January 1, 1802, Ceylon came under the immediate control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies; the official accounts were now kept in rix-dollars, fanams, and pice, instead of in Star pagodas, the rix-dollar being rated at a quarter of a pagoda or 2 shillings. This valuation, which had existed in the market as early as 1799–1800, though the pagoda of 8 shillings was reckoned officially at 45 fanams, was now recognized, and the exchange with India altered after May, RD. 400 instead of 375 being equated with 350 Arcot or Bombay rupees, and the Star

[1] Despatch, 18/2/1801, para 92; 5/10/1801; B. p. 90.

[2] B, Memorandum. 1813.

[3] Despatch, 15/12/1801, para. 51; B, Letter in Council Proceedings of ? 27/9/1811 and Contracts annexed; North's Despatches, Vol. IX; Jaffna Diary, 1803, and J. P. Lewis' " List of Inscriptions on Tombstones," p. 452.

[4] Despatch, 5/10/1801; 15/12/1801, para. 53; Letter to Agent, 17/9/1801; Lowsley, p. 234.

[5] Council Proceedings, ?27/9/1811.

[6] B, p. 90.

pagoda being reckoned as RD. 4, or 48 in lieu of 45 fanams. In the market, however, the pagoda rose in June to RD.4·22, in December to RD.4·36, and in March, 1803, to RD.5. The exchange with England remained unaltered at RD. 9⅜ to the pound sterling , the rix-dollar thus was worth 2*s.* 1½*d.*[1]

8. North in 1801 had directed his Agent to procure silver not exceeding £8,333. 6*s.* 8*d.* in value, to be coined into rix-dollars, each to be worth intrinsically 20*d.*, and to be circulated at somewhat more than 25½*d.*, RD. 15 being equal to 32 shillings. Accordingly, in 1803, silver double, single, and half rix-dollars were struck on contract by Blume. By the contract of February 4, the rix-dollar was to weigh 50 to the pound Dutch or 152·5 grains Troy with a fineness of ten-twelfths ; of these very few were struck. By the contract of June 8 the rix-dollars were to be struck from Spanish dollars without alteration of the standard, one pound English or 17 dollars to produce 50 rix-dollars or 100 half rix-dollars ; each rix-dollar thus weighed 140 grains. The Royal Mint Museum possesses a double rix-dollar of 1801, perhaps a proof struck and sent home with the application for silver.

The weight and fineness of the February rix-dollar are identical with those of the Colombo rupee of 1787, and Bertolacci's correction of the standard to eleven-twelfths in his Memorandum of 1813 cannot be credited. The pure contents being slightly over 127 grains, this rix-dollar was the equal in value to that struck under the June contract, which was of the standard of the Spanish dollar. Bertolacci is again in error in describing this standard as eleven-twelfths ; his own statement that it was arrived at by adding 10 lb of alloy to 100 lb. of pure silver shows that it was 10 dwt. 21·8 gr. fine, which approximates closely enough to 10 dwt. 20 gr., the fineness of the 1772–1848 dollars. He also goes astray in basing his arguments as to the value of the rix-dollar on the assertion that three of these coins exactly equalled one Spanish dollar or 420 grains, a figure higher than the weight of any dollar in mint condition from 1728 onwards. This is the more astonishing, as the contract attached to his Memorandum states that one pound equalled 17 dollars ; they thus were extremely light, perhaps from wear, each being equal in weight to 2·9 rix-dollars [2] The actual intrinsic worth of the silver rix-dollar at 62*d.* the ounce of standard silver was just over 1*s* 6*d* ; yet until 1805 it was officially 2*s.* 1⅝*d.*

9 By Blume's third contract for copper coinage dated February 9, 1805 (erroneously called the second by Bertolacci), he was to strike 50 stuivers from 1 lb English of metal composed of 8 lb. copper and 100 lb. brass obtained from old guns. In the same year at Jaffna one Chinna Tamby entered into a contract dated June 5 to coin stuivers from a mixture of 10 lb. copper and 100 lb. brass ; 48 of these coins went to the Dutch pound, each thus weighing 160·8 grains The reason for this increase of weight is unknown.[3]

10. Bertolacci writes : The " deterioration of the currency was not felt or attended to at the time ; because, at the Colonial Treasury, bills on England were granted for rix-dollars, at the rate of their *nominal*, and not their *real* value ; and bills on Madras, at forty-eight fanams or four rix-dollars for a star-pagoda. In these there was only a loss of about six per cent. from the exchange in pounds sterling. No Ceylon coin was exported so long as bills were granted at those fixed rates ; and by that means the full nominal value of the currency, either in silver, copper, or paper, was supported." In 1805 the Government withdrew this support, refusing to accept from public servants rix-dollars either in silver, copper, or paper at the value of issue, and declined to grant for them bills, which it disposed of to the highest bidder, the practice heretofore having been for the purchasers of bills from the Treasury to sell them at an advanced price in the market. The whole currency, no longer artificially supported, fell to the intrinsic value of its coins, which were but tokens [4]

In 1806 and 1807 the Porto Novo pagoda had risen from RD. 4, its value in 1803, to RD. 4½ ; in these years and in part of 1808 the exchange value of the Star pagoda remained at 60 fanams or RD. 5, though the official rating still was 48 fanams. The exchange could not rise beyond this as long as there were silver rix-dollars, of which five were intrinsically worth one Star pagoda, to export to India, where they could be sold at that rate. Silver was exported to the continent owing to the depreciation of 1805 ; to stop this new silver rix-dollars were coined with the standard lowered.[5]

[1] MSS. concerning Ceylon, Colombo Museum ; Despatch. 18/2/1801, para. 94 ; 31/12/1801 ; 10/9/1802. The *Gazette* of March 30, 1803, gives the following coins with their valuations :—

	RD. P		st.
Venetian ducat ..	6·24	=	312
Bengal Muhr ..	22· 0	=	1056
Surat Muhr ..	18· 0	=	864
Star pagoda ..	5· 0	=	240
Porto Novo pagoda ..	4· 0	=	192
Tuticorin pagoda ..	4·18	=	210
Ducatoon ..	3·18	=	162
Spanish dollar ..	2·36	=	132
Surat rupee ..	1·24	=	72
Arcot rupee .	1·18	=	66
Sicca rupee ..	1·24	=	72

[2] Despatch, 15/12/1801 ; Contracts annexed to B.'s Memorandum, 1813.

[3] Contracts annexed to Council Proceedings of ? 27/9/1811.

[4] Despatch, 10/7/1805 ; B., p. 92.

[5] B., p. 94.

By contract with Blume dated February 17, 1808, 1 lb. English of pure silver with $\frac{1}{6}$ lb. alloy of Japan copper was to produce 60 rix-dollars; the weight of June, 1803, viz., 140 grains, was retained, but the fineness reduced to ten-twelfths, the "kleine keur" of the Dutch. The value of the new coin at 62*d.* the ounce of standard silver was 1*s.* 4·4*d.* The type and denominations were the same as in 1803. Coins were struck in 1808 and 1809, apparently to the value of RD. 692,159; the Royal Mint Museum possesses a rix-dollar of 1812 and a half rix-dollar of 1816.[1]

11. The depreciation of the new coinage failed in its purpose, and by 1811 had driven out of circulation the old rix-dollars of higher intrinsic value, as well as the oldest and heaviest copper of 37 stuivers to the pound Dutch; it naturally also extended to the Government paper money, of which the currency now chiefly consisted. The export of copper coin attained such proportions that Regulation 5 of 1811, repealed in 1813, was passed to restrain it. From the end of 1811 till 1813 great dearth prevailed in Ceylon, accompanied by general distress. In July, 1812, only copper money, and that scarce, and paper remained; the exchange of the Star pagoda, which in 1808–9 ranged from 63 to 64 fanams, was now 68 to 70, and that of the ducatoon 208 stuivers; the few remaining silver rix-dollars were bought up for export at a premium of 1 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ fanam each, and all the silver left the Island, as well as a great part of the copper.

Between 1808 and 1812 the Government accounts touching the cinnamon sold to the East India Company are given in Star pagodas rated at 8*s.* 6*d.* or RD. 5; the rix-dollar in these was nominally worth 1*s.* $8\frac{2}{5}$*d.*[2]

12. By Proclamation of March 13, 1812, the rating of the rix-dollar was fixed at 1*s.* 9*d.* The grounds assigned for this were that the rix-dollar was originally valued with reference to the Star pagoda, and at a rate considerably higher than its intrinsic worth; the new rating was now fixed according to His Majesty's regulation, by which troops out of Europe were to be paid in Spanish dollars at 4*s.* 8*d.*, the rix-dollar being considered to be very near $2\frac{2}{3}$ of a dollar. The rate of RD. $9\frac{3}{8}$ to the pound sterling was thus abolished, and no bills were to be given to public servants. Bertolacci alleges that the new exchange was fixed on the erroneous supposition that the silver rix-dollars were all of the same fineness as the Spanish dollar, and that in weight $2\frac{2}{3}$ rix-dollars were equal to one dollar, but this result could only have been obtained by dividing the fine contents of the latter by the gross weight of the rix-dollar.[3]

A Memorandum by the Governor dated October 31, 1813, states: "This depreciation of the coin coupled with an unfavourable balance of trade, and being obliged, by positive instructions from home, to dispose of all Government bills to the highest bidder, has almost annihilated commerce, and distressed the inhabitants of all classes, by augmenting the price of every article of life, and depriving them of the power of sending sums however small, either to the Presidencies or to England, even for the most necessary purposes

"The rate of exchange as fixed by his Majesty's Government is 1*s.* 9*d.* for the rix-dollar which, with a minute fraction, makes four and a half rix-dollars nominally equal to a pagoda, or eight shillings, and $11\frac{3}{7}$ to the pound sterling, but the true rate of remittance (when any casual bills can be procured) is about six rix-dollars to a pagoda on Madras, and about fifteen or sixteen for a pound sterling on England.

"To prevent a rise of the bills of exchange, which would have made the coin, debased as it is, a gaining remittance, it was thought advisable, as far as Government was concerned, to fix a maximum at sixty-five fanams or $5\frac{5}{12}$ for the pagoda, or $13\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{4}$ rix-dollars for the pound sterling; so that the exchange, as fixed by Government, to be paid for bills granted to importers of rice, is nearly 20 per cent above the estimated value of the rix-dollar, as valued at home, and yet far exceeded in every real transaction between private individuals."[4]

The exchange value of the Star pagoda rose to 80 fanams and that of the ducatoon to 240 stuivers, and by the end of 1813 no good bills on England were to be obtained at RD. 18 the pound sterling, or 1*s.* $1\frac{1}{3}$*d.* the rix-dollar.[5]

13. To revert to the coinage. The charges on this were 4 per cent. for silver and about 25 per cent. for copper until 1811, when coinage by contract was stopped and a mint established and conducted by Bertolacci, the charges for copper being reduced to about 11 per cent. Documentary evidence exists for the coinage of copper as late as July, 1816. On March 10, 1812, John Forbes, and on July 14, 1814, Alexander Cadell, both of the Civil Service, were in charge of the mint. From August 17, 1814, until November, 1815, at least, the mint was managed by a Committee, though an authority addressed to the Superintendent is dated June 26 of the latter year. From February to July, 1816, the Superintendent alone is mentioned.[6]

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[1] Contract annexed to B.'s Memorandum of 1813.

[2] B., pp. 524 *ff.*

[3] B., p. 96, and Memorandum of 1813.

[4] Asiatic Journal, Vol. II., November, 1816.

[5] B., p. 95.

[6] B., p. 94; Council Proceedings of ? 27/9/1811; Authorities for Expenditure addressed by Chief Secretary

14. On November 14, 1812, a coinage of silver rix-dollars was ordered at the Royal Mint, but was not carried out.[1] Patterns, however, exist of double and single rix-dollars :—

Double Rix-dollar.

(*a*) Obv. : Elephant standing, left ; below, 1812.

Rev. : In oblong compartment in two lines TWO RIX-DOLLARS. A crown above and a ribbon beneath inscribed HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE. In the margin, upper legend CEYLON, lower legend CURRENCY. Atkins, No. 15

(*b*) Obv. and rev. : As last, but TWO RIX-DOLLAR and DIEU ET MON DROIT. Rim, a circle of dashes. Spink's Numismatic Circular, November–December, 1914, 621.

(*c*) Rev. only. As (b), but TWO RIX-DOLLARS. Lead impression. Royal Mint Museum Catalogue, 3190.

Rix-dollar.

(*a*) As double rix-dollar (*a*), with change of value. Atkins, No. 16.

(*b*) As double rix-dollar (*b*), but ONE RIX-DOLLAR. Numismatic Circular, *ib.*, and Royal Mint Museum Catalogue, 3191 (rev only).

15. Owing to the diminished quantity of silver and copper in circulation, fanam tokens of twelve to the rix-dollar were ordered to be struck, the issue not to exceed RD. 110,000. The silver rix-dollar being intrinsically worth sixteen of these tokens, it was thought that they would not readily be melted down or exported. They were put into circulation by Government Advertisement of July 16, 1814, and continued to be struck in 1815. The total issued in September, October, and November, 1814, and in January, February, March, August, and September, 1815, amounted to 2,095,467 fanams or RD. 174,622·3·0.[2]

Regulation 12 of 1814 passed on December 10, rehearses that great varieties of gold, silver, and copper coined in India as well as coined and circulated in Ceylon by the British Government were then current, and imposes penalties for counterfeiting pagodas, rupees, fanams, fanam tokens, or any other coin.

16. On December 1 of this year the Royal Mint received instructions from the Treasury under Order in Council of April 1 to coin 100,000 silver rix-dollars and RD. 200,000 in copper money of five denominations, namely, 2, 1, ½, ¼, and ⅛ stuivers. The dies were prepared for the silver rix-dollar, which was to have weighed 138⅔ grains, of a millesimal fineness of 891·6̇. This coin was not issued, but the following pattern piece is known :—

Obv. : Bust of King George III. to right, laureate, T. W. on truncation. In margin, GEORGIUS III D : G : BRITANNIARUM REX.

Rev. : As on rix-dollar of 1821, but date 1815.

Plain edge. Atkins, No. 17 ; Royal Mint Museum Catalogue, 3192.[3] **Pl. 147.**

Apparently connected with this issue is the following pattern fanam :—

Obv. : Elephant with date 1815 below ; above, CEYLON GOV : the whole in a circle.

Rev. : 1/12 within circle, surrounded by the word FANAM ; the whole in a circle. Atkins, No. 76.

This is in copper, and Atkins calls it one-twelfth of a fanam. But the English challie was the sixteenth, and the design closely resembles that of the 1814 token. The fraction, therefore, probably refers to the rix-dollar, as do the figures on the locally struck copper and on the home issue of 1802.

Of the copper money authorized, only the first three denominations were struck with the date 1815, though dies were sunk for the quarter. They were coined out of demonetized Tower half pence, of the weight of 50 stuivers to the pound, though the actual weight of the stuiver is about 137 grains. The dies were engraved by Thomas Wyon, junior.[4] A pattern piece of the half stuiver is known with an obliquely milled edge (Numismatic Circular, November–December, 1914, 700).

17. In 1815 there was experienced a difficulty in obtaining small change, and it was resolved to put into circulation RD. 37,339 worth of Dutch challies taken as prize in Kandy. These were originally current at the rate of 16 to the fanam, and were still circulating in Colombo at 168 to the rix-dollar note, though apparently not legal

[1] Royal Mint Museum Catalogue, I., p. 256 *ff.*

[2] Authorities for Expenditure.

[3] Royal Mint Museum Catalogue, I., p. 256 *ff.*

[4] *Ibid.*

tender, but as fifty of the stuivers then being struck in England made a pound or the weight of 144 challies, these were now rated by Regulation 3 of 1815 at 12 to the fanam or 3 to the stuiver.[1] This rating was extended to the newly acquired provinces of the interior by Government Advertisement of July 4, 1817, by which the following table, embodying the Kandyan *ridí*, was published :—

		English.		Dutch.		
Challies	.. ..	4	..	3	..	1 Stiver or pice
		16	..	12	..	1 Fanam
		64	..	48	..	1 *Ridí*
		192	..	144	.	1 Rix-dollar
Stivers	.. ..	4	..	—	.	1 Fanam
		16	..	—	.	1 *Ridí*
		48	..	—	..	1 Rix-dollar
Fanams	.. ..	4	.	—	..	1 *Ridí*
		12	..	—	..	1 Rix-dollar

Between 1815 and 1819 the exchange was RD. 5 and 4 for the Star and the Porto Novo pagoda, respectively; in 1819 54$\frac{4}{7}$ fanams went to the Star pagoda, 17$\frac{1}{7}$ to the Sicca rupee, and 15$\frac{13}{49}$ to the Arcot rupee.[2] The exchange therefore had improved considerably, probably through the influx of treasure required in connection with the Kandyan war of 1815 and the rebellion of 1817–1818, and from this time onwards the Ceylon fanam practically and in 1823 actually equalled the anna, first of the Arcot and later of the Sicca and Company rupee.

18. To prevent the forgery of Government notes, it was provided by Regulation 3 of 1820 that the value should be added by means of a " dry stamp." This was found to be unsatisfactory owing to the thinness of the paper, and by Regulation 7 of the same year was replaced by a stamp in black ink on the back of the note.

In this year the paper currency amounted to nearly 2½ millions of rix-dollars. On October 9, 1821, owing to the lack of metallic currency, the Treasury ordered the Royal Mint to supply 400,000 silver rix-dol' 's, each weighing 138⅔ grains or one-third of a Spanish dollar, with which the new coin was to agree in fineness; this was then regarded as being 891·6 per mille. These coins were received in Ceylon in 1822, and though intrinsically worth 1*s*. 6⅝*d*. each at 4*s*. 8*d*., the Spanish dollar were ordered to pass for 1*s*. 9*d*. The obverse was engraved by Pistrucci, and the reverse by William Wyon.

In 1820 and 1822 there were struck in England for use in the Colonies the silver fractions of the Spanish dollar known as " Anchor money." Of these, quarters, eighths, and sixteenths were despatched to Ceylon, but are not mentioned in the Blue Book of 1824.[3]

19. On August 27, 1822, the ratings of the various current coins were :—

	s. *d*.		RD.	f.	p.
Silver rix-dollar	1·9	=	1	0	0
Star pagoda	8·0	=	4	6	3$\frac{3}{7}$
Spanish dollar	4·8	=	2	3	0
Sicca rupee	2·6	=	1	5	0$\frac{4}{7}$
Madras rupee..	2·3½	=	1	3	2$\frac{5}{7}$

By Regulation 18 of this year it was made illegal to receive or pay for any silver or copper coin being of the currency of the Island any more in value, benefit, profit, or advantage than the true lawful value of such coin, and to receive or pay any notes of Government for less than the amount of lawful money expressed therein, except only lawful discount on such notes as were not expressed to be payable on demand.

On March 22 and December 31, 1823, the new Madras quarter and whole rupee, countermarked in Ceylon with a crown, were declared current by Proclamation at 4 fanams and RD. 1¼, respectively. The rix-dollar was thus 12 annas of the Madras or " Arcot " rupee, and 11 annas of the Bengal and Sicca. The number of rupees imported in 1823 and 1824 was 282,337, and of quarter rupees 260,000.[4]

The coinage still continued to be counterfeited, as by Regulation 11 of 1824 penalties were enacted for the altering or falsifying of coin by colouring, gilding, washing, and the like.

[1] Council Proceedings, 5/4/1815.

[2] Kandy Board of Commissioners, 26/1/1819.

[3] Chalmers, " Colonial Currency," p. 355.

[4] Blue Book, 1824, and Proclamations of dates quoted.

By Regulation 5 of 1823 the notes of the value of RD. 1 were called in as from August 31 of that year, and by Regulation 8, owing to a robbery at the Colombo Kachcheri, all notes of RD. 50 and 100 of a date prior to May 5. Between 1820 and 1825 no less than RD. 866,016 in notes had been withdrawn, and in the latter year the paper currency amounted to RD. 1,561,669. The exchange was about RD. 15 to the pound sterling or 1*s.* 4*d.* the rix-dollar.[1]

The total value of the different coinages according to the Blue Book of 1824 was as follows :—

	RD.
Silver struck locally (1803–1809)	981,030
Rix-dollars of 1821	400,000
Copper struck locally .. .	357,640
Copper struck in England	261,599

II.—1825–1914.

20. The Order in Council of March 23, 1825, directed the introduction of sterling currency into all the colonies. This was given effect to by Regulation 8 of the same year, by which accounts were to be kept in pounds, shillings, and pence ; the silver rix-dollar of 1821 was to be current for 1*s.* 6*d.*, and currency notes in rix-dollars at the same rate. British silver, 66 shillings weighing a pound Troy of standard silver, was to be current, as well as copper pence, half-pence, and farthings. The Ceylon copper fanam was rated at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$, the fanam at $\frac{3}{4}d.$, the pice at $\frac{3}{8}d.$, the half pice at $\frac{3}{16}d.$, and the Dutch challie at $\frac{1}{8}d$ By Treasury instructions applicable to all colonies dated February 11, 1825, the troops and others were to be paid in British silver or, if this were insufficient, in Spanish dollars at 4*s.* 4*d.*, their "nearest value as compared to British standard silver at 5*s.* 2*d.* per ounce," or in other dollars or coins " at the same contents in pure silver," according to the subjoined table :—[2]

Coin.	Weight. Grains.	Fine Contents.	Value, True.	Value, Current.
			s. *d.*	*s.* *d.*
Spanish dollar	416 ..	370·9 ..	4 3·79 ..	4 4
Calcutta rupee	192 ..	175·9 ..	2 0·56 ..	2 1
Bombay and Surat rupee ..	179 ..	164·7 ..	1 11·01 ..	1 11

Accordingly, pending the arrival of British silver, the Governor by Proclamation of July 4, ordered that the Spanish dollar should pass at 4*s.* 4*d.*, the Sicca rupee at 2*s.* 1*d.*, and the Bombay and the Madras rupee at 1*s.* 11*d.*, which ratings were reduced on December 14, 1833, to 4*s.* 2*d.*, 2*s.*, and 1*s.* 10*d.*, respectively. The Madras stamped quarter rupee was retained in circulation as 6*d.* until British sixpences should arrive, when it was to be withdrawn at $5\frac{3}{4}d$[3] The rating at 1*s.* 6*d.* of the rix-dollar, popularly called *patágaya* or *ridí paha* in Sinhalese and *iraiyál* in Tamil, names properly applied to the piece-of-eight and the original Dutch silver rix-dollar, was three-quarters of the rupee valued at 2*s.*, and the native designations still survive applied to the sum of 75 cents.

21 By Regulation 8 of 1827 Government notes to the amount of £90,000 were issued of the denominations of £1, 2, 5, 10, 20, 25, and 50, and by Regulation 9 all notes expressed in rix-dollars were withdrawn, with the exception of those of RD. 2 or 3*s.* and RD. 5 or 7*s.* 6*d.*, which were retained owing to the inconvenience to the public from the absence of notes under one pound sterling, pending representations on the subject to the Secretary of State. On September 1, 1830, however, all rix-dollar notes were called in, the total paper currency then being £110 858. 14*s.* On October 26, 1827, the Governor reported that the copper in circulation consisted of base metal, *i.e.*, that struck locally or Dutch coins ; this he had withdrawn to the value of £5,000. By Regulation 6 of 1830 all copper money coined in Ceylon and then current was demonetized as from January 1, 1831. The currency was now mainly British silver and copper, as well as Dutch challies. Half farthings were struck for use in Ceylon in 1828, 1830, and 1837. The design was changed in 1839, in which year quarter farthings were first issued.[4]

In 1832 the Governor was informed by the Secretary of State by despatch of April 10 that, if an inconvenient contraction of the circulating medium was felt by the withdrawal of a portion of the paper currency, there was no objection to allowing Indian or other foreign gold and silver coins to be current, provided that the rating of the gold was fixed with reference to intrinsic value, and that of the silver according to the instructions given in 1825. In this year the Porto Novo pagoda was reckoned at RD.5 or, at 1*s.* 6*d.* the rix-dollar, at 7*s.* 6*d.* After 1833 all importation of British silver ceased ; rupees, however, were brought from India and issued at the rates specified above in the Minute of December 14, 1833.

[1] Despatch to Secretary of State, 26/7/1825 (Ceylon Literary Register, II., N. S., p. 235).

[2] Chalmers, p. 424 ; the paragraphs relating to Ceylon are reprinted on pp. 422, 423.

[3] Despatch to Secretary of State, 26/7/1825.

[4] Despatch of 26/10/1827 (Ceylon Literary Register, III., N. S., p. 1) ; Royal Mint Museum Catalogue, I., p. 256 *ff.*

22. In 1836 the Calcutta exchange on London fell to 1*s*. 11*d*. the Sicca rupee. As this coin was rated at 2*s*. in Ceylon, it was imported in large quantities, and bills in London purchased with the British silver, which thus disappeared from circulation. The Calcutta exchange improving, the rupees in their turn were carried away. Government in vain imported them, but their export was necessitated by the balance of trade, and the Island was denuded of silver currency. The Governor, therefore, by the important and probably illegal Minute of September 26, 1836, over-rated the new Company rupee at 2*s*., namely at the same value as the Sicca. From this date the standard of Ceylon was practically the Company's and later the Queen's rupee, whence the local "pound" of ten rupees. The currency also consisted of notes, British copper, and a few silver rix-dollars rated at 1*s*. 6*d*. each.[1] The use of the Company's copper ½, ¼, and 1/12 anna and ½ pice of 1835 probably dates from this period.

23. By Order in Council of October 16, 1852, British gold became legal tender, and on October 22, 1856, that coined in Australia; the Indian rupee, however, remained the local standard. By Order in Council of June 18, 1869, published in Ceylon on August 26 of that year, the Company rupee, with its silver subdivisions of ½, ¼, and ⅛, was formally established as the sole legal tender. Pending the introduction of decimal tokens, the following coins were rated as below by Proclamation of August 23, 1871 :—

One Penny	..	1/24 rupee or	2/3 anna or	8 pie	Ceylon Fanam	..	1/16	rupee or	1	anna or	—
Half Penny	..	1/48 do.	1/3	do. 4 pie	Stuiver or Pice	..	1/64	do.	¼	do.	3 pie
Farthing	..	1/96 do.	1/6	do. 2 pie	Challie	..	1/192	do.	1/12	do.	1 pie

24. New copper tokens of the denominations of 5, 1, and ½ cents or one-hundredths of the rupee were authorized as from January 1, 1872; the quarter cent was introduced on September 14 of this year. By Proclamation of March 17, 1874, the fanam, stuiver, and challie were demonetized. The decimalization, however of the coinage was still incomplete. In 1891 the Indian one-eighth rupee or 12½-cent piece was abandoned, and the next year silver tokens of 50, 25, and 10 cents were issued in pursuance of Order in Council of February 6, 1892, published in the Island on July 1. The Indo-Portuguese rupee was also declared current, a step which was revoked by Order in Council of July 17 in the following year. In 1901 the sovereign was declared legal tender and rated at 15 rupees. The last alteration in the circulating medium previous to the war of 1914–1918 was the abolition of the copper 5 cents and ¼ cent pieces, called in by Proclamation of December 13, 1909, by which also a new 5 cents token of nickel bronze was declared current.

The present note issue is regulated by Ordinance No. 32 of 1884.

The coins existing in 1914, including those demonetized in 1909, were :—

Denomination.	Weight. Grains.	Millesimal. Fineness.
Indian rupee	180	916.6̇
50 cents	90	800
25 cents	45	800
10 cents	18	800
Nickel 5 cents	60	—
5 cents	291.6̇	—
1 cent	72.916	—
½ cent	36.458	—
¼ cent	18.229	—

25. The following table giving the Sinhalese and Tamil names for various obsolete coins may be of interest, as they are still applied to various numbers of cents :—

Coin.	Name in Vernacular.	True Value in Cents.	Vulgar Value in Cents.
½ Dutch challie	S. Alukkála T. Araic-calli	25/96	¼
Dutch challie (⅓ stuiver)	S. Tam̃basalliya T. Veḷḷaic-calli, tampac-calli	25/48	½
English challie (¼ stuiver)	S. Salliya T. Salli	25/64	½
Stuiver or pice	S. Tuṭṭuwa T. Tuḍḍu	1 9/16	1½
Six tuṭṭu	S. Sattáliya	9 6/16	9

[1] Chalmers, p. 356.

Coin.	Name in Vernacular.	True Value in Cents.	Vulgar Value in Cents.
Fanam	S. Panama T. Panam	6¼	6
4 Fanams, "sixpence"	—	25	25
8 Fanams, "shilling"	S. Silima T. Silin	50	50
Rix-dollar	S. Patágaya, ridí paha T. Iraiyál; vulgar, irasál	75	75
"Pound"	S. Pavuma T. Pavun	Rs. 10	Rs. 10

The fanam equals 6¼ cents, but since the introduction of the decimal system is reckoned at 6; the quarters of the rupee, however, retain their true values. Thus, 2 and 3 fanams are reckoned at 12 and 18 instead of 12½ and 18¾ cents. To reduce to cents according to the vulgar computation any number of fanams over 4, add 6 or a multiple of 6 to the value of the last quarter rupee; *e.g.*, for 6 fanams, add 12 to 25, result 37 cents, the true calculation, of course, being 37½ cents.

Coins struck in England.

26. (1) AE. Obv.: Company's bale mark inscribed V E I C. On a broad rim incuse, UNITED EAST INDIA COMPANY 1794.

Rev.: Company's arms, supporters, &c.; below, 48. In margin below, TO ONE RUPEE. On broad rim incuse, AUSPICIO REGIS ET SENATUS ANGLIAE.

On the edge incuse ENGLISH.UNITED EAST.INDIA.COMPANY.

Also struck in 1797. Weight: 212 grains. The half or $\frac{1}{96}$ rupee is similar with alteration of value. Atkin's, Madras, Nos 125, 127, 128, 129. **Pl. 148.**

(2) AE. Obv.: Within circle of annulets between two line circles, elephant to left; date 1802 below.

Rev.: Within similar circles, in margin CEYLON.GOVERNMENT divided at top by cinquefoil; in area within cord circle value:—

	Value.	Dates.	Diameter.
Stuiver	48	1801; 1802; 1803; 1804	1·22 in.
Half Stuiver	96	1802	·92 in.
Quarter Stuiver	192	1802; 1804	·74 in.

Atkins, Nos. 66–72. **Pl. 149, 150.**

(3) AE. Obv.: Within plain rim, bust of George III. to right, laureate. In margin GEORGIUS III D: G: BRITANNIARUM REX.

Rev.: Within plain rim, elephant to left; above, in two lines TWO STIVERS and below, 1815.

The stuiver and half stuiver differ only in size and value, which reads ONE STIVER and ONE HALF STIVER. The diameters of the coins are 1·35, 1·12, and ·86 inch. Atkins, Nos. 73–75. **Pl. 151.**

(4) AR. Obv.: Within plain rim, head of George IV. to left, laureate; B. P under neck. Legend: GEORGIUS IV D: G: BRITANNIAR: REX F: D:

Rev.: Within plain rim, elephant to left within wreath; above, in three lines CEYLON ONE RIXDOLLAR and below, 1821.

Diameter: 1·08 inch. Atkins, No. 18. **Pl. 152.**

(5) AR. "Anchor Money":—

Obv.: In ornamental shield arms of the United Kingdom with crowned arms of Hanover in pretence.

In margin, GEORGIUS IV D: G: BRITANNIARUM REX F: D:

Rev.: Foul anchor, crowned, between value IV IV; below, date in margin. Legend: MONET: COLONIAR: BRITAN:

Plain rim beaded.

Quarter dollar. Weight: 104 grains.

The eighth and sixteenth dollar are of the same design, but with values VIII–VIII and XVI–XVI. The weights are 52 and 26 grains. Atkins, West Indies, Nos. 62–64.

(6) AE. Half Farthing :—

Obv. : Within grained border, head of George IV. to left; below, 1828. Legend : GEORGIUS IV DEI GRATIA.

Rev. : Within similar border, Britannia seated, right : in exergue rose, thistle, and shamrock. Legend : BRITANNIAR : REX FID : DEF :

Struck in 1828, 1830, and 1837 for Ceylon. That of the last year has the head of William IV. facing the right, and the legend GULIELMUS IIII DEI GRATIA.

The design was changed in 1839 :—

Obv. : Within grained border, head of Queen Victoria to left; legend : VICTORIA D : G : BRITANNIAR : REGINA F. D :

Rev. : Within similar border, in three lines HALF FARTHING 1839 ; above crown, and below rose, with sprig of six leaves.

Half farthings were made tender in the United Kingdom on June 13, 1842, and the subsequent issues must be regarded as imperial.

(7) AE. Quarter Farthing :—

As the half farthing of 1839, but QUARTER FARTHING. The dates of issue were 1839, 1852, 1853, and 1868.

Three half-pences were struck in silver at intervals from 1834 for circulation in the Colonies. Rhys Davids in " Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon " states that they were in use as fanams.

Coins struck in Ceylon.

27. Silver.—(1) Rix-dollars :—

(*a*) Obv. : Within circle of dashes, elephant to left, in exergue date with line below.

Rev. : Within similar circle, in margin : CEYLON GOVERNMENT preceded by a group of four dots and sometimes divided by a dot. In area, within bead circle the value : 96 S^{T}, 48 S^{T}, 24 S^{T}. **Pl. 153.**

On a rix-dollar of 1805 shrubs appear on the ground beneath the elephant's feet.

	Contract of 4/2/1803. Weight. Grains.	Contract of 8/6/1803. Weight. Grains	Dates.
Double Rix-dollar ..	— ..	280 ..	1803
Rix-dollar ..	152·5 ..	140 ..	1803. 1804 1805
Half Rix-dollar ..	— ..	70 ..	1803, 1804, 1805

The double rix-dollar of 1801, apparently a pattern, has been mentioned in the text. Another described as " cast but has had much wear " is reported in Spink's Numismatic Circular, September-October, 1921, 469.

(*b*) Type as (*a*), but on obv. no line under date and on rev. the legend is not divided by a dot and is preceded by a group of seven dots. In a half rix-dollar of 1808 this group is superseded by two dots arranged as a colon. The value is indicated as above, but S^{T} sometimes occurs.

Contract of February 17, 1808 :—

	Weight. Grains.	Dates.
Double Rix-dollar	280 ..	1808. 1809
Rix-dollar	140 ..	1808, 1809, 1812
Half Rix-dollar	70 ..	1808, 1809, 1816

The diameters of the coins struck under the last two contracts are roughly ·94 inch for the double rix-dollar, ·76 - 80 inch for the single, and ·62–·66 inch for the half. In the centre of the reverse of many is a dot, apparently caused by the compasses used to trace the circles. Atkins, Nos. 1–13. **Pl. 154, 155.**

(2) Fanam Tokens :—

Obv. : In centre a dot ; within two line circles, FANAM.

Rev. : As obverse, but legend TOKEN.

Weight : 8·75 grains. Diam. · ·35 inch. Atkins, No. 14. **Pl. 156.**

28. Copper :—

(a) Obv. : Within two line circles enclosing dots, elephant to left ; date below.

Rev. : Within similar circles, in margin CEYLON GOVERNMENT : In area within line circle the value : 12 (*i.e.*, to the rix-dollar) for the fanam, 24 for the half fanam, and 48 for the stuiver. Atkins, Nos. 31-63.

The issues were of the following years :—

Fanam	..	1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806 ; 1809, 1810
Half fanam	..	1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806 ; 1809
Stuiver	..	1801, 1802, 1803, 1805, 1806 ; 1809, 1810 **Pl. 157.**

The coins of 1801 and 1802 were of 37 to the Dutch pound ; the stuiver, therefore, should weigh in theory 205·2 grains, but the weight of some of 1802 seems to suggest a reduction of the standard. This is borne out by the statement in the Council Proceedings of April 15, 1815, that the issues subsequent to the first and including the home one of 1802 varied gradually in depreciation both in weight and fineness from the Dutch standard. It is to be observed that this home issue closely approximates to the standard of 50 to the Dutch pound used for the first rix-dollar of 1803. In all the locally struck coins of 1801 the elephant is long-backed and the trunk a pronounced curve inwards.

From 1803 onwards the stuiver weighed in theory 140 grains. The drawing of the elephant is improved considerably in these issues, probably through the influence of the 1802 coinage from England. **Pl. 158.**

On the coins of 1803 the right foreleg is advanced, with a distinct space between it and the left foreleg. On a few coins of all three denominations struck in this year the elephant is reversed and faces to the right.

In 1804 the right foreleg is still advanced, but is only partially visible ; there is no space between the two legs.

In 1805 the forelegs are sometimes as in 1803 ; the elephant often is distinctly small.

In a find of 78 coins of this type as Sandanpokkaddi, near Kodikamam, 35 date from before the establishment of the Government mint in 1811. Of these, 28 are of the years 1803 and 1805, and may therefore be considered with some probability to be the product of the Jaffna mint. There is, however, no visible difference in design from others of the same year, and the dies may have been sent from Colombo ; only one coin in the find has the elephant reversed. **Pl. 159.**

In 1809 the elephant is larger. The right foreleg is as in 1803, but straighter, while the right hind leg for the first time is brought forward instead of the left. This change coincides with the resumption of the coinage after its discontinuance during the two preceding years. In 1809 the exergue is formed by two parallel lines.

Certain stray coins have peculiarities, differentiating them from the usual type :—

1802. A stuiver has two parallel horizontal lines under the 48 on the reverse, and the legend begins at the left side instead of at the top as usual. **Pl. 160.**

1805. A stuiver has the elephant with a sloping back, and tusks curved upwards. There is no stop in the legend. Perhaps a forgery.

There are also half fanams of 180(–) closely resembling the rix-dollar of 1803–1805. The " St.," however, is omitted, and a stop between the two words of the legend is inserted. **Pl. 161.**

(b) *Issues of the Government Mint.*—The type is the same as that of the coins made on contract, and is very uniform ; the elephant on all has the right hind leg advanced. The issues were :—

Fanam	..	1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815
Half fanam	..	1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1816
Stuiver	..	1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815 ; 1817 **Pl. 162.**

The copper coinages may be summarized thus :—

Local.				England.	
1801–1802 ..	37 to lb. Dutch = 205·2 gr.		1802 ..	46–47 to lb. avd. = 152·1–148·9 gr.	
1802 ..	? 50 to lb. Dutch = 152·5 gr.		1815 ..	50 to lb. avd. = 140 gr.	
1803–1817 ..	50 to lb. avd. = 140 gr.				

CHAPTER XII.

MUHAMMADAN.

(I.) MEDIÆVAL.

THE Muhammadan Arabs are said to have arrived on the Malabar Coast in A.D. 844, and to have settled at Káyalpaḍḍaṇam in the Páṇḍyan kingdom in the same century. Of this port, under the name of Cail, Marco Polo writes : " It is at this city that all the ships touch that come from the West, as from Hormos and from Kis, and from Aden, and all Arabia, laden with horses and other things for sale. And this brings a great concourse of people from the country round about, and so there is great business done in this city of Cail " (lib., III., cap. 21 ; ed. Yule). In the thirteenth century the Muhammadans were of such importance at this place that Malik Taqíyu'llah bin 'Abdu'r-raḥmán bin Muḥammad at-Tíbí was minister and adviser to the Páṇḍyan king, and held the government of Fatan, Malífatan, and Qáyal ; his brother was under a contract to send yearly from the Persian Gulf to M'abar (South India) 11,400 Arab horses, each of which was reckoned worth 220 current dínárs of red gold (Rasídu'd-dín, Sir H. M. Elliot's " Historians of Muhammadan India," Vol. I., p. 69. For the reading " Qáyal," see note 4, *ibid.*).

The traditions relating to the settlement of the Moors in Ceylon are various, one giving the date as in the reign of the Khalif 'Abdu'l-malik bin Marwán, A.H. 65–86 (A.D. 684–705), and another, which is the more generally received account, placing it in A.H. 402 or A.D. 1011–12, in which year they came from Káyalpaḍḍaṇam to Beruwala on the west coast of the Island. Another version, recorded in a report of the Kandyan chiefs in 1829, states that the Moors came first under Qádir Sháh, who was defeated in the time of Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu in the year of the Nirvána 1824 or A.D. 1236, and that later, under the usurper Vattimi, a Moor brought over the Chalias to Beruwala ; this, however, is usually associated with their settlement at that place in A.D. 1011. The year A.H. 337 (A.D. 949) on the Kufic stone inscription, once in the Muhammadan cemetery of Colombo, if correct, would point to an earlier date for their arrival (Trans., R. A. S., I., 545). This must be dated at least as early as the reign of 'Abdu'l Malik, in view of al-Biláduri's statement that in the time of this Khalif " the king of the Isle of Rubies sent as a present . . . certain Muhammadan girls who had been born in his country, the orphan daughters of merchants who had died there " (Elliot, *op. cit.*, I., 118), a story which probably is the basis of the first-mentioned tradition.

Whatever may be the truth as to the settlement of the Moors—as a distinct race—in the Island, there is no doubt that from a very early period Ceylon was frequented by the Arabs ; " it was during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that they attained the highest degree of their commercial prosperity and political influence " in the Island (Sir A. Johnston, Trans., R. A. S., I., 539†). Their activities, however, were not always of a peaceful nature. Ibn Baṭúṭah, who was in the Island in 1344, speaks of Colombo as the seat of " the Wazír, prince of the sea, Jálastí," who had under his command five hundred Abyssinians, and some six years later John de Marignolli mentions a " Saracen " tyrant Choja Joan (Khwajah Jahán) at Perivilis, by which Beruwala is probably meant. Yet from the mention of the " inner and outer Maḍigés " or bullock carriage departments in the contemporary Lankatilaka inscription it would appear that many of the Arab descendants of mixed race and their converts, now known as Moors, had settled down as subjects of the Sinhalese king.

Trade in the Arabian Sea was carried on through two principal routes, the one leading by Aden through the Red Sea to Alexandria, the other by way of the emporium of Hormuz up the Persian Gulf ; it was in a flourishing state in the thirteenth century, as is indicated by the extract from Marco Polo. Colombo at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese was the chief centre of the Muslim trade, and probably had been such for a considerable period ; it is, therefore, not surprising that all the mediæval Muhammadan coins of gold and silver have been

found in that part of the Island, which lies between Colombo and the Kandyan mountains. Of these, the least rare are those of the Baḥrí Mamlúks. A witness to the prestige of this dynasty in the East is the despatch of an embassy to Sultan Qaláún by the King of Ceylon " Abou-Nekbah-Lebabah " (Bhuvaneka Báhu I., A.D. *c.* 1273–1284). According to Maqrízí, the Sinhalese sovereign had rejected an offer of alliance made him by the king of the Yemen, and now asked for the friendship of the Egyptian Sultan, at whose court the envoy arrivêd in the month of Muḥarram, A.H. 682, or April, A.D. 1283 (Quatremère, Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks, 1842, Vol. II., Part I., pp. 59, 60; Mémoires sur l'Égypte, II., 284). Two coins of the Yemen, but somewhat later in date, have been found in the Island.

2. A very considerable hoard is said to have been found many years ago at Muturajawela and dispersed among the Moorish community in Colombo. The various finds of recent years and their localities are :—

Place.	Known Number.	Dynasty.	Date.
Negombo ..	.. 1 ..	Zangid ..	1251–2
? Wattala ..	.. 1 ..	do. ..	1229–30 or 1231–32
Dumbara estate, Sabaragamuwa ..	1 ..	Muwaḥḥid ..	1163–84
	2 ..	Bahrí Mamlúk ..	1259–90
Welagedara estate ..	1 ..	'Abbásid ..	1242–58
	5 ..	Bahrí Mamlúk ..	1259–77
	3 ..	Persian Mongol ..	1265–84
Telengipata ..	3 ..	'Abbásid ..	1213/4–1258
	3 ..	Baḥrí Mamlúk ..	1259–77
Gampola ..	.. 1 ..	Persian Mongol ..	1265–82

3. From the Muturajawela hoard are known to have come one or two 'Abbásid coins of A.D. 1242–58 and one of the Fátimids of A.D. 1087–8.

Amawí Khalifs.

Al-Wahíd I., A.H. 86–96 (A.D. 705–711).

AV. Dinar. B. M. C., I., No. 11, dated A.H. 89 (A.D. 707/8).

'Abbásid.

Harún ar-Rashid, A.H. 170–193 (A.D. 786–809).

AV. A.H. 180 (A.D. 796/7). B. M. C., I., No. 149

An-Náṣir, A.H. 575–622 (A.D. 1179–1225).

AV. Baghdad, A.H. 610 (A.D. 1213/4). B. M. C., I., *cf.* No. 484.

Al-Must'aṣim, A.H. 640–656 (A.D. 1242–58).

AV. B. M. C., I., p. 170.

Muturajawela, year 6 — —

Welagedara, year 6 — —; Colombo Museum (1914), No. 3.

Provenance unknown, year 643 (A.D. 1245/6).

Fátimid.

Al-Mustanṣir, A.H. 427–487 (A.D. 1035–1094).

AV. Alexandria, A.H. 480 (A.D. 1087/88). B. M. C., IV., No. 181; Muturajawela, Colombo District. Also the central portion of a billon coin of the same; weight, 14·4 gr.

Muwaḥḥids of North Africa.

Abú Y'aqúb Yúsuf I., A.H. 558–580 (A.D. 1163–1184).

AV. Colombo Museum, No. 1; B. M. C., V., No. 92.

Ayyúbid.

An-Náṣir Ṣaláḥu'd-dín Yúsuf ibn Ayyúb (Saladin), A.H. 564–589 (A.D. 1169–1193).

AV. *Cf.* B. M. C., IV., 248, but mint Cairo and date 578. Also the same, but mint Alexandria and date 581.

Seljúks of Rúm.

Kaikhusru II. bin Kaiqubád, A.H. 634–643 (A.D. 1236–1245).

AR. Iconium, A.H. 639 (A.D. 1241). *Cf.* B. M. C., III., p. 78, No. 198.

Zangid.

Násiru'd-dín Maḥmúd bin Masa'úd, A.H. 616–631 (A.D. 1219–1234).

AV. Mosil, A.H. 627 or 629 (A.D. 1229/30 or 1231/2). As B. M. C., III., No. 563, except for date. From ? Wattala.

Badru'd-dín Lúlú, A.H. 631-657 (A.D. 1233-1258).

AV. Mosil, A.H. 645 (A.D. 1247/8) *Cf.* B. M. C., III., No. 572.

Mosil. A.H. 649 (A.D. 1251/2). Colombo Museum, No. 2. B. M. C., III., No 574.

Baḥri Mamlúk.

Aḍh-Ḍháhir Ruknu'd-dín Baybars, A.H. 658-676 (A.D. 1259-1277).

AV. Alexandria, A.H. 673 (A.D. 1274-5). B. M. C., IV., *cf.* No. 474. Colombo Museum, No. 5; also 4, 6, 7.

Cairo. Colombo Museum, No. 8.

—— B. M. C., No. 481. Colombo Museum, No. 9.

Al-Manṣúr Sayfu'd-dín Qaláún, A.H. 678-689 (A.D. 1279-1290).

AV. B. M. C., IV., p. 341; Colombo Museum, No. 10.

Persian Mongol.

Hulagu, A.H. 654-663 (A.D. 1256-1265).

AV. with name of Mangu as overlord. Variant of B. M. C., X., p. 89, No. 7 s. Date and mi town illegible.

Abaga, A.H. 663-681 (A.D. 1265-1282).

AV Tabriz. A.H. 681 (A.D. 1282). B. M. C., X., p. 94, No. 38 m. Colombo Museum, Nos. 11, 12.

AV. Tabriz, year illegible. B. M. C., X., p. 95. No. 38 p. From Gampola.

Ahmad, A.H. 681-683 (A.D. 1282-1284).

AV Colombo Museum, No. 13.

Rasúlid Kings of the Yemen.

Al-Muayyad Dáwúd bin Yúsuf, A.H. 696-721 (A.D. 1297-1321).

AV. Aden, A.H. 710 (A.D. 1310/11). As B. M. C., V., 359 f, but the last two segments of the obv. margin read:— (3) ابو بكر الصدّيق . (4) وعمر وعثمن وعلى

AV. Aden, A.H. 719 (A.D. 1319 20). Obv. as B. M. C., V. 359; rev. as 359 d. From Galle District.

4. The following coins were obtained, unless otherwise stated, in the bazaars of Colombo. It is therefore not certain whether they were found in the Island, but the presence of a series of base metal pieces may point to their having been in use among the Muhammadan merchants of Colombo:—

Sultans of Dehli.

Táju'd-dín Yalduz, lieutenant of Muḥammad bin Sám in Karman and Ghazni. A.H. 589-602 (A.D. 1193-1205).

Billon. B. M. C., No. 27; J. B. A. S., 1880, p. 210, No. 17, and Pl. XVIII.

Shamsu'd-dín Altamsh, A.H. 607-633 (A.D. 1210-1235).

Billon. I. M. C., 55; AE *ib.*, 71.

Jalálu'd-dín Fíróz II., A.H. 689 695 (A.D. 1290–95).

AR. Tanka, A.H. 693, I. M. C., 178.

AE I. M. C., 183.

Muḥammad III. bin Tughlaq, A.H. 725-752 (A.D. 1325-51).

AE. I. M. C., 365; *ib.*, 375, forced currency. Also one from Jaffna.

Fíróz III., A.H. 752-790 (A.D. 1351-88).

Billon. I. M. C., 445, two specimens.

Muḥammad Sháh IV. ibn Fíróz, A.H. 792–795 (A.D. 1389-92).
AE. B. M. C. (Sultans of Dehli), 469.

Maḥmúd Sháh II., A.H. 795-815 (A.D. 1392-1412
AE. I. M. C., 511.

Bahlól Lódi. A.H. 855-894 (A.D. 1451-88).
Billon. I. M. C., 550 dated 862, and *ib.*, 562.

Sikandar Sháh II. Lódi, A.H. 894-923 (A.D. 1488-1517).
Billon. I. M. C., 588 ; two specimens, one dated 904.

Shér Sháh, A.H. 946-952 (A.D. 1540 45).
AE. I. M. C.. 758. type G.

Malwa.

Hóshang Sháh, A.H. 808-836 (A.D. 1405-32).
AE. I. M. C., 4 and 5 ; from Tissamaharama.

Jaunpur.

Ḥusain Sháh. A.H. 863–881 (A.D. 1458–76).
Billon. I. M. C., 136 ; dated 885.

Kashmir.

Ḥusain Sháh, A.H. 970–977 (A.D. 1562–69).
AE. I. M. C., 36 ; dated 976.

Madura

Fakhru'd-dín Mubárak Sháh, A.H. 761–770 (A.D. 1359/60–1368/9).
AE. Hultzsch, " Coinage of the Sultans of Madura," J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 667, No. 23.

(II.) HORMUZ OR ORMUZ.

5. The term ashrafí, spelled by the Portuguese " xarafim " or " xerafim," was first applied to the gold standard coin of the Mamlúk dynasty of Egypt and Syria, and then to other gold coins current in the sixteenth century. Among these was the xerafim of the kingdom of Hormuz, the capital of which, situated on an island at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, was of the highest commercial importance, all the trade from the west coast of India passing through it to Persia ; in consequence, its coins, the gold xerafim and the silver larin. were current in the Indian and Arabian seaports. The place, being of such wealth and so well situated for the purposes of trade, naturally attracted the attention of Affonso D'Albuquerque, who in 1507 made the king tributary to Portugal. In spite of attempted revolts this subjection continued, the kings retaining the right of coinage, until the capture of Hormuz by an allied Anglo-Persian force in 1622.

The Portuguese edition of Barbosa, who was in India between 1508 and 1509, states : " In this city is made money of gold and silver, to wit, a coin of very good gold, round like ours, with Moorish letters on both sides, which they call xerafim, worth 300 reis a little more or less ; the majority of them are made in halves, which are worth 150 reis. That of silver is a coin long like a bean, also with Moorish letters on both sides, which is worth three vintens a little more or less, and which they call tangas, the silver of which is very fine ; and of all this money, both silver as well as gold, there is such sufficiency in Ormus, that when the ships come to the city with merchandise, after they have sold it and bought the horses and the rest, which they have to take, all the balance they take away in this money, as it is much current in India and has very good value."[1] The Spanish version published by the Hakluyt Society, which probably is the original, gives the value of the xerafim as 300 maravedis, by which the Portuguese reis must be meant, and apparently states that the silver tanga was of the size of a fanam of Calicut, was worth 55 maravedis, and was twelve dineros fine. There is clearly an hiatus in the text. and the statement as to the size of the larin is impossible ; the explanation may lie in a confusion between the Portuguese fanão, " fanam," and fava, written faua, " bean."

According to Nunes, who wrote his " Lyvro dos Pesos " in 1554, the gold xerafim was rated at 12½ çadis (Pers. ṣadí, " hundred ") of good money, or at 300 Portuguese reis in Hormuz itself ; in India, however, it had commanded a premium of 2 or 3 per cent. more, but at the time of writing was only worth 300 reis, as the gold was of less fineness than before. He further states with reference to gold bullion that " the matical [mithqál] of it, as it is of the touch of X^{c}, which is the finest which comes there. is worth 3 azares [Pers. hazár, " thousand "] and

[1] Collecção de noticias para a historia e geografia das nações ultramarinas, Lisbon, 18‥

2 çadis." The Portuguese editors were at a loss to explain " X^c " ; but if we take it as " X^e," the usual abbreviation of " xerafim " in the Tombos, and the Hormuz mithqál of 60 to the Portuguese mark as equal to 59·025 grains Troy, the weight of a xerafim of 21½ çadis should be 39·6 grains, which corresponds almost exactly with the weight of the known coins.

Nunes gives the money of account as follows :—

100 dínárs	=	1 ṣadí				
1,000 do.	=	10 do.	=	1 hazár		
2,000 do.	=	20 do.	=	2 do.	=	1 pardáo

According to Alvares, the actual coinage consisted of the xerafim and its half the azár in gold, and of the " Hali " (*lege*, ṣadí), the tenth of the azár, in silver, as well as of the larin, which at one time was worth one-sixth of the " ducat or xerafim." [1] In 1668 ṣadís were melted down for coinage into Goa xerafins, then of 783·6 millesimal fineness, to obtain which standard two ounces of refined silver were added to each mark of ṣadís.

The gold xerafim exchanged in the sixteenth century for five larins ; its rating in reis naturally followed the valuation of the larin. It is the prototype of the silver xerafim or pardáo xerafim of the Indo-Portuguese monetary system, first struck at Cochin in 1568.

The Ceylon cinnamon was shipped to Hormuz ;[2] hence in the treasure of the king of Kotte plundered by the Portuguese in 1551 appear 5586 " new xerafins of Ormuz," beside 162 larins.[3]

6. The only Hormuz xerafins actually known are those found in the neighbourhood of Kandy with two S. Thomés of 1594 and various Othmanli sequins of the sixteenth century. An account of the xerafins is published in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1914 (Fourth Series, Vol. XIV.). The details of these gold coins are as follows :—

Muḥammad Sháh, A.D. 1522–1534.

Diameter : ·59 in. Weight : 38·7 gr. A.H. 934 or 939

Salghar Sháh, A.D. *c.* 1534–1543.

Diameter : ·57 in. Weight : 38·5 gr. A.H. 942

Túrán Sháh, A.D. 1543–*c.*1563.

Diameter	Weight	A.H.
·53 in.	37·2 gr.	95–
·57	38·5	952
·53	38·0	952
·55	38·7	958
·53	39·4	958 in ciphers
·53	39·1	96–

Othmanli Sultan Sulaimán the Magnificent, A.D. 1520–1566.

Sequin of the ? Cairo mint cut down ; weight, 38·2 gr.

The design on all consists of an area enclosed in a square, the sides of which are produced in one direction; in the area of the obverse is the date in letters or ciphers, and on the reverse the name of the king. The legend in the margin is divided into four compartments by the prolonged sides of the square, but does not commence at the same point in all the coins. That on the obverse of most appears to be the Shi'ah Kalimah,

لا اله الا الله | محمد رسول الله | علی ولی الله

and on the fourth side [? ضرب هرمز] سنة the word سنة being transferred to the area when the date is in ciphers ; on the reverse is السلطان | الاعظم | ? بن شاه | خلد ? الله ? ملكه.

The year in ciphers only appears on one of the xerafins of Túrán Sháh dated 958 (A.D. 1551), another of his reign being dated 952 (A.D. 1545/6) in letters ; it might be supposed that those dated in ciphers were the " new xerafins," in which the fineness of the gold was less than in the older coins, but the date in letters appears on a xerafim dated 96–. The design of the larins is the same as that on the gold coinage, all which have come under the writer's observation and are legible, are dated in ciphers (*vide* (iv.) " Larins ").

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[1] S. de Vries, Curieuse Aenmerckingen (Appendix E, 7).

[2] Botelho, Tombo, fol. 195.

[3] Inventario do Thesouro do Rei de Ceylão.

(III.) OTHMANLI.

7. The Othmanli sequin or ducat, Altún, Sulṭání altún, Ashrafí or Sharífí, was struck originally at Cairo as the equivalent of the widely popular Venetian sequin, with which it agreed in weight. Nunes in 1554 mentions it under the name of "Soltani" as being current in Goa for 420 reis, and it is again spoken of in 1582 as being in use and of the same weight and fineness as the Venetian.[1] In 1583–8 Linschoten gives its value as 2 pardáo xerafins or 600 reis.

The only Othmanli sequins found in Ceylon were discovered in company with the Hormuz xerafins above-mentioned ; all are of the sixteenth century. Those of the find which can be traced are of the following reigns and mints :—

Sulaimán (the Magnificent) bin Selím, A.D. 1520–1566 :—

Constantinople ..	3	Cairo	3
Brusa	1	Damascus	1
Sidrah Kiysi ..	2	? Seres	1

Selím II. bin Sulaimán, A.D. 1566–1574 :—

Cairo	4	Algiers	1

Murád III. bin Selím, A.D. 1574–1594 :—

Constantinople ..	2	Damascus	2
Aleppo	2	Tripoli	1
Cairo	2		

The sequin seems to have been current at one time in the Dutch period, for, according to Valentyn (*c.* 1726), the "Moorze ducaat" or Moorish ducat was worth at Galle 19 fanams of 6 stuivers each or 5 guilders 14 stuivers ; at Mannar 2 to $2\frac{1}{8}$ rix-dollars of 60 stuivers each ; at Surat $4\frac{3}{16}$, $4\frac{1}{4}$, or $4\frac{5}{16}$ rupees of 30 stuivers each ; and at Cochin 2 reals or pieces-of-eight of account. From its use in the Mocha trade it seems to have been also called the "Mocha ducat." In 1782 at Batavia the "so-called" Turkish gold ducats were put into circulation at $1\frac{1}{2}$ rix-dollars the piece ; they were then stated to be entirely unknown in Ceylon.

(IV.) LARINS.

8. The larin, known to the Portuguese as tanga larin or tanga de prata, consists of a silver wire some 4 inches in length, doubled in the middle and struck usually on both sides with a die containing a Persian or Arabic legend, only a few letters of which are commonly to be found on the coin. In Ceylon it is usually bent into the shape of a hook, whence its Sinhalese name of *koku ridí*, "hook silver." Its weight was at one time 45 to the Portuguese mark or 78·7 grains Troy ; by 1607, however, it is given as 6 to the ounce, *i.e.*, 48 to the mark or 73·7 grains,[2] and this is the usual weight.

The larin takes its name from the town of Lar in Persia, where it is supposed to have been first struck ; it was also coined by the Shah of Persia, by the King of Hormuz, and at Basra in the regions of the Gulf, and also by the 'Adil Sháhí dynasty of Bijapur in India, and by the Sultan of the Maldives.

With the xerafim it enjoyed great popularity as a trade coin, and was largely exported from Hormuz in connection with the horse trade. Its early history in Ceylon has been discussed in Chapter VIII. ; the Portuguese imported it in large quantities into Cochin and the ports of Malabar.[3] It was the prototype of the Indo-Portuguese tanga, and its ratings have been given in connection with that currency. Three larins were considered equivalent to the debased silver xerafim, and five to the piece-of-eight, whence the Sinhalese designation *ridí paha*, "five larins," for the rix-dollar. It continued in use during the early Dutch period, being reckoned at 10 or 12 light stuivers. Valentyn (*c.* 1726) still counts it as equal to the latter sum, but it is probable that in his day and for some time before the actual coin was confined to the Kandyan country, and the larin had become in the Dutch territories a money of account as one-fifth of the rix-dollar of 48 heavy stuivers. Its later history belongs to that of the Kandyan currency. Its name is still in use in the Maritime Provinces in the expression *ridí paha* referred to above, employed to designate the sum of 75 cents.

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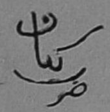
[1] Aragão, Doct. 16.

[2] Lembranças, fol. 25 v.; Nunes, fol. 33 v. ; Aragão, Doct. 49, 64.

[3] Van Cardaen, Voyages aux Indes Orientales, Amsterdam, 1716, Vol. VI., p. 626.

Of the many larins extant in Ceylon, the following are the varieties which can be identified.[1] The Kandyan and European have been included here as being derived from a Muhammadan prototype :—

9. (1) *Lar*. According to Sir Thomas Herbert,[2] the larin coined at Lar was of "pure silver but shaped like a Date-stone, the King's name, or some sentence out of the *Alcoran* being stamp'd upon it : in our money it values ten pence." A few answering to this description have been found in Ceylon ; they are short and very wide at the fold and not unlike a date-stone. On one side is the Kalimah and on the other



apparently ضرب [لا]رستان

On the conquest of the kingdom of Lar by Sháh Abbás I. (1585-1629) and its incorporation with the Persian monarchy the larin ceased to be minted there.[3]

10. (2) *Hormuz*. The larins found in Ceylon bear the names of Túrán Sháh (1543-*c*.1563) and Farrúkh Sháh (1564/5-*c*.1601). The design is identical with that of the gold xerafins described above. The Hormuz larin had the reputation of being the best ; thus Pyrard in the early years of the seventeenth century speaking of the larin writes : " C'est une sorte de monnoye qui court par toutes les Indes, & il s'en fait en beaucoup d'endroits, mais la meilleure se forge à Ormaz," whence quantities were exported to India.[4] The coinage presumably came to an end with the capture of Hormuz in 1622.

11. (3) *Persian*. All hitherto found in the Island are of the reign of Sháh Tahmásp I. (A.H. 930-984, A.D. 1524-1576). They usually have on one side the Shi'ah form of the Kalimah, and on the other the royal style. This from a collation of many specimens reads, with slight variations in the disposition of the words, as follows :—

[؟ غلام] على ابو المظفر طهماسب شاه (شاه طهماسب or) الحسينى الصفوى [؟بهادر خان]
خلد الله ملكه [؟ و] سلطانه

On a fine specimen in the Colombo Museum (47c) the legend begins apparently with شيراز "Shíráz," the capital of Fars, the province adjoining Laristan.

12. (4) "*Mill-sail*" *type*. These larins are characterized by having on one side a design, which has been described as a mill-sail, composed either of the word على "'Alí" four times in the form of a cross, the initial letters making a rosette in the centre, or of four straight single or double lines springing from a small circle or some such ornament. In the angles appear the names of the Shi'ah imáms ; on the other are the titles of the king. From the date A.H. 991 on a larin of this type these coins may have been issued by the Persian Sháh Muḥammad Khudabanda (A.H. 985-998, A.D. 1578-1587), but the legend does not seem to resemble the style of that monarch.

13. (5) *Othmanli*. Larins were struck at Basra in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, according to Balbi, Teixeira, and Tavernier, whose works refer to the years 1580, 1604, and 1652, respectively.[5]

The die is circular, of about the size of the half-piastre of the later part of the seventeenth century. On one side is the name of the Sultan, and on the other as deciphered from various specimens :—

سلطان البرّين
وخاقان البحرين
السلطان ابن
السلطان

Larins issued by the following Sultans have been found in Ceylon :—

Aḥmad I., A.H. 1012-27 (A.D. 1603-18) ; doubtful attribution.

Ibrahím, A.H. 1049-58 (A.D. 1640-48).

Sulaimán III., A.H. 1099–1102 (A.D. 1687-91) ; several specimens.

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[1] *Vide* Colombo Museum Catalogue, 1914.

[2] Travels, p. 120.

[3] Tavernier, Indian Travels, p. 2 ; Chardin, Voyage en Perse, Vol. IV., p. 279, ed. Amsterdam, 1711.

[4] Pyrard, Vol. I., cap. 27 ; II., cap. 18. The larins are figured in Num. Chron., 1914.

[5] Teixeira, Hakluyt Society's ed., cap. III., p. 30 ; Tavernier, Persian Travels, II., cap. VIII.

14. (6) *Kandyan* (**Pl. 163**). Knox, speaking of the money in use in the Kandyan kingdom between 1659 and 1679, writes : " There is another sort, which all People by the King's Permission may and do make. The shape is like a fish-hook, they stamp what mark or impression on it they please. The silver is purely fine beyond pieces of Eight. For if any suspect the goodness of the Plate it is the custom to burn the Money in the fire red-hot, and so put it in water : and if it be not then purely white, it is not Currant Money." [1] In the next century Fra Paolino da S. Bartolomeo (1776–1789) writes : " The King of Candy has introduced in the island of Ceylon a kind of money, which consists of a piece of silver wire rolled up like a wax taper. When a person wishes to make a purchase he cuts off as much of this silver as is equal to the price of the article."[2] These coins bear no legend, or at best poor imitations of Arabic letters; they are usually somewhat thick and short, and frequently show one or more cuts at the bend, apparently made to test the purity of the metal. Their weight is said to be 15 Sinhalese *mañjáḍis*, and equal to that of a pagoda, but is erratic.

For further information see Chapter XIV.

15. (7) *European*. As already stated, larins were struck by the Portuguese at Colombo, but these cannot strictly be called European, being coined for the Sinhalese king.

In 1621, however, the Dane Erich Grubbe struck and circulated larins with his name in the East of Ceylon. " Ove Giedde, the commander of the ill-fated Danish expedition to Ceylon, thus refers to the coin in his journal : ' On the 19th April Heinrich Häsz . . . presented me with one of the larins, which Erich Grubbe had had coined in Ceilon. Upon it were in bold letters *Don Erich Grubbe*.' " [3]

(V.) PERSIAN.

16. The circulation of Persian 'abbásís and maḥmúdís is dealt with in connection with the Dutch currency. The coins found in Ceylon are the great 'abbási of 5 sháhís (142·5 gr.), the 'abbási of 4 sháhís (114 gr.), and its half the maḥmúdí (57 gr.), and are commonly countermarked with the Company's monogram surmounted by C standing for " Colombo." Many are described in the Colombo Museum Catalogue of 1914.

Ṣafí, I., A.H. 1038–1052 (A.D. 1629–1642).

Maḥmúdí ; mint, Huwaiza in Khuzistan.

The reverse legend is : " The king is in soul the slave of Ṣafí ; struck at Ḥuwaiza," continued from the margin into the area.

Colo. Mus., 14.

'Abbás II., A.H. 1052–1077 (A.D. 1642–1666).

Five Sháhí piece ; mint, Tiflis, A.H. 1075. B. M. C. Pers., 45, except date.

Maḥmúdí with same reverse as the preceding 'abbási. Colo. Mus., 15.

Sulaimán I. (Ṣafí II.), A.H. 1077–1105 (A.D. 1667–1694).

'Abbásís :—

(1) In his first name of Ṣafí. Mint, Tiflis, A.H. 1078. Colo. Mus., 16. Two varieties, in large and fine lettering.

(2) In his second name of Sulaimán. **Pl. 164.**

(*a*) Mint and date illegible. Colo. Mus., 17, 18 ; *cf.* Num. Chron., 1908, p. 373.

(*b*) Mints : Tiflis, Erivan, Ardebil, Ganja. Colo. Mus., 19–21 ; *cf.* B. M. C. Pers., Pl. III., 58.

Maḥmúdís :—

(1) Same type as last. Colo. Mus., 22–24, *cf.* B. M. C. Pers., 65.

(2) Huwaiza type. " Sulaimán slave of the king of the country (sc.'Alí) ; struck at Ḥuwaiza."

In the margin an interlaced pattern divides the legend. **Pl. 165.**

Dates : 1080, 1085, 1086, 1088, 1089, 1091, 1092, 1096. Colo. Mus., 25–39 ; *cf.* B. M. C. Pers., 77–87.

(VI.) MUGHAL AND EAST INDIA COMPANY.

17. The employment of the rupees of the Mughal Empire is discussed with the Dutch currency. The rupees of whatever mint are known in Ceylon as *Suratti rupiyal*, the Surat rupee being specially favoured by the Dutch. The gold muhr was accepted in Ceylon, but was left to find its value in the market ; in 1782 this depended on the demand for the coin on the part of the Coast bankers.

[1] Knox, pt. III., chap. VIII.

[2] Voyages to the East Indies, English trans., 1800, p. 86.

[3] Ceylon Literary Register, 1893, p. 109.

The whole and half rupees of Muḥammad Sháh (A.D. 1719–1748) and his successors are common; the rupee of 'Alamgír II. (A.D. 1754–1759) is of the Arcot mint. Of the earlier emperors, the following coins are known:—

Akbar, A.D. 1556–1605. A square rupee with the Kalimah on the obverse and the names of the four Khalifs in the segments, and on the reverse the titles of Akbar, has not been uncommon of recent years. Most, if not all, are not coins, but talismans made in imitation of the rupee.

Aurangzéb, A.D. 1605–1628. Mint, Etawah, date 1101 and regnal year 24. Multan, date 1102.

Farrúkhsiyár, A.D. 1713–1719. Mint Surat.

A Surat muhr of the forty-sixth year of Sháh 'Alam II. (A.D. 1759–1806) found in Ceylon possibly is a Company's coin.

For the sake of convenience the coins of the English East India Company, struck after the Mughal types, are inserted here.

MADRAS.

18. Arcot Rupee. The legend is that of the sixth year of 'Alamgír II.—

Obv.: The lucky coin of the victorious emperor 'Azízu 'd-dín Muḥammad 'Alamgír.

Rev.: Struck at Arcot in the year 6 of the reign of tranquil prosperity.

The mintmark is a half open lotus on the reverse; that on the issue of 1807 is closed at the top. The coin is distinguished by groups of four dots. The Arcot mint was opened in 1742 and was removed to Madras in 1807, but all the coins, whether struck at Arcot, Madras, or as later at Calcutta, purport to have been minted at the first-named place. Similar coins were also issued by the Nawab of the Carnatic.

(1) "Old Arcot," c. 1758–1807. Of rough execution. In 1788 its weight was 177·25 grains, and the fine contents 171·60. It was current in Ceylon in the early years of the British occupation, and was considered as equal to the imaginary rix-dollar of 12 fanams or 48 stuivers. Atkins, 18.

(2) In 1807 the mint was transferred to Madras, and the execution of the coins improved. The new issue was struck from Spanish dollars, the rupee weighing 176·4 grains. In 1811–1812 another series was issued, the double rupee being struck on the dollar itself, of which the design is sometimes partially visible. The pieces have a plain circle round the rim and an oblique milled edge, the whole legend appearing. The rupee weighed 187·48 grains. Neither issue seems to be found in Ceylon. Atkins, 51–57.

(3) By Proclamation of 19th June, 1812, the issue of whole, half, and quarter rupees of English standard silver was to commence, the one-eighth being added in 1813. The rupee weighed 180 grains. The double and single anna given in the next paragraph may belong to this series.

(4) The new series, which lasted from 1818 to 1835, is distinguished by an indented cord milling and dotted rim; the mintmark is a lotus closed at the top. The coins of all the denominations from the rupee to the anna are found in Ceylon; the single and double anna, however, while having the closed lotus, retain the plain rim and oblique milling of the 1811–1812 issue.

The rupee and its quarter, both countermarked with a crown, were put into circulation in the Island as 1¼ and one-third of a rix-dollar respectively by Proclamations dated December 31 and March 22, 1823. **Pl. 166, 167.**

The gold rupee or muhr, of the same design and size as the rupee, is also found, though rarely, in Ceylon. Atkins, 10; 63–65.

(5) A series of whole, half, quarter, eighth, and sixteenth rupees were struck between 1823 and 1825 at Calcutta, the Madras rupee forming the currency of the Tennasserim Provinces. The design is the same as that of the last described issue, but is distinguished by the mintmark of a rose in place of the lotus. The coins are said to have an upright milled edge and a dotted rim; the anna found locally, however, has a plain line rim and oblique milling. Atkins, 58–62.

BENGAL.

19. The Murshidabad mint was abolished in 1793, but its name was retained on the coins issued at Calcutta. From 1773 all rupees bore the impression of the nineteenth year of Sháh 'Alam II. The legend is:—

Obv.: The defender of the religion of Muḥammad, the shadow of God's grace, the emperor Sháh 'Alam, struck money through the seven climes.

Rev.: Struck at Murshidábád in the year 19 of the reign of tranquil prosperity.

The mintmark is a five-pointed star, a variety of phúl ("flower").

(1) 1773–1792. Of rude execution. Weight: 179·6 grains. Bertolacci states that it was current in Ceylon in 1780. Atkins, 13.

The muhr of 1766 weighed 179·6 grains, and that of 1769 190·7. A muhr found in Ceylon is unmilled, but has the whole legend visible enclosed in a line and bead circle, and is dated 1199, the regnal year being 19. Another which is rougher, is of the fifteenth year, and dated 1190.

(2) Old Standard Sicca, 1793–1818. This has the entire legend visible and an oblique milled edge; a variety has a wide toothing round the rim. It is dated 1202, and weighs 179·6 grains.

The muhr, weighing 190·8 grains, with its half and quarter, has been found in Ceylon as well as the rupee. Atkins, 18, 19; 1.

(3) New Standard Sicca, 1818–1832. This resembles the last, but has an upright milled edge and no date on the obverse; its weight is 191·9 grains. It is found in the Island. The muhr of 1818–1819, weighing 204·7 grains, has not been found. Atkins, 25.

(4) New Sicca Rupee, 1833–1835. This differs from the last in having a plain edge and a beaded rim. It weighs 192 grains. Atkins, 28.

BOMBAY.

20. (1) "Old Surat Rupee," c. 1773–1780. This coin is of rough execution. It has on the obverse a star with three dots above and on the reverse a six- or seven-foil with stalk. According to Bertolacci, it was current in Ceylon in 1780 Its weight is 178·3 grains. The legend runs:—

Obv.. The lucky coin of the victorious emperor Sháh 'Alam.
Rev. Struck at Surat in the year 46 of the reign of tranquil prosperity. Atkins, 17.
The muhr given above among the Mughal coins may be of this series.

(2) 1825–1835 A Surat whole and two half rupees with a plain edge and a line and bead rim have been found in Ceylon They are dated 1215 and in the forty-sixth year, and have a fleur-de-lys on the obverse. Atkins, 30

(3) The minute gold rupee, mentioned in Tufnell's "Hints to Coin Collectors," p. 196, is known.

An occasional Sulṭání rupee of Típú Ṣáhib is to be found in the Island.

CHAPTER XIII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

(I.) FAR EASTERN.

A CERTAIN number of Chinese coins, almost exclusively of the Sung and Southern Sung dynasties, have been found at Anuradhapura (6), Polonnaruwa (6), and Yapahu (10), the earliest dating from A.D. 995–998 and the latest from A.D. 1201–1205 (A. S., 1911–12, p. 64), as well as at Kurunegala (1 at least in 1906), Alutvewa in the Kandapalla korale of Matale (1), and in the Eastern Province at Nindavur (3), at Kurukkalmadam (1), and at Kalmunai (1). A find of eighteen was made at Talaimannar when the railway was in course of construction. Chinese money has also been picked up on the Coromandel Coast (Elliot, C. S. I., p. 35).

Embassies, mostly religious, are stated to have been sent by the Sinhalese kings to China from the early fifth to the middle of the eighth century (Tennent, "Ceylon," I., pp. 595–597). From about the tenth century their junks came to the Island to exchange their goods with the Arab ships, which had previously gone all the way to China (cf. Al-Mas'aúdí "Meadows of Gold," A.D. 912–916, and the article CHINA in the Encyclopædia of Islam) Speaking of M'abar or South India, Waṣṣáf in 1300 says. "The curiosities of Chín and Máchín and the beautiful products of Hind and Sind, laden on large ships (which they call junks), sailing like mountains with wings of the wind on the surface of the water, are always arriving there. The wealth of the Isles of the Persian Gulf in particular, and in part the beauty and adornment of other countries, from 'Iráq and Khurásán as far as Rúm and Europe, are derived from M'abar, which is so situated as to be the key of Hind" (Elliot, "Historians," III 32). the port doubtless was that of Káyal, the chief town of the Muhammadans in the Páṇḍyan country. It was about this time that the embassy for the relics of the hair, teeth, and begging-bowl of Buddha was sent in 1284 by Kublai Khán to the King of Ceylon; this, though not mentioned in the Mahāvaṁsa, is recorded by Marco Polo In the next century Ibn Baṭúṭah testifies that Quilon and Calicut were the chief places of resort for the

Chinese merchants. Cheng Tsu of the Ming dynasty, A.D. 1403–1425, sent ships to India, Bengal, Calicut, Ceylon Surat, and other places, but the object seems to have been political. It was probably in connection with this expedition that Ching Ho visited the Island and carried off the Sinhalese king, as related in the Rájavaliya ; the Galle inscription recording offerings to Buddha, and written in Persian, Tamil, and Chinese in the seventh year of the above-mentioned emperor in the period Yung Lo (A.D. 1410), testifies to the activity of China at this period (A. S., 1911–12, p. 62, and Spolia Zeylanica, IV., p. 177). Mercantile navigation, however to Malabar seems to have ceased not long after.

The coins, with two exceptions, are pieces of one cash. Those found at Yapahu (A. S., 1911–12, p. 64) were lost to Government on the death of the late Mr. Ayrton, Archæological Commissioner ; they had, however, been identified by the authorities of the British Museum. Accordingly, the reading of the third character on some of these must remain doubtful.

The legends are as given in " The Currency of the Farther East," by Mr. J. H. Stewart Lockhart, Hong Kong, 1907.

Sung or Northern Sung Dynasty.

2. T'ai Tsung, A.D. 976–998.

Period : Chih Tao, 995–998.
Legend : Chih Tao Yüan Pao, " Original coin of the Chih Tao period."
C. F. E., 244. Yapahu ; Polonnaruwa.

Chén Tsung, A.D. 998–1023.

(1) Period : Hsien P'ing, 998–1004.
Legend : Hsien P'ing Yüan Pao.
C. F. E., 247. Talaimannar ; Polonnaruwa near Thúpáráma. Colombo Museum, No. 288

(2) Period : T'ien Hsi, 1017–1022.
Legend : T'ien Hsi T'ung Pao
C. F. E., 252. Talaimannar.

Jén Tsung, A.D. 1023–1064.

(1) Period : T'ien Shêng, 1023–1032.
Legend : T'ien Shêng Yüan Pao.
C. F. E. 255. Nindavur.

(2) Period : Ching Yu, 1034–1038.
Legend : Ching Yu Yüan Pao.
C. F. E., 258. Yapahu.

(3) Period : Chia Yu, 1056–1064.
Legend : Chia Yu Yüan Pao.
C. F. E., 276.

Shén Tsung, A.D. 1068–1086.

(1) Period : Hsi Ning, 1068–1078.
Legend : Hsi Ning Yüan Pao.
C. F. E., 285. Talaimannar.
Legend : Hsi Ning Chung Pao, " Heavy coin of the Hsi Ning period."
C. F. E., *cf.* 291. Talaimannar (2) ; Kurunegala (1) ; Anuradhapura (2).
One coin of this period from Yapahu.

(2) Period : Yüan Féng, A.D. 1078–1086.
Legend : Yüan Féng T'ung Pao.
C. F. E., *cf.* 299. Polonnaruwa (2) near Thúpáráma and at west entrance of same.
C. F. E., 301. Anuradhapura (1) ; Kurukkalmadam (1).
C. F. E., 302. Rev. : Crescent above the hole. Polonnaruwa, Palace (A. S. 1911–12, p. 56).

Ché Tsung, A.D. 1086–1101.

(1) Period . Yüan Yu, 1086–1094.
Legend · Yüan Yu T'ung Pao.
C. F. E., 304. Anuradhapura (2).
C. F. E., 305. Talaimannar (2).

(2) Period : Shao Shéng, 1094–1098.
Legend : Shao Shéng Yüan Pao.
C. F. E., 316. Kalmunai (1) ; also of same period at Yapahu.

(3) Period : Yüan Fu, 1098–1101.
Legend . Yüan Fu T'ung Pao.
C. F. E., 320 Talaimannar.

Hui Tsung, A.D. 1101–1119.

(1) Period : Shéng Sung, 1101–1102.
Legend Shéng Sung Yüan Pao.
C. F. E., 321, 322, 324. Talaimannar (3).

(2) Period : Shung Ning, 1102–1107.
Legend : Shung Ning T'ung Pao.
C. F. E., *cf.* 326. Rev. : plain. Five cash. Polonnaruwa, near Thúpáráma ; Yapahu
Legend · Shung Ning Chung Pao.
C. F. E., 327, and *cf.* 328.

(3) Period : Ta Kuan, 1107–1111.
Legend : Ta Kuan T'ung Pao.
C. F. E., 332. Talaimannar.

(4) Period : Cheng Ho, 1111–1118.
Legend : Cheng Ho T'ung Pao.
C. F. E., 342. Talaimannar ; Yapahu.

(5) Period : Hsüan Ho, 1119.
Legend Hsüan Ho T'ung Pao.
C. F. E., 354. Alutvewa, Kandapalla Korale, Matale

Southern Sung Dynasty.

3 Kao Tsung, A.D. 1127–1163.

(1) Period : Chien Yen, 1127–1131.
Legend : Chien Yen T'ung Pao. Yapahu

(2) Period Shao Hsing, 1131–1163.
Legend . Shao Hsing T'ung Pao.
C. F. E 366. Anuradhapura (1).
Legend . Shao Hsing Yüan Pao.
C. F. E 367. Nindavur (1).

Hsiao Tsung, A.D. 1163–1190.

Period : Ch'ien Tao, 1165–1174.
Legend · Ch'ien Tao Yüan Pao. Yapahu.

Ning Tsung, A.D. 1195–1225.

(1) Period : Chia T'ai 1201–1205.
Legend : Chia T'ai T'ung Pao. Yapahu (2).

(2) Period : Chia Ting, 1208–1225.
Legend : Chia Ting T'ung Pao.
C. F. E., 463 ; also 468, on rev. over hole *Chi* " seventh " *sc.* year of period.

Li Tsung, A.D. 1225–1265.

Period : Shun Yu, 1241–1263.
Legend : Shun Yu Yüan Pao.
C. F. E., 512. On rev. *Erh* " second " *sc.* year of peroid.

Miscellaneous.

4. Legend K'ai Yüan T'ung Pao.

This legend was employed by—

		A.D.		C. F. E.
Kao Tau	.. ..	618–627	..	155–164
Té Tsung	.. ..	780–785	..	172
Wu Tsung	.. ..	841–847	..	175–188

all of the T'ang dynasty; and by Wang Shén-Chih of the Great Min State, A.D. 892–925 (C. F. E., 226), and Li Yu of the Southern T'ang, A.D. 962–976 (C. F. E., 219).

In the case of the first three, Lockhart translates the legend by "Currency or coin of the inauguration," with the alternative reading *K'ai T'ung Yüan Pao*, and for the last two by "K'ai Yüan currency."

Two coins with this legend were found at Talaimanna; they have a line over the hole on the reverse, and the lettering and size closely resemble Marsden's plate MCCXX. and C. F. E., 226, which last, however, is considerably larger.

Among the few modern Chinese cash found in Ceylon is one of Chuang Lieh Ti (A.D. **1628–1642**; C. F. E., 719), countermarked with the Galle monogram used by the Dutch in 1655. Another of the same reign (C. F. E., 720), but without countermark, was found at Kalutaveli in the Kalmunai division of Batticaloa District.

A few Japanese gold kobans and small rectangular coins of gold and silver occur in the Island.

(II.) VENETIAN.

5. The gold Venetian sequin or ducat was of the standard weight of 53·75 grains Troy, and varied but little in design from the thirteenth century till the end of the republic in 1797. It attained to great popularity among merchants; so much so that the Mamlúk Sultans of Egypt in the fifteenth century issued ashrafís or xerafins of the same weight, as did the Turks later on after their conquest of that country. The sequin preceded the Portuguese in Western India, Nicolò Conti telling us in his Travels (1419–1444) that "in some parts of anterior India Venetian ducats are in circulation" (Hakluyt Society, ed., p. 30); it is not impossible that the present pagoda weight is due to the influence of this widespread coin.

In Ceylon it was in use under the Portuguese; its various ratings at Goa are given in Chapter VIII. Under the Dutch there is no mention of the Venetian apart from other European ducats until 1701, when with them it was rated at Batavia at 18 schellings or 108 heavy stuivers. In 1782 it was put into circulation by name at 2½ rix-dollars or 120 stuivers with various Persian and Turkish gold coins, a measure which accounts for the prevalence of the sequins of the later Doges. In the same year in Ceylon it was rated at 22 schellings: by 1791 it had risen to 36 schellings in copper money. The sequin was known to the Sinhalese by the name *Vilisiyan* or *Vilisiyánu kási*, and some formed part of the King of Kandy's treasure in 1815.

Sequins of the following Doges have been found in Ceylon, those of the last four being the most common:—

Andrea Gritti	..	1523–1539	Carlo Ruzzini	..	1732–1735
Lorenzo Priuli	..	1556–1559	Alvis Pisani	..	1735–1741
Alvise Mocenigo	..	1570–1577	Francesco Loredano	..	1752–1762
Pasquale Cicogna	..	1585–1595	Alvise Mocenigo	..	1763–1779
Dominico Contarini	..	1659–1674	Paolo Ranieri	..	1779–1789
Giovanni Cornaro	..	1709–1722	Ludovico Manin	..	1789–1797
Alvise Mocenigo	..	1722–1732			

A silver Marcello of Andrea Gritti, weighing 67·7 grains, is also known.

(III.) SPANISH.

6. The principal silver coin was the piastra fuerte, known to the English as the piece-of-eight or ryall-of eight, and later as the dollar; to the Portuguese as the pataca or pardáo de reales; and to the Dutch as the mat, kopstuck, reaal van agten, or simply reaal, which in Batavia became the unit of weight equal to about 420 grains.

The coins found in Ceylon are either of the (*a*) European or (*b*) American mints. The piece-of-eight of the latter is of very rough manufacture, and is known as duro cortado or piastra cuadrada in Spanish, and kantige (square) reaal in Dutch. The coinage of the Peruvian mints was much debased about 1650–1653, and in consequence the "Peruse" or "Peruleros" were banned by the Dutch Company.

(*a*) Of the older coinages, the only coins found are a piece of four reals of Ferdinand and Isabella from Kulikuda near Mankeni in the Eastern Province and another of Philip IV. struck at Valencia.

The later coins of the reigns of Charles III. (1759–1788), Charles IV. (1788–1808), and Ferdinand VII. (1808–1833) are those usually met with in Ceylon.

(*b*) There also occur a few American pieces-of-eight, chiefly of the Mexico mint, and of the reigns of Philip III. (1598–1621) and Philip IV. (1621–1665). These bear on the obverse the royal arms having in chief per pale (1) Castile and Leon quarterly, (2) Aragon and Sicily, the point enté of Granada, and over all an escutcheon of Portugal; and in base quarterly (1) Austria, (2) and (3) Burgundy modern and ancient, (4) Brabant, and over all an escutcheon per pale (1) Flanders, (2) Tyrol. A Mexico piece of four reals of Philip II. without the arms of Portugal was found at the same place as the coin of Ferdinand and Isabella above mentioned. There also exists a very worn piece-of-eight without the escutcheon of Portugal; a fragment bearing the Bourbon arms, perhaps is to be attributed to Philip V. (1700–1746).

A solitary piece-of-eight, dated 1697, has the crowned arms on the obverse, and the monogram of Mary surmounted by a cross on the reverse, and is of the reign of Charles II. (1665–1700).

7. Spanish gold was rare in the East under the Portuguese; Pyrard (bk. II., 40) says of Goa about 1609: "il ne s'y en voit point de monnoye d'Espagne en or, d'autant que l'or y vaut beaucoup moins qu'en Espagne." The solitary dobrão d'ouro, recorded in the "Inventario" of 1551, if not the fourteenth century Portuguese dobra, must have been the old Castilian dobla. "Doblones," that is double escudos, first issued in 1556, are mentioned by name in 1632, when the Portuguese offered a reward of three or four for each Sinhalese head.[1] Pieces-of-eight or patacas were current about 1560, and later on appear to have been in common use in the Island. In 1622 the piece-of-eight was reckoned as equal to five larins, which rating long persisted, and was finally transferred to the Dutch silver rix-dollar. By 1645, at which date the full effects of the output of the American silver mines on prices were felt, the valuation of the piece-of-eight in Indo-Portuguese money was 720 reis or half that of the ducat, and this proportion between the two coins remained until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The early ratings of the piece-of-eight at Batavia are given in Chapter IX. After 1656, when it was valued at 60 light stuivers, it disappears for a time from the Plakaat Boek, and Valentyn in 1726 makes no mention of the coin as in use at Batavia, though he gives 3 guilders or 60 stuivers as its rating in Sumatra. In 1745, however, it is found once more in the Plakaat Boek as equal to 10 schellings or 60 heavy stuivers; two years before it was 63 stuivers at Cochin. The first official rating of dollars since 1658 occurred in 1751, when the old or "square," *i.e.*, the American, was 10 schellings, while the new or round was 10¼ or 61½ stuivers. The value of the roughly struck piece seems to have been fixed in most places in the Archipelago at 60 stuivers, though the round well-made dollars were articles of merchandise, their value rising and falling according to the supply; in 1764 this usually was between RD. 133 and 135 the hundred, or 63·8 to 64·8 stuivers each.[2] In Ceylon the piece-of-eight seems to have fallen into disuse after the sixth decade of the seventeenth century, and in 1754 it was stated that round Spanish reals and Mexicans had never been current and could not be issued. But in 1780 the piastre of recent coinage, namely, from 1772 onwards, was reported to be worth intrinsically 50 Netherlands stuivers, and was put into circulation for 63 Indian stuivers. By 1791, however, it was worth 96 to 99 stuivers in copper, and at the siege of Colombo by the British rose to 120. The dollars of this coinage were rated at Batavia in 1785, 1788, and 1790 at 64 stuivers.

Under the British Government Spanish coin was used for the payment of the troops. Small gold coins of Ferdinand VII. sometimes appear in the bazaars. A small gold piece of the same period with the arms of Spain on one side and an elephant stamped on the other and completely obliterating the original type was found at Ambulagala in the Four Korales. A copper coin of the English East India Company similarly stamped is known.

(IV.) Spanish Netherlands.

8. The Philippus daalder or ducatoon was first struck by Philip II. and weighed 21 engels 7 asen or 503·6 grains Troy. This Brabant ducatoon was in occasional use in Batavia as early as 1649; the only specimen found in Ceylon is of the reign of Philip IV., being dated 1652 and from the Lille mint.

The only other coin of the Spanish Netherlands found in the Island is a billon stuiver of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, dated 1615.

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[1] Faria y Sousa, Asia Portuguesa, Vol. III., p. 491 (Lisbon, 1666–75; Spanish text).

[2] Batavia Plakaat Boek, 20/10/1764.

(v.) Other European.

9. Various small coins at one time circulated in the East with those of the United Provinces. Those **found locally** are :—

(1) Cleves. Billon stuivers of Duke Frederick William (1640–1688) from the mints of Cleves and Emden, dated from 1668 to 1670.

(2) East Friesland. Billon stuivers of Prince Christian Eberhardt (1665–1708).

(3) Jever. Billon stuivers of Charles William of Anhalt-Zerbst (1667–1718) ; also a double stuiver of the same.

(4) Poland. Two coins of Sigismund III. (1587–1632). Also a Silesian groschen of the same reign.

(5) Denmark. Christian V., A.D. 1670–1699 ; 2 skillings, 1681. Frederick IV., A.D. 1699-1730; 4 skillings, 1699. And, according to Lowsley, 12 skilling pieces of 1710.

Coins of the first four states are described in the Colombo Museum Catalogue of 1914.

(vi.) Pagodas and Fanams.

10. The history of the pagoda in the empire of Vijayanagar has been given in the chapter dealing with Indo-Portuguese numismatics ; its later phases belong to the Dutch and British periods. The Porto Novo and the Star varieties are the commonest in the Island.

Very few of the Vijayanagar pagodas have been found in Ceylon ; these are—

Deva Ráya II. *c.* A.D. 1422–1447. Bidie, Pl. I., 11 ; I. M. C., I., Pl. XXX., 26.

Kṛshṇa Deva Ráya, A.D. 1509–1530. Bidie, Pl. II., *12a, 12b ;* I. M. C., I., Pl. XXX., 28.

Acyuta Ráya, A.D. 1530–1542. Half pagoda. C. S. I., 98.

Sadáṣiva Ráya, A.D. 1542–1573, or Sadáṣiva first Náyak of Ikkéri, *c.* 1560. Bidie, Pl. II., 15, I. M. C., I., Pl. XXX., 30.

One Sámi Pagodas.

11. *Pulicat.*—Havart's account of this pagoda has been given above (Chapter X. section 32), and Tavernier's description agrees with it. It seems to have been similar to the Veṅkaṭapati pagoda of Bidie, Pl. II., 15, 15*a*.

Negapatam.—In 1676 the Pulicat pagoda was also struck at Negapatam, but in the next year the design was altered by the addition of the letter N on the margin or edge. Perhaps it was inserted on either side of the image, for in 1730 this pagoda seems to have been copied at Madras with an M in this position.[1] The Dutch coin was of the same fineness and weight as its Pulicat prototype. Its minting with this type seems to have ceased later, presumably with the introduction of the New Negapatam pagoda in 1747. Next year the managers of the Porto Novo mint attempted to prevent the striking of this pagoda, representing to the Nawab of Arcot that it was the same as that coined by him at their mint.[2] As in 1777, according to Thunberg, the Dutch Government offices in Ceylon received only pagodas with a granulated reverse, that is those of the Porto Novo type, and as the pagodas found in Ceylon are of two types only, viz., the Star and varieties of the Porto Novo, it seems fairly certain that the Porto Novo and the New Negapatam were of the same general design, though doubtless differentiated in ways recognizable to the shroffs.

The Old Negapatam pagoda had a fineness of 20 carats $8\frac{2}{5}$ grains ; that of the New Negapatam was 19 carats $2\frac{2}{5}$ grains when first issued, but was reduced about 1770 to 18 carats $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

Tuticorin and Colombo.—The pagodas struck at these mints were of the same fineness and design as the New Negapatam.

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[1] C. S. I., p. 145.

[2] Die van den nieuwen Nagapatnamsen stempel gaat alhier voor de particuliere mede redelijk voort naar mate van 't goud dat bij den inlander te vinden is en door haar opgedaan werd, ongeagt de in de Portonovose munterije belang hebbende regenten daar soo wat teegen gehad en getragt hebben te beletten met den Arcadoesen Nabab te inspireeren, als of men sodanige pagoden gelijk te Portonovo deede munten, tot nadeel van den duan, en waar op zijn excellentie wel niet direct aan ons, maar de Palliacatse, Sadrasp.se en Portonovose opperhoofden quam aanteschrijven, van sulx den Gouverneur te moeten aankundigen, ten fine het slaan van diergelijke pagoden te staken, dog sijn excellentie volgens besluijt van den 27 Maart de onwaarheijd van dien neevens de geobtineerde privilegie van het Tansjoursen hoff, tot het mogen doen slaan van pagoden met den Nagap.sen stempel van sodanige gehaltens als men mogte komen goed te vinden, aangetoond en voor oogen gebragt sijnde, is ons zeedert dier weegens niets verders voorgekomen (Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, Dutch Records, No. 15, p. 7). This concession can hardly be that of 1675, by which the Company was empowered to strike the Pulicat pagoda of $8\frac{5}{8}$ mat.

Porto Novo (Sinh. *Parañgipaṭṭa, scil.* Feringhipet). Obv: Vishṇu standing. Rev.: Granulated. Apparently first struck by the Nawab of Arcot; in 1749 they were imitated, some containing only 18 carats $5\frac{3}{4}$ grains fine gold.[1] They were also struck by the English and Dutch East India Companies. In ? 1719 and 1748 the Negapatam and the Porto Novo pagodas were of the same value;[2] the fine contents of the latter, however, gradually diminished. Bidie, Pl., III., 21.

Scott (Sinh. *Iskáṭṭu* or *Iskaṭṭu varágama*). This is of the same type as the Porto Novo, of which it seems to be a variety. In 1796 the exchange was 38 fanams, as against $38\frac{1}{2}$ for the Porto Novo and 46 for the Star.

The Tranquebar Porto Novo or Scott pagoda is heard of in 1795; from its name it would seem to have been struck by the Danes. One hundred equalled $86\frac{7}{8}$ Company (New Negapatam) and $94\frac{1}{2}$ new or $95\frac{1}{2}$ old Porto Novo pagodas.

Madras Star (Sinh. *Mal varágama*). Obv.: Vishṇu standing with star above; deeply struck. Rev.: Granulated with five-pointed star in centre. The weight of this coin by law was 52·56 grains, and its fineness 19 carats $2\frac{2}{5}$ grains. It was in use in Ceylon in 1777, and also under the British. It was imitated by the Nawab; in 1748 his was only 18 carats 11 grains fine (Selections, Dutch Records, No. 5, p. 6). Bidie, Pl. III., 23; Elliot, C. S. I., Pl. IV., 179.

Two Sámi Pagodas.

12. *Ikkéri.*—The "old Ikkéri" is of the type issued by Sadáṣiva Náyak referred to above. It is the same as the Canarese or Mangalore pagoda (Selections, No. 13, pp. 69, 200). The "new Ikkéri" is that first coined by the restored Raja of Mysore in 1800. Obv.: Ṣiva and Parvatí seated, trident and deer in hands; sun and moon above. Rev.: Nágarí legend divided by two horizontal lines: Ṣrí Kṛshṇa Ráj. Weight, about 52·5 grains; touch, 84·4. A few of these are found in the Island. Bidie, Pl. III., 30; C. S. I., p. 106 and Pl. III., 115.

Madras.—According to Havart, the Madras pagoda about 1693 resembled that of Pulicat, but had on the obverse two deities. His statement is uncorroborated. Judging from Tavernier's plate, the Madras pagoda resembled the Porto Novo.

Mangalore.—Thunberg, p. 229, mentions two varieties: (*a*) The old with two gods on the obverse and letters on the reverse, that is, the "old Ikkéri," and (*b*) that still current in 1777 with the same obverse, but a half moon on the reverse; half pagodas were also in use. Fra Paolino da S. Bartolomeo (1776–1789) gives the same description. In ? 1719 it was of the same value as the Madras Three Sámi Pagoda.[2]

Ḥaydar 'Alí.—Obv.: Ṣiva and Parvatí seated. Rev.: Granulated with ح in centre. Struck by Ḥaydar 'Alí of Mysore in 1763. Bidie, Pl. III., 27.

Three Sámi Pagodas.

13. "*Madras*" *or* "*Masulipatnam.*"—Obv.: Veṅkaṭeṣvara between his two wives; deeply struck. Rev.: Granulated. Average weight, 53·1 grains: fineness, about $20\frac{3}{4}$ carats. 100 = 110 Star pagodas.

This coin is figured by Tavernier as "the Raja of Carnatica's pagd," and is the one apparently referred to in 1711 by Lockyer, according to whom its weight was 2 dwt. 4 gr $15\frac{1}{3}$ min., and its touch $86\frac{1}{4}$ (20 carats $8\frac{2}{5}$ grains). In 1748 it was being struck by the English at Fort St. David, and by the Dutch at Negapatam; it was also issued by the Nawab, and by the French at Pondicherry. Thunberg, p. 229, states that it was imported from Coromandel into Ceylon, where it was current.

This coin was also known as the Tegenepatnam pagoda.[3]

Miscellaneous.

14. *Elephant or Gajapati.*—At the time of Thunberg's visit to Ceylon this pagoda was very rare and difficult to procure (pp. 228, 229). On the obverse is a caparisoned elephant facing the right, and on the reverse a floral arabesque. Its weight is about 58 grains. C. S. I., Pl. II., 118, 119.

"*Mamoedi Ganze*" or "*Mamoedi Gamze.*"—This is mentioned by Valentyn as in use at Mannar and Cocchin, current at the former place for $1\frac{7}{10}$ and at the latter for 2 rix-dollars, which was also the value of the "Canarese" or Ikkéri pagoda. It is the Maḥmúd Khán pagoda, struck by the Nawab of Sira.[4]

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[1] *Ib.*, p. 52.

[2] Numismatic Circular, Jan. and Feb., 1916, col. 47.

[3] Selections, pp. 1, 132, 104.

[4] H. P. Hawkes, Brief Sketch of the Gold, Silver, and Copper Coinage of Mysore, 1856, pp. 17, 18.

Gold Fanams.

15. (1) (*a*) *Víra ráya* (Tufnell, 30·9).—The great majority of the gold fanams found in Ceylon are *Kali* or *Kaliyugaráyan* fanams (*cf.* p. 81), "at one time current over the whole of Kerala," and latterly struck in Malabar under the name of "*Víra ráya.*" This small coin weighs between 5 and 6 grains, the average being about 5·6; the touch according to Prinsep is 46·6. On the one side the design consists of an oval placed vertically and open at the top, with one dot inside and another outside to the left; below this are two curved lines springing upwards and then curving downwards from two dots, with two rows of dots in the space so formed. On the other is a thin horizontal line, bent upwards on the left, having two dots about the middle, from which rise two vertical lines; below are three rows of dots, each of four. The lines on the obverse are derived from the Ceylon standing figure, the open oval being the head and body, and the curved lines the outline of the legs and *dhoti*; a study of the later Rájarája and Pándyan copper shows this to be the case, and an intermediate stage of degradation is to be seen in the Dutch Negapatam copper pieces, in which the human form is still just traceable. The design on the reverse has been compared to a jingal with its pile of cannon balls; it may be the last stage of corruption of the sitting figure or perhaps of Nágarí letters.

These fanams had a currency far beyond the limits of Malabar, as it was found profitable to take them in exchange for pagodas to the east coast, where they were also imitated.[1]

(*b*) A variety of this type has the "head and body" divided by a vertical line with a small ring in the centre and a short cross line at the base; to the left is a circle and a dot above it, and to the right a small mace. Within the "legs" is a row of dots with two dots above to the right. On the reverse the horizontal line is thick and only one line rises from it. *Cf.* Tufnell, 30·7.

In a sub-variety of this the horizontal line on the reverse curves upwards and backwards to the left and in place of the vertical line is a species of triangle with a dot in the middle. *Cf.* Tufnell, 30·4.

(*c*) Another variety more closely resembles the obverse of (*a*), but the lines are thick; on the reve e over the left hand set of dots is a vertical line, over the next a dot, and over the last two as many vertical lines, beyond the right hand one of which is a dot with a horizontal line below. Tufnell, 30·5.

(*d*) In another the lines are still more coarse, and on the obverse the four inner of the six dots in the upper row within the "legs" have developed into a fan-like pattern. Tufnell, 30·8.

(2) The Dutch Pulicat fanams were current in Ceylon in the seventeenth century; they were also struck at Negapatam in 1758.[2] Those supposed to be of the Pulicat type have on the obverse a "sami." Of this, the "head and body" is divided by a cross line, above which is a small semicircle with another outside to the left; to the right in lieu of the mace found on the Negapatam copper is a dot. Four dots are disposed diagonally, with one above and another below, across the "legs" space, the bottom of which is filled by four short dashes. On the reverse are four Nágarí letters in two lines, apparently *Ráma Ráju*, with a group of three dots beneath the left hand bottom letter. The legend may refer to the late Vijayanagar king Ráma II.

(3) The Dutch Negapatam fanams, according to the privilege granted to the Company in 1675, were of the fashion and alloy of those in use in the territory of Tanjore, namely, of 3½ *máttu.* According to Marsden's "Numismata Orientalia," the Tanjore fanam had on the obverse a "sami," and on the reverse double lines crossing each other at right angles. He gives the reverse type of the Negapatam fanam, however, as consisting of several lines set at right angles, but not crossing each other, apparently a variation of the Tanjore design. The Madras "Manual of Administration," Vol. III., on the other hand, makes the fanams of the Negapatam rajas and of the Tanjore Mahrattas to bear a dagger.

The Jaffna Diary of March, 1796, mentions Tanjore fanams.

(4) In 1740 the Dutch began striking Madura fanams at Tuticorin. Marsden makes this fanam to resemble that of Tanjore, except that the lines intersected less regularly and were accompanied by two minute circles. In 1743 an experiment was made with fanams bearing the Company's mark on the one side and the local type on the other.

The known mintings at Tuticorin and Colombo are given in the Abstract of Reports in Chapter X.

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[1] C. S. I., pp. 137, 147.

[2] Selections, p. 188.

Silver Fanams.

16. In silver there are only two types :—

(1) *Vira ráya.*—The coin agrees with the gold fanam of this type in size and weight; the metal is usually very debased. This is the *Sinhala panama* (*v.* Chapter XIV.)

Half fanams, struck with the full-sized dies though less than a quarter of an inch in diameter, are uncommon; the weight is about 2·8 grains.

(2) *Cakram.*—This coin was struck in Travancore, whence those in the Island have been imported. It is of the shape of a split half pea, and weighs about 5·7 grains. The design on the obverse is said to represent the legs and toes of the god Padmanábha, but seems to be from the same original as the *Víra ráya.*

For the silver "fanemini" in the early sixteenth century, see Chapters VI. and VIII.

CHAPTER XIV.

KANDYAN.

1. THE currency system in use in the Sinhalese districts of the Island in the first half of the seventeenth century has been noticed in the chapter dealing with the Indo-Portuguese coinage. The currency of the interior reflects that of the Maritime Provinces. At the time of Sebald de Wirt's expedition in *circa* 1602 larins and fanams of gold and silver were current; these coins remained in circulation in the Kandyan kingdom for very many years after the Dutch occupation of the coast side by side with Portuguese money. For the period between 1659 and 1679 Knox mentions[1]:—

(1) Portuguese double and single tangas of the Saint type, the *tangam massa* and the *podi* (little) *tangama*, worth 9*d.* and 4½*d.*;

(2) Larins, made by private parties, five of which went to the piece-of-eight; and

(3) Silver fanams, struck by the king, of which "seventy five make a piece of Eight, or a Spanish Dollar."

He makes no mention of copper. "But all sorts of Money is here very scarce: And they frequently buy and sell by exchanging Commodities."

The later Kandyan documents equate the *tangam massa* with the larin or *ridí.* The number of silver fanams going to this last-named coin is uncertain. Knox's statement implies fifteen, but the Dedigama Lékammitiya dated A.D. 1669 gives in one place a sum of 4 larins 15 fanams. This document was written during the Dutch occupation of that part of the Kandyan country and without doubt followed the Portuguese Tombo, in which the larin consisted of twenty fanams. Knox may refer to weight when he says that 75 fanams made a piece-of-eight, thus, 420 grains divided by that number yield 5·6 grains, about the usual fanam weight. But the rating of 15 to the larin is found in Puttalam in the Tombo of 1615, though then apparently an old one, and in later times the valuation of the larin in copper was not uniform.

Larins and fanams also occur in the Panduru Lékammitiya of Four Korales written in 1760 to replace the old copy, but here are found as well accounts in *ridí* (larins) and *tuttu*, showing the influence of the Dutch system of currency. The rough Dutch stuivers (*tuttu*) struck at Jaffna and Colombo were issued in large quantities, and naturally found their way into the Kandyan country; they were followed by the European struck duits (*salli*), which at the end of the eighteenth century practically formed the whole of the available currency medium. The larin or *ridí*, though still in use, became rarer, and was to all intents and purposes a money of account. We thus find in the official documents varying numbers of *tuttu* going to the larin, often side by side on the same page;

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[1] Knox, Pt. III., Chap. VIII

this probably indicates the local rating of the larin at diverse dates, surviving through failure to revise the taxation. In deeds of sale the rate of 4 *salli* to the *tuttu* and so many *tuttu* to the *ridí* was often stipulated. The rate fixed by the British was 16 *tuttu* to the *ridí*, which seems to have been fairly common.

(*a*)	4 *salli*	=	1 *tuttu*		
	48 do.	=	12 do	= 1 *ridí*	(*cf.* 12 light stuivers = 1 larin).
(*b*)	4 do.	=	1 do.		
	64 do.	=	16 do.	= 1 do.	
(*c*)	4 do.	=	1 do.		
	72 do.	=	18 do.	= 1 do.	
(*d*)	4 do.	=	1 do.		
	80 do.	=	20 do.	= 1 do.	

In Demala pattuwa a common rate was 8 *tuttu* to the *ridí* ; this, perhaps, may be an older valuation, or may point to one of the heavy Negapatam pieces.

2. (1) *Kási* or *Salli.*—The Dutch duits, four of which made a stuiver. The term may also have been applied to the local " Wreath " series.

Davy, writing a few years after 1815, also mentions the *Dambadeni salli, i.e.*, the copper mediæval issues, as being scarce.[1] Large numbers are dug up, and it is possible that use was made of them as of almost any coin that came to hand. They seem to have been current in the early seventeenth century, though Knox makes no mention of copper money.

(2) *Tuttu.*—The Dutch copper stuiver

(3) *Fanam.*—(*a*) " *Sinhala panama,*" struck by the king. The metal is silver, often very base, and sometimes hardly distinguishable from copper ; a few show a slight admixture of gold, from which it may be inferred that this coin has been gradually debased from an original gold fanam, *cf.* the metal of the Kotte fanams in 1554. These fanams formed part of a large find of Persian, Portuguese, and Dutch coins discovered in 1913, of which the latest date is 1709 ; in documents they are mentioned last, as far as I can ascertain, in 1765. The design is that of the Malabar *Vira ráya* fanam. **Pl. 168.**

(*b*) " *Ran-panama* " or gold fanam, *i.e.*, the *Vira ráya* fanam of the Coast. Gold fanams were also struck by the Dutch at Negapatam, at Tuticorin, and in 1785-6 at Colombo. The gold fanam was valued at half a larin.

(*c*) Fanam of account, *i.e.*, the Dutch and British fanam. Its employment by the Kandyans is doubtful.

(4) *Sattáliya.*—Apparently only in use in the Maritime Provinces and in Sabaragamuwa, a money of account of 6 *tuttu* or stuivers, the Dutch schelling The origin of the word is Malay, in which language *s'táli* or *setáli* means one-eighth of a Spanish dollar. The Dutch rix-dollar, at one time rated equal to the piece-of-eight, was reckoned at 48 heavy stuivers, of which the sum of 6 *tuttu* is the eighth part.

(5) *Tangama.*—A money of account equal to half a *ridí*, representing the Portuguese tanga, the " poddi tangom " of Knox. It occurs in a deed as late as 1750 under the same name ; it is the only *tangama* known now, the name *tangam massa* having disappeared.

(6) *Ridí* ; in the singular *massa*.—The larin, also known as *koku ridí* and *mahu anguta*. A synonym is *tangam massa*, strictly speaking the Portuguese double tanga. The word *massa* is a generic term applied to various coins, *e.g.*, *masuran*.

In Tamil deeds in the Puttalam District, only ceded to the Dutch in 1766, the larin is styled *velli*, " silver," a translation of the Sinhalese name.

The varying number of *tuttu* to the *ridí* has been noticed. In the seventeenth century the larin was rated by the Dutch at 10 to 12 light stuivers : the last number was that finally adopted, being one-fifth of the piece-of-eight or rix-dollar, which was known in Sinhalese as *ridí paha*, " five larins," or *patájaya*. Twelve light stuivers equal 9⅗ heavy, and in 1740 this number or 10 heavy stuivers was the valuation of the Kandyan larin. According to Upham (II., 98), 9 stuivers were reckoned in the Maritime Provinces as a *ridí* ; this must have been a popular equation in round figures, as the 4½ stuiver copper bar was issued by the Government as a half larin. In the early years of the British occupation of the interior we find 500 *ridí* given as equal to RD. 167, which with the rix-dollar at 1*s*. 9*d*. makes the larin worth 7*d*., Davy's valuation. Elsewhere £1. 13*s*. 4*d* is the equivalent of 50 *ridí* ; this works out at 8*d* each, which is the more usual rating

[1] Davy, p. 245.

In 1817 the Dutch chally or duit was again put into circulation at the rate of three to the stuiver. The *ridí* was included in the proclamation as equal to 4 fanams = 16 stuivers = 48 Dutch or 64 English challies. The old popular rating of the *ridí* at 64 Dutch duits continued and combined with the new Government valuation of the stuiver explains the common reckoning of the *ridí* at 5¼ fanams. The Government rating at 4 fanams still survives in the North-Central Province.

(7) Pagoda, Sinh. *varágama ;* Tamil, *varákan*, *viràkan*.

(*a*) Negapatam. In Tamil deeds *Náka varákan ;* apparently not found in Sinhalese.

(*b*) Porto Novo, Sinh. *Parangipatta varágama* (from "Feringhipet" or Porto Novo); Tamil,? *Vadda varákan*.

The coin so called is that with the figure of Vishnu and a granulated reverse. A legend has it that these pagodas were struck by Rájádhirájasinha (A.D. 1780–1798), the minter being a Parangiyá or Portuguese called Pattá ; this is an example of striving after meaning, but it may be true that this king struck copies of this pagoda, though the Kandyan goldsmiths know nothing of it.

(*c*) Scott, Sinh. *Iskottu-* or *Iskáttu-varágama.*

(*d*) Star, Sinh. *Mal* (flower) *varágama.*

The usual rating was 10 *ridí* to the Porto Novo and about 12 to the Star pagoda ; the following figures occur :—

1805	..	10 *ridí*	=	1 Porto Novo pagoda.
1808	..	200 *ridí*	=	20 or 17 pagodas.
1811	..	200 *ridí*	=	17 pagodas and one rupee.
1815	..	50 *ridí*	=	4 pagodas.

In Demala pattuwa, however, an old valuation of the Porto Novo pagoda at 7½ *ridí* continued, that is, 7½ were counted as a pagoda, a relic of an old rating possibly of the first part of the seventeenth century. In the same district there also existed a low rating of the *ridí* at 8 *tuttu*, apparently side by side with the usual values. This pattu was part of the Puttalam Disavany, where old ratings of the larin are found in the Portuguese Tombo.

(8) *Miscellaneous.*—The Badu Lékammitiya, containing the record of the valuables hidden by the king before his flight in 1815, gives, in addition to 24 Star and 1756 Scott pagodas and quantities of challies, the following species of coin :—

Vilisiyan kási (or *Vilisiyánu*)	..	Venetian sequins.
Kuru ..	..	? Dollars or ducatoons.
Suratti rupiyal ..	..	Surat rupees.
Isturi kási ..	..	? Silver stuivers (double and single).
Half *Et-rupiyal* (elephant rupee)	..	Half British rix-dollar.

British rix-dollars are also mentioned in 1813. Under the head of "Surat rupees" are included all Mughal rupees ; the Company's Arcot rupee was current in the Kandyan as well as in the British territories, and also in 1812 an occasional "gold rupee" or gold muhr, in Sinhalese *gulmúru*, valued at RD. 20. In addition, there were current at various times divers South Indian copper coins, including the first Dutch issue at Negapatam.

APPENDIX A.

Vinaya, Commentaries, and other Works.

Explanatory Note.—Atthakathá is a commentary on the Tipitaka ;
Tiká, a Pali commentary on an Atthakathá, or other Pali work ;
Sannaya, a Sinhalese translation of a text, sentence by sentence.

The following technical terms occur in Appendix A :—

Dukkata, Sinh. *dukulá*, a minor offence.
Nissaggiya, subject to forfeiture.
Pácittiya, requiring expiation.
Pádáraha, a thing worth a quarter of a *kahápana*.
Párájiká, meriting expulsion from the Community.
Thullacaya, a grave offence.

1. Vinaya, Párájiká Páli (2nd Párájiká. Adinnádánamhi paṭama Bháṇaváraṁ).

Tena kho pana samayena Rájagahe pañca másako pádo hoti . . . Yo pana bhikkhu gámá vá araññá vá adinnaṁ theyyasaṁkhátaṁ ádiyeyya yathárúpe adinnádáne rájáno coraṁ gahetvá haneyyuṁ vá bandheyyuṁ vá pabbájeyyuṁ vá corosi bálosi muḷhosi thenosí ti tathárúpaṁ bhikkhu adinnaṁ ádiyamáno ayam pi párájiko hoti asaṁváso ti.

On theft. Now at that time at Rájagaha five *másakas* were a quarter (*páda*) . . . Whatsoever *bhikkhu* shall take, from village or from wood, anything not given—what men call "theft"—in such manner of taking as kings would seize the thief for, and slay, or bind, or banish him, saying "Thou art a thief, thou art stupid, thou art a fool, thou art dishonest," the *bhikkhu* who in that manner takes the thing not given, he, too, has fallen into defeat, he is no longer in communion.*

(Padabhájana) Yathárúpaṁ náma: pádaṁ vá pádárahaṁ vá atireka pádaṁ vá . . . Coro náma: yo pañca másakaṁ vá atireka pañca másakaṁ vá agghaṇakaṁ adinnaṁ theyyasaṁkhátaṁ ádiyati, eso coro náma.

(Scholium) "In such manner": a quarter (*páda*), or things worth a quarter (*pádáraha*), or over a quarter . . . "A thief": he who takes with theftuous intent what is not given, worth five *másakas* or over five *másakas*—this one is a thief.

2. Vinaya, Párájiká Páli (Kosiya-vagga 8th nissaggiya).

Rúpiya sikkhápada.

Yo pana bhikkhu játarúpa rajataṁ uggaṇheyya vá uggaṇhápeyya vá upanikkhittaṁ vá sádiyeyya nissaggiyaṁ pácittiyan ti.

Precept as to silver (*rúpiya*).

Whatsoever *bhikkhu* shall receive gold or silver, or get some one to receive it for him, or allow it to be kept in deposit for him—that is a *Pácittiya* offence involving forfeiture.*

(Padabhájana) Játarúpaṁ náma satthuvaṇṇo vuccati. Rajataṁ náma kahápaṇo loha-másako dáru-masako jatu-másako ye voháraṁ gacchanti.

(Scholium) Gold (*játarúpa*) is called "colour of the teacher," silver (*rajata*) means the *kahápaṇa*, the (base) metal *másaka*, the wooden *másaka*, the lacquer *másaka*, which are current.

(*Ibid.*, 9th nissaggiya). Rúpiya saṁvohára sikkhápada.

Yo pana bhikkhu nánappakárakam rúpiya saṁvoháraṁ samápajeyya nissaggiyaṁ pácittiyan ti.

Precept on trafficking with silver (*rúpiya*).

Whatsoever *bhikkhu* shall engage in any one of the various transactions in which silver is used—that is a *Pácittiya* offence involving forfeiture.*

(Padabhájana) Rúpiyaṁ náma satthuvaṇṇo kahápaṇo loha-másako dáru-másako jatu-másako ye voháraṁ gacchanti.

(Scholium) "*Rúpiya*" means gold (lit. colour of the teacher), the *kahápaṇa*, the metal *másaka*, the wooden *másaka*, the lacquer *másaka*, which are current.

3. Samantapásádiká Aṭṭhakathá, Buddhaghosa (Fifth century): commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka.

"Pañca másako pádo" ti: tadá Rájagahe vísati másako kahápaṇo hoti, tasmá pañco másako pádo etena lakkhaṇena sabba janapadesu kahápaṇassa catuttho bhágo pádo ti veditabbo: so ca kho porána-kassa níla-kahápaṇassa vasena, na itaresaṁ Rudradámakádínaṁ: tena pádena atítá Buddhá pi párájikaṁ paññápesuṁ; anágatápi paññápesanti; sabba Buddhánamhi párájika vatthumhi vá párájike vá nánattaṁ natthi.

"Five *másakas* were a quarter (*páda*)": at that time at Rájagaha twenty *másakas* were a *kahápaṇa*; therefore five *másakas* were a quarter. In this manner you must know that in all countries the fourth part of a *kahápaṇa* is a *páda*; but this indeed is in accordance with the ancient *níla* (faultless) *kahápaṇa* and not with the different *Rudradámaka* (*kahápaṇas*) and the like: according to this *páda* the former Buddhas too made known the law concerning *párájiká* (what involves expulsion from the Community), the future ones, too, will make known; there is no diversity among all the Buddhas as to *párájiká* matters or *párájiká*.

* Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XIII., pp. 26, 27.

4. Ditto.

"Játarúpa rajatan" ti: ettha "játarúpan" ti suvaṇṇassa námaṁ, taṁ pana yasmá Tathágatassa vaṇṇa-sadisaṁ hoti, tasmá satthuvaṇṇo vuccatí ti padabhájane vuttaṁ. Tassa 'ttho yo satthuvaṇṇo loha-viseso idaṁ játarúpaṁ námá ti. Rajataṁ pana "saṅkho silápaváḷaṁ rajataṁ játarúpan" ti ádisu rúpiyaṁ vuttaṁ. Idha pana yaṁ kiñci voháragamaníyaṁ kahápaṇádiṁ adhippetaṁ. Tene 'v'assa padabhájane "kahápaṇo loha-másako" ti ádi vuttaṁ. Tattha "kahápaṇo" ti suvaṇṇamayo vá rúpiyamayo vá pákatiko vá. "Loha-másako" ti tamba-lohádíhi kata-másako. "Dáru-másako" ti sáradáruná vá velupesikáya vá antamaso tálapaṇṇena pi rúpaṁ chinditvá kata-másako. "Jatu-másako" ti lákháya vá níyyásena vá rúpaṁ samuṭṭhápetvá kata-másako. "Ye vohárаṁ gacchantí" ti iminá pana padena yo yo yattha yattha janapade yadá yadá vohárаṁ gacchati antamaso aṭṭhimayo pi cammamayo pi rukkhaphala bíjamayo pi samuṭṭhápita rúpo pi asamuṭṭhápita rúpo pi sabbo saṅgahito. Icce tam sabbam pi rajataṁ játarúpaṁ játarúpa-másako vuttappabhedo sabbo pi rajata-másako ti catubbidhaṁ nissaggiya vutthaṁ hoti.

"Gold and silver (*játarúpa rajataṁ*)": here "*játarúpa*" is the name of gold (*suvaṇṇa*); now it is said in the scholium that, because it is like in colour to that of the Tathágata, it is called "colour of the teacher." Of this the meaning is that whatever the kind of metal is of the colour of the teacher it is called "*játarúpa*." Now silver (*rajata*), "chank shells, coral, silver (*rajata*), gold (*játarúpa*)" and the like are meant by "*rúpiya*." Now here (*i.e.*, in the precept) are meant *kahápaṇas* and the like, whatever should be current. Therefore in the scholium "the *kahápaṇa*, the metal *másaka*" and the like are mentioned. There (*i.e.*, in the scholium) the "*kahápaṇa*" is either of gold or of silver or the common one. The "metal *másaka*" is the *másaka* made of copper and the like: the "wooden *másaka*" is the *másaka* made of *sára* wood or of the outside of the bamboo or even of palmyra leaf on which an image has been cut: the "lacquer *másaka*" is the *másaka* made of lac or gum, on which an image has been caused to rise up: "which are current"; now in this sentence all whatsoever in whatsoever country at whatsoever time is current, even of bone or of skin or of the fruit and seeds of trees, whether with or without an image caused to rise up thereon, is included. So all this, silver (*rajata*), gold (*játarúpa*), the gold *másaka*, the silver *másaka* of all the kinds mentioned, are the four *nissaggiya* things.

5. Kaṅkhávitaraní Aṭṭhakathá, Buddhaghosa. (On the second Párájiká).

"Tathá rúpaṁ bhikkhu adinnaṁ ádiyamáno" ti tádisaṁ bhikkhu poráṇakassa kahápaṇassa pádaṁ vá pádarahaṁ vá bhaṇḍaṁ adinnaṁ bhúmi ádisu yattha katthaci ṭhitaṁ yaṁ kiñci sajíva nijjívaṁ vuttappakáránaṁ avahárаnaṁ yena kenaci avahárena avaharanto párájiko hoti ko pana vádo atireka tarasmin ti . . .

"The *bhikkhu* who in that manner takes the thing not given"—should such a *bhikkhu* take away by any one of the means of taking away mentioned goods not given worth a quarter or equal to the value of a quarter of the ancient *kahápaṇa* or any thing with or without life at any place whatsoever such as land and the like, he is *párájiká*: what is to be said of a greater amount? . . .

Adiyantassa másakeva úna másakeva dukkaṭaṁ, atireka másakeva úna pañca másakeva thullaccayaṁ, pañca másakeva atireka pañca másakeva párájikaṁ.

For him who takes a *másaka* or less than a *másaka* it is a *dukkaṭa* offence, over a *másaka* or less than five *másakas* it is a *thullaccaya* offence, five *másakas* or over five *másakas* it is a *párájiká* offence.

6. Ditto. (On Cívara-vagga, 10th sikkhápada).

Suvaṇṇaṁ rajataṁ kahápaṇo másako ti imánihi cattári nissaggiya vatthuni muttá maṇi veḷuriyo saṅkho silápaváḷaṁ lohitaṅko masáragallaṁ satta-dhaññáni dásidásaṁ khettaṁ vatthu puppháráma phaláráмádayo ti dukkaṭa vatthuni ca.

These four *nissaggiya* matters, to wit, gold, silver, the *kahápaṇa*, the *másaka*, and the *dukkaṭa* matters, to wit, pearls, gems, sapphires, chank shells, coral, rubies, cat's-eyes, the seven-kinds of grain, maid and men servants, fields, gardens, flower, and fruit gardens.

7. Ditto. (On Eḷakaloma-vagga, 8th sikkhápada).

Aṭṭhame "játarúparajatan" ti suvaṇṇañceva rúpiyañceva api ca kahápaṇo loha-másaka dáru-másaka jatu-másakádayo pi vohárаṁ gacchanti sabbe te idha rajatanteva vuttá . . . "Upanikkhittaṁ vá sadiyeyyá" ti "idaṁ ayyassa hotú" ti

Eighth, "gold and silver" (*játarúparajataṁ*): both gold (*suvaṇṇaṁ*) and silver (*rúpiyaṁ*) themselves: also the *kahápaṇa*, the metal *másaka*, the wooden *másaka*, the lacquer *másaka* and the like, which are current, all these are meant by silver (*rajataṁ*)

evaṁ sammukhá vá " asukasmiṁ náma ṭháne mama hiraññá suvaṇṇaṁ atthi, taṁ tuyhaṁ hotú " ti evaṁ parammukhá vá.

. . . "Or allow it to be kept in deposit for him" : either saying in its presence "Let this be your reverence's," or in its absence "In such a place I have gold, it is yours."

8. Vinaya Vinicchaya, v. 699; Buddhadattácariya (early; mentioned immediately after Buddhaghosa in the Nikáya Saṅgraha).

Rajataṁ játarúpan ca ubhinnaṁ másako pi ca
Etaṁ catubbidhaṁ vatthuṁ hoti nissaggiyávahaṁ.

Both silver and gold and both *másakas*
These are the four-fold things involving forfeiture.

9. Sárattha dípaní Vinaya Ṭíká, commentary on Samantapásádiká; Sáriputta (reign of Parákrama Báhu I. c. A. D. 1165).

" Catuttho bhágo pádo ti veditabbo " ti ; imináva sabba janapadesu kahápaṇassa vísatimo bhágo másako ti idañca vuttam eva hoti ti daṭṭhabbaṁ· Poráṇa sattháni rúpa lakkhaṇa sampanná uppádita níla-kahápaṇá ti veditabbá. Rudradámena uppádito Rudradámako so kira níla-kahápaṇassa tibhágaṁ agghati: yasmiṁ pana dese níla-kahápaṇá na santi tatthá pi níla-kahápaṇánaṁ valañjanaṭṭháne ca avalañjanaṭṭháne ca samána aggha vasena pavattamánaṁ bhaṇḍam gahetvá níla-kahápaṇa vasena va paricchedo kátabbo ti vadanti.

" You must know that the fourth part is a *páda.*" Let it be observed from this that what is meant is that the *másaka* is the twentieth part of the *kahápaṇa* in all countries. You must know that these are the *níla kahápaṇas* made with the form and marks in accordance with the ancient books: the *Rudradámaka* made by Rudradáma, it is said, is worth three parts of the *níla kahápaṇa.* Now they say that in whatsoever country *níla kahápaṇas* are not, there having taken a thing of fixed measure according to the equal value of the *níla kahápaṇas* in places where they are used or where they are not used a division should be made following the *níla kahápaṇa.*

10. Pálimuttaka Vinaya Vinicchaya Saṅgaho, a compendium of Vinaya Piṭaka, idem.

" Rúpiyádi paṭiggaho " ti : játarúpádi paṭigaṇánaṁ, tattha játarúpaṁ rajataṁ játarúpa-másako rajata-másako ti catubbidhaṁ nissaggiya vatthuṁ ; tambalohádíhi kato loha-másako ; sáradáruná vá velupesikáya vá antamaso táḷapaṇṇena pi rúpaṁ chinditvá kata dáru-másako ; lákháya vá níyyásena vá rúpa samuṭṭhápetvá kata jatu-másako. Yo yo yatha yatha janapade yadá yadá vohárам gacchanti, antamaso aṭṭhimayamo pi cammamayo pi rukkhaphala bíjamayo pi samuṭṭhápita rúpo pi asamuṭṭhápita rúpo pí ti ayaṁ sabbo pi rajata-másakeneva saṅgahito.

" Receipt of silver (*rúpiya*) and the like " : receipt of gold (*játarúpa*) and the like. There gold (*játarúpa*), silver (*rajata*), the gold *másaka*, the silver *másaka* are the four-fold things involving forfeiture. The metal *másaka* made of copper and the like, the wooden *másaka* made of *sára* wood or the outside of the bamboo, or even of palmyra leaf on which an image has been cut, the lacquer *másaka* made of lac or gum, on which an image has been caused to rise up, whatsoever in whatsoever country at whatsoever time is current, even of bone or of skin or of the fruits and seeds of trees, whether with or without an image caused to rise up thereon, all this is included in the silver *másaka.*

11 Ṭíká on the above ; idem.

Rúpiyádi paṭiggahaṇa vinicchaye " játarúpa-másako " ti suvaṇṇa-kahápaṇo ; " rukkhaphala bíjamayo " ti tintiṇikádi rukkhánaṁ phala bíjena kato.

In the inquiry as to the receipt of silver (*rúpiya* and the like, the "gold *másaka*" is the gold *kahápaṇa:* " of the fruits and seeds of trees " is that made of the fruits and seeds of the tamarind and other trees.

12. Vinayattha Mañjúsa: a commentary on Kaṅkhávitaraní by Buddhanága of Pacchimaráma Mahá Viháré al. Coḷakulántaka Piriveṇa at Polonnaruwa (reign of Parákrama Báhu I.).

(On the 2nd Párájiká.)

" Poráṇakassá " ti poráṇa sattháni rúpaṁ uppáditassa lakkhaṇa sampaṇṇassa níla-kahápaṇa-sadisassa kahápaṇassa: etena Rudradámakádíni paṭikkhipati . . . Másako náma poráṇakassa kahápaṇassa vísatimo bhágo, ya loke mañjeṭṭhí ti pi vuccati.

" Of the ancient," of the *kahápaṇa* like the *níla kahápaṇa* made in the form and with the marks in accordance with the ancient books: from this the *Rudradámaka* and the like are excluded . . . . . The *másaka* is the twentieth part of the ancient *kahápaṇa,* which in the world is also called *mañjeṭṭhi.*

13. Ditto. (On Cívara-vagga, 10th sikkhápada).

" Suvaṇṇan " ti játarúpaṁ " rajatan " ti rúpiyaṁ : " kahápaṇo " ti suvaṇṇamayo vá rúpiyamayo vá pákatiko vá kahápaṇo, " másako " ti loha-másako vá hotu dáru-másako vá hotu jatu-másako vá hotu yo yo yattha yattha janapade yadá vohárarh gacchati antamaso aṭṭhimayo pi cammamayo pi rukkha-phalabíjamayo pi samuṭṭhápitarúpo pi asamuṭṭhápitarúpo pi sabbo idha másako ti veditabbo.

" Gold," gold (*játarúpa*) : " silver," silver (*rúpiyaṁ*) : "*kahápaṇa*," the gold, silver, or common *kahápaṇa* : " *másaka*," whether it be the metal *másaka*, or the wooden *másaka*, or the lacquer *másaka* : you must know that here by *másaka* is meant all whatsoever in whatsoever country at whatsoever time is current, even of bone or of skin or of the fruit and seeds of trees, whether with or without an image caused to rise up thereon.

14. Ditto. (On Eḷakaloma-vagga, 8th sikkhápada).

" Rajatan " ti na kevalaṁ rúpiyam eva idhádhippetaṁ, atha kho yaṁ kiñci vohára gamaníyaṁ kahápaṇádi ca etaṁ adhippetan ti áha " apicá " ti ádi, tattha "kahápaṇo " ti suvaṇṇamayo vá pákatiko vá, loha-másako náma tambalohádíhi kata-másako, dáru-másako náma sáradáruná vá velupesikáya vá antamaso táḷapaṇṇena pi rúpaṁ chinditvá kata-másako, jatu-másako náma lákháya vá níyyásena vá rúpaṁ samuṭṭhápetvá kata-másako, "ye vohárarh gacchantí " ti iminá pana padena yo yo yattha yatha janapade yadá yadá vohárarh gacchati antamaso aṭṭhimayo pi cammamayo pi rukkhaphalabíjamayo pi samuṭṭhápitarúpo pi asamuṭṭhápitarúpo pi sabbo saṅgahito. " Tadevá " ti játarúpa rajatam eva hiraññaṁ náma kahápaṇo.

He says that by " silver," not only mere silver (*rúpiyaṁ*) is meant, but also the *kahápaṇa* and the like in any way current are meant by this : " also " and the rest, now the " *kahápaṇa* " is either the gold or the common one : the metal *másaka* is the *másaka* made of copper and the like : the wooden *másaka* is the *másaka* made of *sára* wood or of the outside of the bamboo or even of palmyra leaf on which an image has been cut : the lacquer *másaka* is the *másaka* made of lac or gum, on which an image has been caused to rise up : " which are current," now in this sentence all whatsoever in whatsoever country at whatsoever time is current, even of bone or of skin or of the fruit and seeds of trees, whether with or without an image caused to rise up thereon, is included. " This very thing," the mere (uncoined) gold and silver : (coined) gold (*hiraññaṁ*) is the *kahápaṇa*.

15. Purána Vinaya Sannaya : Dimbulágala Medhaṅkara, Saṅgharakkhita, and other pupils of Sáriputta (c. A.D. 1232).

" Tena kho pana samayena," pádayekin hó pádárahayekin hó parijivata niyama kaḷa e samayehi : " Rájagahe pañca másako pádo hoti," Rajagaha nuvara pas mañdaṭek palek vé . . . " adinnaṁ," kayin vacasin no dun paraminisak-hu ayat palpohoná gama vala tubú dékak pamaṇa vastuva.

" Hiraññaṁ," kahavaṇu : " suvaṇṇaṁ," ratran : " hiraññaṁ me atthi," masuran mágé eta : " pádaṁ vá," akappiya bháṇḍayavú dékak hó ; " pádárahaṁ vá," dékak aganá kapa bháṇḍaya hó ; " atireka pádaṁ vá," itiri pas mañdaṭak pamaṇa kapa akapa bháṇḍayak hó.

" Now at that time," at that time when the *párájiká* was ordained for (taking) either a *pádaya* or a *pádárahaya*. " At Rájagaha five *másakas* were a *páda*," at the city of Rajagaha five *mañdaṭas* were a *pala* . . . " Anything not given," property of the extent of two *akas* being in village or in forest of the value of a *pala* belonging to another person not given by deed or word . . . " *Hirañña*," *kahavaṇu* : " *suvaṇṇam*," red gold. " I have gold (*hirañña*)" I have *masuran* : " either a *páda*," either a sum of two *akas* which is an unlawful thing : " or a *pádáraha*," or a lawful thing worth a sum of two *akas* : " or over a *páda* in value," or a lawful or unlawful thing over five *mañdaṭas* in amount.

" Tatha pádena káhápaṇassa catuttha bhágaṁ akappiya bhaṇḍam eva dasseti, pádárahena pádagghaṇakaṁ kappiya bhaṇḍam, atireka pádena ubhayampi " yanu aṭuváyi.

" Here by *páda* the fourth part of a *kahápaṇa* even unlawful property is indicated, by *pádáraha* lawful property of the amount of a *páda*, by over a *páda* both " : thus the Aṭṭhakathá.

" Pádaṁ vá pádárahaṁ vá atireka pádaṁ vá," dékak hó dékak vaṭaná deyak hó dékakaṭa adhika deyak hó.

" A *páda* or a *pádáraha* or over a *páda* " : either two *akas* or a thing worth two *akas* or a thing over *akas*.

16. Khuddasikkhá, *v.* 125. Dhammasiri of the Mahá Viháré, Anuradhapura (alleged contemporary of Buddhaghosa): of authority in the time of Parákrama Báhu I. (*v.* Galviháré inscription, Müller, 137).

Kahápaṇo sajjhu siṅgí vohárúpaga másakaṁ
Vattha muttádi itaraṁ kappaṁ dukkaṭa vatthu ca.

The *kahápaṇa*, silver (*sajjhu*), gold nuggets (*siṅgí*), the current *másaka*, cloths, pearls, and the other things are unlawful and *dukkaṭa* offence matters.

17. Khuddasikkhá Abhinava Ṭíká: (commentary on No. 16), Saṅgharakkhita of Dimbulágala Viháré (*c.* A.D. 1232).

Tattha "kahápaṇo" náma suvaṇṇamayo vá rajatamayo vá etarahi pakati-kahápaṇo vá; "sajjhú," ti rajataṁ; "siṅgí," ti suvaṇṇa bhedo; tathá pi c'ettha sámaññena suvaṇṇam adhippetaṁ. "Vohárúpaga másakan" ti, vohárаṁ kayavikkayaṁ upagacchatí ti vohárúpagaṁ; taṁ "másakan" ca, tam pana samuṭṭhápita rúpañ ca asamuṭṭhápita rúpañ ca loha-dáru-ádimayaṁ vuccati.

Here "*kahápaṇa*" is either of gold or of silver or the *kahápaṇa* now common. "Silver" (*sajjhu*) is silver (*rajata*): "gold nuggets" (*siṅgí*) are a kind of gold, however gold in general is meant. "The current *másaka*": current is what is used for trade. By this *másaka* are meant the metal, the wooden, and the rest with or without an image caused to rise up thereon.

18. Kudusika Sannaya: (Sinhalese commentary on No. 16), Medhaṅkara of Dimbulágala Viháré (*c.* A.D. 1232).

"Idha," mehi; mé rúpiya saṁvohára sikshápadayehi: "kahápaṇo," svarṇṇádiyen kaḷa kahavuṇu da: "sajjhu," ridí da: "siṅgí," ratran da: "vohárúpaga másakaṁ," e e desayehi vyavahárayaṭa yannávú lohádiyen kaḷa másakaya da: . . . . "vattha muttádi," piḷi mutu ádivú: "kappaṁ dukkaṭa vatthun ca," kẹpa vat dukuḷá vat da; "itaraṁ," arúpiya nami.

"Here," here, in this precept on trafficking with silver (*rúpiya*); the *kahápaṇa*," *kahávuṇu* made of gold and the rest; "*sajjhu*," silver; "*siṅgí*," red gold: "the current *másaka*," the *másakaya* made of metal and the rest, which goes in common use in any country. . . . . "Cloths, pearls, and the rest," cloths, pearls, &c.: "are unlawful and *dukkaṭa* matters" unlawful goods, *dukuḷá* goods: "the other things," that which is not silver.

19. Mulusika: (Sinhalese translation; original Pali cited as an authority in Galviháré inscription of Parákrama Báhu I.).

v. 2. Paraminissatak-hu ayat palpohoná vatak sora sitin gata parijivé.

2. Should any one take with theftuous intent goods of the value of a *pala* belonging to another man, he is fallen into defeat.

v. 7. Ran ridí masu kahavaṇu vẹvahára karat nisaṅgi vé.

7. If gold, silver, *masu*, *kahavaṇu* are used for currency they are liable to forfeiture.

20. Mulusika Gẹṭapada Vivaraṇaya: (Sinhalese commentary on No. 19).

v. 2. "Paraminissatak-hu ayat," tama keren anyavú gẹṇu pirimi yam kisi satak-hu santaka: "palpohoná vatak," párájiká pohoná vastuvak hevat masuran dẹkak aganá yam kisi vastuvak; mehi masuran de akek nam dẹn pavatná kahavaṇuvak dẹkak dẹkak bẹgin satara kotasak kaḷa kalhi eyin ek koṭaseki.

2. "Belonging to another man," belonging to any one, woman or man, other than himself: "goods of the value of a *pala*," goods of the *párájiká* value, or any goods worth two *akas* of *masuran*: here two *akas* of *masuran* equal one part if the now existing *kahavaṇuva* be divided into four parts each of two *akas*.

v. 7. "Vẹvahára karat," gaṇu denu karat.

7. "Are used for currency," are used for trade.

Burmese tradition, 21–25.

21. Sikkhápada Valañjana, Pañcamúla (Twelfth century).

1. Parasantakan ti jánitvá pádaṁ vá pádáraha vatthuṁ vá theyya cittena pañca vísati avaháresu eken'eva avahárena avaharati párájikaṁ. Tattha pádaṁ náma pañca guñjá mattaṁ suvaṇṇaṁ.

1. Taking away even by one of the twenty-five means of taking away with theftuous intent a *páda* or goods worth a *pádáraha* knowing them to belong to another is *párájiká*. This *páda* is five *guñjás* quantity of gold.

2. Játarúpa rajata másaka kahápaṇesu aññataraṁ attánam uddissa díyamánaṁ gaṇheyya vá.

2. Should he take away anything given for his own use among gold, silver, *másakas* or *kahápaṇas*, ...

22. Sikavaḷaňdana Vinisa, Pañcamúla (Sinhalese).

1. Xé no né paraminisak-hu ayat palpohoná vatak sora sitin ẹtiyáva pas visi avahárayan aturen ektará avahárayekin gaṇí nam parijivé : mehi paleka nam pas maňdaṭak amurani.

2. Ran ridí masu kahavaṇuhi ektará vatak kisivak-hu tamahaṭa takádenut temé gaṇí ev.

Sinhalese translation of the above; *páda* is rendered by *pala,* and "five *guñjás*" by "five *maňdaṭas* of raw gold."

23. Sika Vaḷaňdana Vinisa piṭapata: a Sinhalese explanation of the above.

"Paraminisak-hu ayat," tama keren piṭat-huge, meramáhu santakavú: "palpohoná vatak," de akak aganá vastuvak.

"Belonging to another man," belonging to others, to people other than himself: "goods of the value of a *pala,*" goods worth two *akas.*

24. Vajirabuddhi Ṭíká, on Samantapásádiká, Vajirabuddhi (Twelfth century).

Rudradámako náma Rudradámakádíhi uppádito ; Báráṇasi nagarádisu tehi tehi rájúhi poráṇa satthánu rúpaṁ lakkhaṇa sampanná uppádita níla-kahápaṇá sadisá tesaṁ so kira tibhágaṁ agghayati Rudradámako ; tasmá tassa pádo thullaccaya vatthu hoti. Másako pana idha appamáṇaṁ ; kahápaṇo hi kiñci kále úna vísati másako hoti, kiñci kále atireka vísati másako ; tasmá tassa kahápaṇassa catuttha bhágo pañca másako viya atireka pañca másako vá úna pañca másako vá pádo ti veditabbaṁ : imassa tassa dípanatthaṁ "tadá Rájagahe vísati másako kahápaṇo hotí" ti ádivuttaṁ. Yattha rajatamayo suvaṇṇamayo tambamayo ca kahápaṇo hoti Suvaṇṇabhúmiyaṁ viya pádo ti, tathá tambamayo ca kato hoti, tattha so va pádo—ácariya. Yasmá ca pádo eka níla-kahápaṇagghaṇako, tasmá tassa pádassa catuttha bhágo vá siyá pádo ti—eke ; idaṁ na yujjati.

The *Rudradámaka* is that made by Rudradáma and the rest: the Rudradámaka, it is said, is worth three parts of those like the *níla kahápaṇas* made by the various kings of Benares and other cities, with the form and marks in accordance with the ancient books: therefore the quarter (*páda*) is a *thullaccaya* matter. Now (the value of) the *másaka* here is not exact; for the *kahápaṇa* is at one time less than twenty *másakas,* at one time more than twenty *másakas ;* therefore, as five *másakas* are the fourth part of this *kahápaṇa,* you must know that the *páda* is more than five *másakas* or less than five *másakas.* This is the meaning of this sentence "At that time at Rájagaha twenty *másakas* were a *kahápaṇa,*" and the rest. If anywhere the *kahápaṇa* is of silver, gold, and copper, the *páda* is as in the Golden Land; also if it is made of copper, so also is this *páda*—the teacher (so states). And because the *páda* is of the value of one *níla kahápaṇa,* therefore the fourth part of this *páda* would be a *páda*—so a certain author; this is not correct.

25. (*a*) Uttara Vinicchaya Ṭíká, Vácissara: (Polonnaruwa period), quoted in the Bhikku Pátimokkha Ganthidípaní of the Burmese Ñáṇakitti.

Missaka kahápaṇo yeva níla-kahápaṇo : tatth'eva hi poráṇa satthavíhi lakkhaṇaṁ dissati, pañca másá suvaṇṇassa tathá rajatassa dasa másá tambassá ti ete vísati máse missetvá maṭṭatthaya víhimattaṁ lohaṁ pakkhipitvá akkharáni ca hatthipadádínam aññatarañ ca rúpaṁ dassetvá tato niddosattá níla-kahápaṇo náma hoti: honti c'ettha.

The mixed *kahápaṇa* is the *níla-kahápaṇa.* Now the characteristics are found in the ancient books. Five *másas* of gold, the same of silver, ten *másas* of copper, having mixed these twenty *másas,* and added bronze of the weight of a seed of paddy for the purpose of alloy* and impressed letters, elephant feet and the like, and some other images, this being faultless is the *níla-kahápaṇa.*

There are here also :

Hema rajata tambehi satthe niddiṭṭha lakkhaṇaṁ | ahápetvá kato vísa máso níla-kahápaṇo.

1. The *níla-kahápaṇa* is of twenty *másas* made of gold, silver, and copper, not omitting the characteristics described in the books.

Hema-pádaṁ sajjhu-pádaṁ tamba-páda dvayaṁ hi so | missetvá rúpaṁ ṭhapetvá kátuṁ satthesu dassito.

2. It is set forth in the books as made of a quarter of gold, a quarter of silver, and two quarters of copper, mixed and with the imprint of an image.

Elo ti vuccate doso : niddosattá tatherito : | tassa pádo suvaṇṇassa vísa víhaggha námako.

3. *Elaṁ* means "fault": because it is faultless it is so called. Of it the *páda* is of the weight of twenty paddy seeds of gold.

* *Cf.* Tamil *maḍḍam,* "alloy."

Yasmiṁ janapade dese so natthí ti kahápaṇo | vísa sovaṇṇa víhagghaṁ taṁ pádagghan ti vediyaṁ.

Vísa sovaṇṇa víhagghaṁ thenento bhikkhu the tato | cavanti sámañña-guṇa iccáhu viṇiyaññáno

ti Vácissara námakácariyena vuttaṁ.

4. If this *kahápaṇa* does not exist in any country, you must know that twenty paddy seeds weight of gold is the amount of the *páda*.

5. Those learned in the Vinaya say that a *bhikku* who steals twenty paddy seeds weight of gold thereupon loses the attribute of an ascetic.

Thus says the teacher Vácissara.

25. (*b*) Pátimokkha padattha Anuvaṇṇaná, Vicittálaṅkára : (reign of " King Arimaddana " of Rámañña, twelfth century).

Tattha ca pádo náma kahápaṇassa catuttho bhágo: kahápaṇo pana duvidho hoti, suvaṇṇa-kahápaṇo missaka-kahápaṇo ca ti. Tesuhi káḷaka virahitassa niddhanta suvaṇṇassa vísati másá suvaṇṇa-kahápaṇo náma. Pañca másá suvaṇṇassa, tathá rajatassa, dasa másá tambassá ti ete vísati máse missetvá sambandhattháya víhi-mattalohaṁ pakkhipitvá akkharáni ca hatthipádádínaṁ aññataraṅ ca rúpaṁ dassetvá kato missaka-kahápaṇo náma : so yeva niddosattá níla-kahápaṇo náma.

Here the *páda* is the fourth part of the *kahápaṇa*. Now the *kahápaṇa* is of two kinds, namely, the gold *kahápaṇa* and the mixed *kahápaṇa*. Of these, the gold *kahápaṇa* is twenty *másas* of pure gold devoid of black spots. Five *másas* of gold, the same of silver, ten *másas* of copper, having mixed these twenty *másas*, having added bronze (*loho*) of the weight of a seed of paddy to bind them together, and having impressed letters, elephant feet and the like, and some other images, this is the mixed *kahápaṇa*. This only because it is faultless is the *níla kahápaṇa*.

26. Story of Anáthapiṇḍika.

(*a*) Vinaya, Cullavagga, Senásana khaṇḍaka (IV., 4.)

Atha kho Anáthapiṇḍiko gahapati sakaṭehi hiraññaṁ nibbáhápetvá Jetavanaṁ koṭisanthárain santhárapesi.

And Anáthapiṇḍika, the householder, had gold (*hirañña*) brought down in carts, and covered the Jetavana with a layer of *koṭis*.

(*b*) Papañcasudaṇiyá Majjhima Nikáyaṭṭhakathá, Buddhagosa.

Aṭṭhárasa hirañña-koṭi-santhárena kiṇitvá.

Having bought with a layer of eighteen *koṭis* of gold (*hirañña*).

(*c*) Samantapásádiká Aṭṭhakathá, id.

Koṭi-santháraṁ santhárapesí ti kahápaṇa koṭiyá koṭiṁ paṭi pádetvá santhari.

"Covered with a layer of *koṭis*" : covered with *kahápaṇas*, causing them to be arranged edge to edge.

(*d*) Nidánakathá : (Introduction to the Aṭṭhakathá on the Játakas).

P. 92.—Jetavanaṁ koṭi-santhárena aṭṭhárasa hirañña-koṭihi kiṇitvá navakammaṁ paṭṭhapesi.

P. 92.—Having bought Jetavana with a layer of *koṭis*, eighteen *koṭis* of gold (*hirañña*), he (Anáthapiṇḍika) set in hand the new work.

P. 94.—Kakusandhassa Bhagavato kále Accuto náma seṭṭhi suvaṇṇiṭṭhika-santháren'eva kiṇitvá tasmiṁ yeva ṭháne gávutappamáṇaṁ saṁghárámaṁ káresi. Koṇágamanassa Bhagavato kále Uggo náma seṭṭhi suvañña-kacchapa-santhárena kiṇitvá tasmiṁ yeva ṭháne aḍḍhagávutappamáṇaṁ saṁghárámaṁ káresi. Kassapassa Bhagavato kále Sumaṅgalo náma seṭṭhi suvaṇṇiṭṭhika-santhárena kiṇitvá tasmiṁ yeva ṭháne soḷasa karísappamáṇaṁ saṁghárámaṁ káresi. Amhákaṁ Bhagavato kále Anáthapiṇḍiko seṭṭhi kahápaṇa-koṭi-santhárena kiṇitvá tasmiṁ yeva ṭháne aṭṭha karísappamáṇaṁ saṁghárámaṁ káresi.

The Játaka, by V. Fausböll, Vol. I.

P. 94.—In the time of Kakusandha, the blessed one, the merchant named Accuta, having bought with just a layer of gold tiles, in this very place made a park for the Community a *gávuta* in extent. In the time of Konágama, the blessed one, the merchant named Ugga, having bought with a layer of gold tortoises, in this very place made a park for the Community half a *gávuta* in extent. In the time of Kassapa, the blessed one, the merchant named Sumaṅgala, having bought with a layer of gold tiles, in this very place made a park for the Community sixteen *karísas* in extent. In the time of our blessed one, the merchant Anáthapiṇḍika, having bought with a layer of *koṭis* of *kahápaṇas*, in this very place made a park for the Community eight *karísas* in extent.

(e) Aṭṭhakathá on the Dhammapada, Anáthapiṇḍika seṭṭhi vatthu.
(Pali Text Society, Vol. III.).

P. 10.—Aṭṭhárasa hirañña-koṭiyo.
Pp. 11, 12.—Aṭṭhárasa koṭi-dhanaṁ.

P. 10.—Eighteen *koṭis* of gold (*hirañña*).
Pp. 11, 12.—Treasure of eighteen *koṭis*.

27. Story of Sirimá.

(*a*) *Ibid.*, Sirimá vatthu.

P. 108.—Rájá nagare bheriṁ carápesi ṭhapetvá geharakkhate dárake Sirimáya dassanatthaṁ anágacchantánaṁ aṭṭha kahápaṇaṁ daṇḍoti . . . . Satthá rájánaṁ pucchi, ká esá mahárájá ti: bhante Jívakassa bhaginí Sirimá námá ti: esá Sirimá ti: áma bhante ti. Tenahi nagare bheriṁ carápehi sahassaṁ datvána Sirimaṁ gaṅhantú ti. Rájá tathá káresi. Eko pi han ti vá hun ti vá vadanto náhosi. Rájá satthu árocesi, na gaṅhanti bhante ti: tenahi mahárájá agghaṁ osápehíti. Rájá pañca satáni datvá gaṅhantú ti bheriṁ carápetvá kañci gaṅhakaṁ adisvá aḍḍhateyyáni satáni dve satáni sataṁ paṇṇásaṁ pañca vísati kahápaṇe dasa kahápaṇe pañca kahápaṇe ekaṁ kahápaṇaṁ aḍḍhaṁ pádaṁ másakaṁ kákaṇikaṁ datvá Sirimaṁ gaṅhantú ti bheriṁ carápetvá mudhá pi gaṅhantú ti bheriṁ carápesi.

The king proclaimed by beat of drum in the city that those who did not come to see Sirimá, excepting watchers of houses and children, would be fined eight *kahápaṇas* . . . . The teacher asked the king, "Great king, who is this"?; "Lord, she is Sirimá, sister of Jívaka"; "Is this Sirimá"?; "Yes, lord"; "In that case proclaim in the city by beat of drum that any one can pay a thousand and take away Sirimá." The king did so. There was not even one who said "ha" or "hu." The king told the teacher, "Lord, they do not take her away." "In that case, great king, complete the price." The king proclaimed by beat of drum that any one could pay 500 and take Sirimá away. Not seeing any one take her, he proclaimed by beat of drum that they could pay 250, 200, 100, 50, 25, 20 *kahápaṇas*, 10 *kahápaṇas*, 5 *kahápaṇas*, 1 *kahápaṇa*, a half, a quarter (*páda*), a *másaka*, a *kákaṇiká* and take Sirimá, and (finally) proclaimed by beat of drum that they could take her even for nothing.

(*b*) Saddharmmaratanávaliya (Sinhalese).

Rajjuruvóda báladaruvan há geval rakinavun pamaṇak raňdavála Sirimávan balanṭa no á kenek ẹtnam aṭa aṭa massak daḍa duna mẹnavẹyi nuvara bera lẹvúya . . . . Buduhu Bimsara rajjuruvanṭa mahárája tumú kavurudẹyi vicálaséka. Sirimávan niyava kí kalhi peramun kará ena kenekun munṭa denné masu dahasek véda dẹnut masu dahasa dílá Sirimávan hẹraganṭa vidhánakaravayi vadáḷaséka. Rajjuruvót peradena taraméma masu dahasak dílá mun hẹraganuvayi vidhánakolóya. E ḷesa hẹraganná tabá e bas asana kenekut nẹta. Rajjuruvó e pavat Budunṭa dẹnvúha. Buduhu maharaja esé ví nam agaya aḍukaravayi vadáḷaséka. Rajjuruvó agaya aḍukarannó dahasin bhágavú pansiyek: in bhágavú desiya paṇasek: in bhágavú eksiya pasvissek: in bhágavú desẹṭa kaḷan satara akaka: in bhágavú ektis kaḷan deyakeka: in bhágavú pasaḷos kaḷan pasakeka: in bhágavú aṭa kaḷan akeka: in bhágavú satara kaḷan dasa viyaṭeka: in bhágavú de kaḷan pas viyaṭeka: in bhágavú ek kaḷan de viyaṭa samárakẹyi agaya helá esét hẹraganṭa mẹliheyin asú viyaṭak dílá hẹraganṭa kiyá esét mẹliheyin sataḷis viyaṭak dílá hẹraganṭa kiyá mẹlivúheyin visi viyaṭak dílá hẹraganṭa kiyálá mẹliheyin dasa viyaṭak dílá hẹraganuvayi kiyá esét mẹliheyin pas viyaṭek dílá hẹraganṭa kiyá esémat mẹliheyin de viyaṭa samárak dílá hẹraganṭa kiyá esét mẹliheyin ek viyaṭa yela hamuvak dílá hẹraganṭa kiyá esét mẹliheyin no milayéma heraganṭa kiyá vidhánakaláha.

And the king proclaimed in the city by beat of drum that he would fine any who did not come to see Sirimáva eight *massas* each (excluding the young children and watchers of houses) . . . . Buddha asked king Bimsara, "Great king, who is this"? Giving an account of Sirimáva, he said that any one who came near her before was wont to give her 1,000 *massas*, and bade him order that any one could pay the 1,000 *massas* now and take away Sirimáva. And the king ordered to pay 1,000 *massas* as they were paid before and take her away. So far from any one taking her in that manner, no one even listened to that proposal. The king informed Buddha thereof. Buddha said, "Great king, if that is so, reduce the price." The king reduced the price by halves, 1,000 to 500, from 500 to 250, and so to 125, to 62 *kalaňdas* 4 *akas*, to 31 *kalaňdas* 2 *akas*, to 15 *kalaňdas* 5 *akas*, to 8 *kalaňdas* 1 *aka*, to 4 *kalaňdas* 10 seeds of paddy, to 2 *kalaňdas* 5 seeds of paddy, to 1 *kalaňda* 2½ seeds of paddy. As they were unwilling to take her away thus, he bade them pay 80 seeds of paddy and take her; again, as they were unwilling, 40 seeds of paddy, again 20, 10, 5, 2½ seeds of paddy, and 1 seed of paddy 1½ *amu* seeds, and as they were unwilling even so, he bade them take her away even free of charge.

28. Story of Vásuladattá.

(*a*) Aṭṭhakathá on the Dhammapada, Vásuladattáya vatthu.

Udeno ajja paḷayitabban ti mahantamahante camma pasibbake hiraññá suvaṇṇassa puretvá kaneru-piṭṭhe ṭhapetvá Vásuladattaṁ ádáya paḷáyi. Antopura pálaká disvá gantvá rañño árocesuṁ; rájá síghaṁ gacchathá ti balaṁ pahiṇi. Udeno balassa pakkhandana bhavaṁ ñatvá kahápaṇa-pasibbakaṁ mocetvá pátesi. Manussá kahápaṇe uccinitvá puna pakkhandiṁsu: itará suvaṇṇa-pasibbakaṁ mocetvá pátetvá tesaṁ suvaṇṇa-lobhena papañcentánaṁ yeva bahi niviṭṭhaṁ attano khandháváraṁ pápuṇi; atha naṁ ágacchantaṁ disváva attano balakáyo parivárotvá nagaraṁ pavesesi; so gantvá Vásuladattaṁ abhisiñcitvá aggamahesiṭṭháne ṭhapesi.

The king of Ujjain saying, "We must fly now," filling a number of big leather bags with gold (*hirañña suvaṇṇa*) and placing them upon an elephant, fled taking Vásuladattá. The keeper of the women's apartments seeing went and told the king. The king, saying "Go speedily," sent his host. The king of Ujjain, knowing the speed of the host, untied a bag of *kahápaṇas* and let them fall. The men picked up the *kahápaṇas* and again rushed on; he untied the other bags of gold (*suvaṇṇa*) and let them fall, and by these delays from greed of gold (*suvaṇṇa*) he arrived just outside the fort where he himself lay, and seeing him approach, his host escorting him caused him to enter the city: he having gone and anointed Vásuladattá installed her in the dignity of chief queen.

(*b*) Dampiyá aṭuvá gęṭapadaya of Kassapa V., on the above.

"Hirañña suvaṇṇassa": . . . "Hirañña" nam kahavuṇu, "suvaṇṇa" nam ratraṇa "pátesi," kahavuṇu helí.

With gold (*hirañña suvaṇṇa*) . . . . "*Hirañña*" means *kahavuṇu*, "*suvaṇṇa*" means red gold . . . . "Let them fall," let fall *kahavuṇu*.

29 Dampiyá aṭuvá gęṭapadaya, Miscellaneous Stories.

(*a*) Visákháya vatthu.

"Kákaṇikaṭṭhániyaṁ": kęn tęna ętiyá; kęṇak sudussayayú sęyi.

"Having the value of a *kákaṇiká*," having the value of a *kęṇa*; worth a *kęṇa*.

(*b*) Attadatthattherassa vatthu.

"Kákaṇika mattam pi": kaṇavak pamaṇa kuj.

"Or the amount of a *kákaṇiká*," or the amount of a *kaṇava*.

(*c*) Kassakassa vatthu.

"Hirañña suvaṇṇaṁ": kahavun há ran.

"*Hirañña suvaṇṇam*," *kahavun* and gold

30. (*a*) Mahábodhivaṁsa, Upatissa Mahâthero.

Jeta rájakumárassa yati-jana niyyanaṁ uyyánaṁ cháyúdaka sampannaṁ parama ramaṇíyaṁ yogánukúlaṁ bhúmibhágam disvá kahápaṇa-koṭi-santhárena kiṇitvá.

Having seen a piece of land full of shade and water, extremely pleasant and suitable for contemplation, belonging to the royal prince Jeta, a park fit for offering to the monks, and having bought it with a layer of *koṭis* of *kahápaṇas*.

(*b*) Mahábodhivaṇsa Granthipada Vivaraṇaya: (Pali and Sinhalese; of the Polonnaruwa or Dambadeniya period).

"Kahápaṇa," masuran: "koṭi-santhárena," keḷin siṭuvá; massen massehi ghaṭá atuṭa: "kiṇitvá," vikiṇi gęṇa.

"*Kahápaṇas*," *masuran*; "with a layer of *koṭis*," having placed with a *keḷa*; having spread, one *massa* touching another; "having bought," having bought.

(*c*) Siṇhaḷa Mahábodhivaṇsaya, Vilgammula Saṅgharája: (Sinhalese; in reign of Parákrama Báhu IV.).

Jeta nam rájakumárayáge udyánaya dęka kahavaṇu vaṭin siṭuvá ętirímen vikiṇi gęṇa.

Having seen the garden of the royal prince Jeta, and bought it by placing around and spreading *kahavaṇu*.

31. (*a*) Rasaváhiní, Vedeha Thero: (under Parákrama Báhu II.).

Phalakkhaṇḍa dinassa vatthu.

Bho tambúlam dehi pipásitomhí ti vatvá pi na labhi catu kahápaṇena ekaṁ tambúla-paṇṇam kiṇitvá laddho.

Having said "Sir, give me betel, I am thirsty" he did not receive it: having bought one betel leaf for four *kahápaṇas* and received it.

(*b*) Saddharmmálaṅkára (Sinhalese version of above by Dharmmakírtti Saṅgharája, c. 1395/6).

No milayé no denaheyin ran satara massak dí eka maḷappatak ẹragena.

And since he would not part with his betel without money, the person who arrived last bought one single leaf for four *massas* of gold.

Translation of J. de Alwis. *Sidath Sangarawa*, pp. cciv., ccv., Colombo, 1852.

32. (*a*) Ummagga Játaka.

1. Rája-dáyo náma kákaṇika-matto na vaṭṭatí ti: imassa nibaddhaṁ aḍḍha-másakassa maṁsaṁ áharitvá dehí ti. So sádhú ti tatopaṭṭháya tathá akási. So eka divasaṁ uposatha-mágháte maṁsaṁ alabhitvá tam eva aḍḍha-másakaṁ vijjhitvá suttakena ávuṇitvá tassa gíváya pilandhi. Ath'assa taṁ nissáya mano uppajji.

(The king said): "The amount of a *kákaṇiká* is not suitable for a royal gift; take and always give to it (sc. the chameleon) meat worth half a *másaka*." This man said: "It is well," and thenceforward did so. One day as he did not get meat as slaughter was forbidden on the *uposatha* day, he pierced the half *másaka* itself, threaded it on a string, and tied it round its neck. Now on account of this, pride arose within its heart.

Aladdha pubbaṁ laddhána aḍḍha-másaṁ kakanṭako | atimaññati rájánaṁ Vedehaṁ Mithilaggahaṁ.

(Gáthá) A chameleon on getting a half *másaka*, which it had not before, despised King Vedeha who dwells in Mithila.

2. So sádhú ti tassa santiká sata-sahassaṁ gahetvá gehaṁ vissajjetvá.

He said: "It is well," and taking the hundred thousand belonging to her gave up the house.

3. Dammi nikkha sahassan te gámásíti ca Kásisu. Tattha nikkha sahassan ti pañca suvaṇṇa nikkhena nikkhánaṁ sahassaṁ.

(Gáthá) I give thee a thousand *nikkhas* and eighty villages in the Kási country.

There "a thousand *nikkhas*" mean a thousand *nikkhas* at five *suvaṇṇas* the *nikkha*.

32. (*b*) Ummagga Játaka: (reign of Parákrama Báhu IV., first half, fourteenth century).

Kakanṭaka prasnaya.

Question of the Chameleon.

1. Rajjuruvó ek purushayekuṭa rajjuruvan dena deya nam viyaṭa samárak pamaṇa nusudusuyayi kiyá mohaṭa ran de-viyaṭa samárak aganá mas nibaṅdava geṇa hẹra devayi kiyá niyóga kaḷáha. É purushayát yahapateyi kiyá e tẹn paṭankoṭa rajjuruvan vidhána kaḷa lesaṭama mas geṇa hẹra bohoṅḍáṭa dennéya. É purushayá ek davasak uposatha-dinayehi rájasammata heyin paṇivákaḷavun nẹti kalhi nuvara muḷulchi mas soyá no lẹba ema de-viyaṭa samárak pamaṇa ran mẹdin vida avuṇa bohoṅḍágé karé bẹndéya.

The king, saying to a certain man that an amount of one and a half grains of paddy was not fit for a royal gift, bade him bring and give it (the chameleon) always meat worth gold two and a half grains of paddy (in weight). That man said: "It is well," and thenceforth brought and gave the chameleon meat according to the king's command. One day, as there were no butchers because of the royal command on the *póya* day, that man searched all over the city for meat, but not finding any he bored a hole in the midst of the piece of gold itself, about two and a half grains of paddy (in weight), threaded it on a string, and tied it round the chameleon's neck.

2. Ohu yahapateyi bisavun dun masu-lakshaya ẹrageṇa geya bisavunṭama aḷaha. Vẹlit é masuran-lakshaya nam dẹn mé samayehidu taṁba ádí

He said: "It is well," and took the lakh of *massas*, which the queen gave, and gave up the house to the queen herself. Now that lakh of *masuran* was not

pasloyin gęsú ranek no-vannéya. É ranaṭa níla karshápaṇayayi kiyati. In satara akek máḍharatrenya satara akek pas-lóya. E bęvin é bisavun dun masuran-lakshayen paṇas-dásek máḍha-ratranęyi data yutu.

of coin struck from copper and such like base metal as at the present time. That (ancient) coin is called *níla karshápúpaṇa* ; of it four *akas* were of *máḍha* gold. and four of base metal. Therefore, you must know that of the lakh of *masuran* given by that queen fifty thousand were *máḍha* gold.[1]

3. Topáṭa nik dahasak demi hevat ran pasvisi dahasak demi.

I give to you a thousand *nikas*, that is, I give twenty-five thousand *ran*.[2]

33. Visuddhimagga, 14th paricchedo, by Buddhaghosa.

Yathá hi herañññika-phalake ṭhapitaṁ kahápaṇarásiṁ eko ajátabuddhi dárako eko gámikapuriso eko herañññiko ti tísu janesu passamánesu ajátabuddhi dárako kahápaṇánaṁ cittavicitta dígha caturassa parimaṇḍala bhávamattam eva jánáti idaṁ manussánaṁ upabhoga-paribhogaṁ ratanasammatan ti na jánáti: gámikapuriso cittavicittádi bhávaṁ ca jánáti idaṁ manussánaṁ upabhoga-paribhogaṁ ratanasammatan ti ca ayaṁ cheko ayaṁ kúṭo ayaṁ addhasáro ti idaṁ pana vibhágaṁ na janáti: herañññiko sabbe pi te pakáre jánátí: jánanto ca kahápaṇaṁ olaketvá pi jáṇáti: ákoṭitassa saddaṁ sutvá pi gandhaṁ gháyitvá pi rasaṁ sáyitvá pi hatthena dhárayitvá pi: asukasmiṁ náma gáme vá nigame vá nagare vá pabbate vá nadí-tíre vá kato ti pi asukácariyena kato ti pi jánáti.

As when three persons, namely, a child who has not reached the age of reason, a villager, and a goldsmith, see a quantity of *kahápaṇas* placed on the goldsmith's board, the child who has not reached the age of reason knows that the *kahápaṇas* are beautiful, long, square, or round, but does not know that they are valuables for the enjoyment and use of men; the villager knows that they are beautiful and the rest, and that they are valuables for the enjoyment and use of men, but does not know how to distinguish which one is good, which one is counterfeit, and which one is half good and half base metal; but the goldsmith knows all these kinds, he knows by observing a *kahápaṇa* with understanding, he knows by hearing the sound made by it when struck, by smelling, by tasting, and by handling it, in which village or market town or city or mountain or river bank it was made and by which craftsman.

APPENDIX B.

Mahávaṁsa and its Ṭíká

Geiger's and Wijesinha's Translations.

1. IV., 13.

" Kahápaṇádiṁ saṅghassa dethe " táhu upásake.

Had said to the lay-folk: " Bestow on the brotherhood *kahápaṇas* and so on."

Ṭíká. " Kahápaṇádín " ti, ettha ádiggahanena aḍḍhampi másakam pi másaka-rúpam pi gahitaṁ; " dethe táhu upásake " tí, " detha ávuso saṅghassa kahápaṇádi; bhavissati saṅghassa hiraññena karaṇíyan ti " evaṁ upásake áhaṁsú ti attho.[3]

" *Kahápaṇas* and so on " : here in the word " and so on " are included the half, the *másaka*, the *másaka rúpa*. " Bestow, lay-folk " : the meaning is that they said to the lay-folk thus : " Give, sirs, to the Community *kahápaṇas* and so on; there will be use from the gold to the Community."

2. Ṭíká on V., 17.

Ekaṁ kahápaṇaṁ aṭṭha kahápaṇagghanikaṁ katvá asíti koṭippamáṇaṁ kahápaṇaṁ rásikatvá.

(Cáṇakka) multiplied one *kahápaṇa* into eight and amassed an amount of eighty *koṭis*.

3. XXI., 26. Eláḷa, B.C. 205–161 (G. 145–101).

Te ṭhapetuṁ pañca dasa pásáṇo patite tahiṁ | kahápáṇa sahassáni adá pañca daseva so.

And in order to place (anew) the fifteen stones that had been broken off he spent just fifteen thousand *kahápaṇas*.

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[1] *Pas-ló* " five metals " is said to consist of gold, silver, copper, iron, and *lókaḍa* or lead, or of copper, iron, lead, tin, and brass; here obviously the word means " alloy," " base metal." I have, therefore, translated *rana* by " coin." For *máḍha cf.* Tamil *máḍai*.

[2] Elsewhere in this Játaka " Twenty-five thousand pieces of *máḍha* gold." A manuscript version, however, reads maḍha ratran pasalos-dahasak " fifteen thousand pieces of *máḍha* gold," the *huṇa* or fifth of the *nika* being reckoned as equal to three *kaḷañdas* (*v.* Tables).

[3] The text of Culla Vagga, XII., gives: Kahápaṇam pi aḍḍham pi pádam pi másaka-rúpam pi.

4. XXV., 99, 100. Duṭugemunu, B.C. 161–137 (G. 101–77).

Náṭaká macca majjhamhi Phussadevassa taṁ saraṁ | ánápetvá ṭhapápetvá puṅkhena ujukaṁ talaṁ | kahápaṇehi kandantaṁ ásitto uparúpari | chádápetvána dápesi Phussadevassa taṅkhate.

When . . . . in the midst of the dancers and ministers he had sent for Phussadeva's arrow and had set it in the ground with the feathered end uppermost, he covered the dart over and over with *kahápaṇas* poured forth upon it, and these he forthwith caused to be given to Phussadeva.

5. XXVII., 21.

Kammárambhana kále 'va catu dvárамhi bhogavá | aṭṭha sata sahassáni hiraññáni ṭhapápayi.

At the time that the work (sc. Lohapásáda) was beginning the generous (king) commanded that eight hundred thousand gold pieces should be placed at each of the four gates:

Ṭíká. Pásádassa catu dváramhi aṭṭhaṭṭha kahápaṇa saṁkhátáni hirañña sata sahassáni ṭhapápayí ti atthayojana kátabbá.

The sense meet to be given is that he placed one hundred thousand [pieces of] gold, each reckoned at eight *kahápaṇas*, at the four doors of the palace.

6. XXX., 14.

Sahassagghaṁ vattha-yugaṁ tathálaṅkára páduká | kahápaṇáni dvádasa sahassáni ca dápayi.

(The king) bestowed on him a pair of garments worth a thousand and ornamented shoes and twelve thousand *kahápaṇas*.

Ṭíká. "Tathálaṅkára páduká" ti, sahassagghanakaṁ suvaṇṇa-páduká-yugaṁ ca tath'eva puṇṇaṁ náma vatthálaṅkárañ ca dápayí ti áttho.

"Ornamented shoes": the meaning is that he bestowed a pair of gold shoes worth a thousand and ornamented garments in like manner complete.

7. XXX., 18.

Ekekasmiṁ duvárasmiṁ ṭhapápesi kahápaṇe | soḷasa sata sahassáni vattháni subahuni ca.

At every gate he commanded to place sixteen hundred thousand *kahápaṇas*, (and) very many garments.

8. Ṭíká on XXX., 20.

"Kammaṁ katvá yathá rucí" ti "yathá ruci taṁ kammaṁ katvá suvaṇṇádísu yathá ruci taṁ ganhantú" ti kahápaṇádíni kammaṁ karontánaṁ adaṁsu ti attho.

"When they have laboured as they will": the meaning of "having laboured as they will, let them take the gold, &c., as they will" is that they gave to the workmen *kahápaṇas*, &c.

9. XXXVI., 124, 125. Jeṭṭhatissa, A.D. 267–277 (G. 315–325).

Pitará so vippakataṁ Lohá-pásádam uttamaṁ | koṭi-dhanaṁ agghanakaṁ káresi satta bhúmakaṁ | saṭṭhi sata sahassagghaṁ pújayitvá maṇiṁ tahiṁ | káresi Jeṭṭhatisso taṁ maṇí-pásádam uttamaṁ.

He (Jeṭṭhatissa) built up to seven stories the splendid Lohapásáda, that had been left unfinished by his father, so that it was now worth a *koṭi* of money. When he had offered there a jewel worth sixty thousand, Jeṭṭhatissa named it the Maṇipásáda.

10. XXXVII., 45. Mahasen, A.D. 277–304 (G. 325–352).

Saṅghatthera sahassassa sahassagghaṇa dási so | thera-dánañ ca sabbesaṁ anuvassañ ca cívaraṁ.

To one thousand saṁghattheras he distributed alms for theras, at a cost of a thousand, and to all (the bhikkus he distributed) yearly a garment.

11. XLVIII., 7. Aggabodhi V., A.D. 726–732.

Chabbísati sahassáni suvaṇṇánaṁ samápiya | jiṇṇáni paṭisaṅkhási rájá cetiya pabbate.

He spent twenty six thousand *suvaṇṇas* in repairing the dilapidated structures at the Cetiya pabbata.

12. 135, 136, 137. Mahinda II., A.D. 787–807

Mahálekhañ ca káresi pariveṇambha yácale | tathá Ratanapásádaṁ tatth'eva sumanoharaṁ | aneka bhúmaṁ káretvá Vejayanta miváparaṁ | tathá sata sahassehi tíhi c'eva mahádhano | Jambonada suvaṇṇassa sahassehi ca saṭṭhihi | bimbaṁ satthussa káretvá.

He built the monastery called Mahálekha at the Abhayagiri, and, at the cost of three hundred thousand, the Ratanapásáda, an exceedingly beautiful terraced palace with several floors, like unto another Vejayanta mansion. Out of his great wealth he made also at the price of sixty thousand of pure gold an image of the Teacher (or better, he made also an image of the Teacher out of 60,000 of pure gold).

13. LI., 135. Udaya I., A.D. 901–902 (874–885).

Tass'ekádasa vassesu vissaṭṭhaṁ soṇṇam eva tu | ahú sata sahassánaṁ tayo dasahi sammitaṁ.

And the sum that he spent in good works during these eleven years was reckoned at three of one hundred thousand and ten times that number in gold (*i.e.*, 30 lakhs).

14. LIII., 29. Sena III., A.D. 955–964 (928–937).

Kahápaṇa sahassaṁ so duggatanaṁ uposathe | hoti 'posathiko datvá yávajívaṁ narádhipo.

And he gave a thousand *kahápaṇas* to the poor on the Uposatha day, and himself observed it also. And this the chief of men observed to his life's end.

15. LIII., 32, 33.

Kahápaṇa sahassaṁ vá datvá pañca satáni vá | Laṅkáyaṁ jiṇṇa kávásе navakamman ca kárayi | cattáḷísa sahassáni Abhayuttara cetiye | silá pattharaṇatthaya dápesi sa mahípati.

And he restored the ancient viháras throughout the Island, each at a cost of one thousand or five hundred *kahápaṇas*. And for paying with stone (the foreground) at the Abhayagiri Cetiya, this king spent forty thousand.

16. LXXVII. 104. Parákrama Báhu I., A.D. 1153–1186.

Parakkama mahípála námaṅkita kahápaṇaṁ | voháresu niyojetvá raṭṭhe sabbattha tattha so.

And he (Laṅkápura) commanded that the *kahápaṇa* coin, bearing the superscription of King Parakkama, should be used throughout the country.

17. LXXXI., 43, 44, 45. Vijaya Báhu III., A.D. 1232–1236.

tehi sabbehi bhúpati | sádaraṁ caturásiti dhammakkhandha sahassakaṁ | sádhu lekhápasí dhammakkandha saṅkhyáya taya so | datvána tattake sabbe tesaṁ soṇṇa kahápaṇe | dhamma pújam pi káretvá puññabháram ca sancini.

And the lord of the land set them to work to transcribe the sacred books of the law, which consisted of eighty and four thousand divisions. And to them he paid (in money) as many gold *kahápaṇas*[1] as there were divisions in the book of the law. He held a festival also in honour of the scriptures, and so heaped for himself much merit.

18. C, 14, 15. Kírttisrí, A.D. 1747–1782.

Suvaṇṇa dvi sahassehi satta nikkhádhikehi ca kárite maṇi-vaṇṇasmim |mahagghamuttamaṁ cáruṁ mahantam vajiraṁ tahiṁ bandhápetvá.

And he caused a large and excellent diamond of great value to be set on the top of that beautiful gem-coloured casket made out of two thousand *suvaṇṇas* with seven *nikkhas* added thereto.[2]

APPENDIX C.

1. Arthaṣástra of Kauṭilya *al.* Cáṇakya *al.* Vishṇugupta, minister of Candragupta.

Lakshaṇádhyakshaḥ catur-bhága támraṁ rúpyarúpaṁ tíkshṇa-trapu-sísáñjaná námanyatamaṁ másha bíjayuktaṁ kárayet | Paṇam-ardhapaṇaṁ pádam-ashṭabhágam iti : pádájívaṁ támra-rúpaṁ máshakam-ardhamáshakaṁ kákaṇím-ardhakákaṇim iti. |

The superintendent of the mint shall carry on the manufacture of silver coins made up of four parts of copper and one-sixteenth part (*másha*) of any one of the metals *tíkshṇa* (iron), *trapu* (tin), *sísa* (lead), and *añjana* (? antimony). There shall be a *paṇa*, half a *paṇa*, a quarter and one-eighth. Copper coins made up of four parts of an alloy shall be a *máshaka*, half a *máshaka*, *kákaṇí*, and half a *kákaṇí*.

Pautavádhyakshaḥ pautavakarmántáṅ kárayet | Dhányamáshá daṣa suvarṇa-máshakaḥ pañca vá guñjáḥ | te shoḍaṣa suvarṇaḥ karsho vá catuḥ karsham palam | Ashṭáṣítir gaurasarshapá rúpyamáshakaḥ te shoḍaṣa dharaṇam | ṣaibyáni vá

The superintendent of weights and measures shall have the same manufactured. Ten *dhányamáshas* are a gold *máshaka* or five *guñjás* ; sixteen of these are a *suvarṇa* or *karsha* ; four *karshas* are a *pala*. Eighty-eight *gaura-sarshapas* are a silver *máshaka* ;

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[1] The Páli Hatthavanagalla Vihára-vaṁsa has *kahápaṇas*, the Sinhalese Pújávaliya *masuran*. Both works were composed in the reign of Parákrama Báhu II.

[2] Here *suvaṇṇa* is the pagoda and the *nikkha* the *kalaṅda*.

viṁsatiḥ ¦ Viṁsati tandulam vajra-dharaṇam | Ardhamáshakaḥ máshakaḥ dvau catváraḥ ashṭau máshakaḥ s uvarṇau dvau catváraḥ ashṭau suvarṇaḥ dasa viṁsatiḥ triṁsat catváraṁsat satam iti | tena dharaṇáni vyákhyátáni . . . .

sixteen of these are a *dharaṇa*, or twenty *ṣaibyas*[1] are (one): twenty grains of rice are a diamond *dharaṇa*. Half a *máshaka*, one *máshaka*, two, four, eight *máshakas*, one *suvarṇa*, two, four, eight *suvarṇas*, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, one hundred are different units of weights. Similar series of weights shall also be made in *dharaṇas* . . . .

Viṁsati tauliko bháraḥ | dasa dharaṇikaṁ palam | tat pala satam áyamáni ¦ Pañca palávará vyávahárikí bhájanyantaḥpura bhájiní ca |

Twenty *tulás* are a *bhára*, ten *dharaṇas* are a *pala*, one hundred such *palas* are an *áyamáni* (measure of royal income). Public balance, (royal) servants' balance, and harem balance successively decrease by five *palas* (compared with the *áyamáni*).

Ed. R. Shama Sastri, Bibliotheca Sanskrita, No. 37, Mysore, 1909; Book II., 12, and 19.

2. The same as quoted in Hemádri's Caturvarga Cintámaṇi (Bibliotheca Indica, I., p. 117); the text is not later than the thirteenth century.

Pañca guñjá bhaven máshaḥ sáṇas taisca catur guṇaiḥ | Kalañjo dharaṇaṁ práhur maṇimána visáradaḥ | Mañjáṭiká kalañja viseshas tailye guñjá dvayaṁ viduḥ ¦ Mañjáṭiká viṁsatis tu dharaṇaṁ tadvidáṁ matam | Sthúlamadhyátisúkshmánáṁ susúkshmánám-api smṛtam | Máshakaiḥ padmarágaḥ syád indratíládisu smṛtam | Kuhustatra prayoktavyá na yasmin mánam auritam | Díṇáro raupakair ashṭáviṁsatyá parikírtitaḥ | Suvarṇasya saptatimobhágo ropaka ishyate. |

Five *guñjás* are a *másha*; four times this is a *ṣáṇa*. Jewellers call a *dharaṇa* a *kalañja*. The *mañjáṭiká* is a kind of *kalañja*; in weight they reckon it as two *guñjás*. Twenty *mañjáṭikás* are regarded by the experts as a *dharaṇa*. But it (sc. the word *dharaṇa*) is also used in regard to the large, the medium, the very small, and also the most small. Rubies would be (measured) with *máshakas*; it is used of sapphires and the like. The *kuhu* is to be used with regard to them; as to this the weight is not stated. The *dínára* is said to consist of twenty-eight *raupakas*; the seventieth part of a *suvarṇa* is a *ropaka*.

Rúpyasya suvarṇadbhinna-mánam abhidhíyate | ashṭásíti gaurasarshapa rúpya-máshakaḥ | te shoḍasa dharaṇaṁ nishká vá | viṁsatir vá | rúpya-palañ ca dasa dharaṇakaṁ | tat palánáṁ satan tulá | tan tulá viṁsatir bhára bhavati | Viṁsatyá vríhitaṇḍulais tuláyáṁ vishṭhatair vajrákhyaratnasya dharaṇaṁ bhavati. Ashṭhabhir gaurasarshapais taṇḍulaṁ kalpayed iti kecit. |

Silver weights different from those of gold are named (thus). Eighty-eight *gaura-sarshapas* are a silver *máshaka*, sixteen of these are a *dharaṇa*, or a *nishka*, or twenty (are). A silver *pala* consists of ten *dharaṇas*; of those *palas* a hundred are a *tulá*. Of those *tulás* twenty are a *bhára*. With twenty seeds of paddy held in the balance you get a *dharaṇa* of the diamond jewel. Eight *gaura-sarshapas* one should reckon as a seed of paddy; so some say.

3. Sárárttha Saṅgraha, commonly supposed to be the work attributed in Mhv. XXXVII., p. 156, to king Buddhadása (A.D. 341–370; G. 388–416); it is much interpolated from Vágbhaṭa.

v. 126. Palaṁ pala dvau dvi-paláshṭa-nishkaṁ catush palañceti yathá krameṇa.

(Increasing) by degrees, as a *pala*, two *palas*, two *palas* eight *nishkas*, or four *palas*.

4. Nárada Smṛti (Appendix on Theft), *circa* V.–VI. cent. A.D.

Kárshápaṇo dakshiṇasyáṁ diṣi raupyaḥ pravartate
Paṇair nibaddhaḥ purvasyáṁ viṁsatis tu paṇáh sa tu

57. A *kárshápaṇa* is a silver coin in the southern country; in the east it is an equivalent for [composed of] (a certain number of) *paṇas*, and is equal to twenty *paṇas*.[3]

Másho viṁsati bhágas tu jñeyaḥ kárshápaṇasya tu
Kákaní tu catur bhágo máshasya ca paṇasya[2] ca

58. A *másha* should be known to be the twentieth part of a *kárshapaṇa*. A *kákaṇí* is the fourth part of a *másha* or *paṇa*.

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[1] The text as printed must be corrupt, as *ṣaibya* has no meaning. According to the commentary, *rúpya-rúpa* is the same as *kárshápaṇa*.

[2] The printed text has *palasya* "of a *pala*." A variant, which is clearly right, has as above.

[3] A variant reads: Paṇo nibaddhaḥ purvasyáṁ shoḍaṣaiva paṇáḥ palam. But sixteen *paṇas* do not make a *pala*; the originals of the variants "sa tu" and "palam" may have been "ṣáṇam" "a *ṣáṇa*," a synonym of *dharaṇa*. . .

Pañcanadyaḥ pradeṣe tu saṁjñáyá vyávahárikí
Kárshápaṇa pramáṇaṁ tu nibaddhaṁ iha naitayá

59. By that appellation which is in general use in the region of the Punjab, the value of a *kárshápaṇa* is not circumscribed (*i.e.*, defined) here.

Kárshápaṇo 'ṇḍika. jñeyá táṣ catasras tu dhánakaḥ
Tad dvádaṣa suvarṇas tu díṇárákhyaḥ as eva ca.

60. A *kárshápaṇa* has to be taken as equal to an *aṇḍika*; four of these are a *dhánaka*; twelve of the latter are a *suvarṇa*, which is called *dínára* otherwise.

Minor Law Books (Sacred Books of the East), vol. XXXIII., p. 231.

5. Gaṇita Sára Saṅgraha, of Mahávíra (reign of the Ráshṭrakúṭa king Amoghavarsha, A.D. 814 or 815–877 or 878); chap. I., 39–43.

Atha suvarṇa-paribháshá.

Terminology relating to (the measurement of) Gold.

Caturbhir gaṇḍakair guñjá guñjáḥ pañca paṇo'shṭa te
Dharaṇaṁ dharaṇe karshaḥ palaṁ karsha catushṭayam

39. Four *gaṇḍakas* make one *guñjá*; five *guñjás* make one *paṇa*, and eight of this (*paṇa*) make one *dharaṇa*; two *dharaṇas* make one *karsha*, and four *karshas* make one *pala*.

Atha rajata-paribháshá.

Terminology relating to (the measurement of) Silver.

Dhánya dvayena guñjaiká guñjá yugmena máshakaḥ
Másha shoḍaṣakenátra dharaṇaṁ paribháshyate

40. Two (*dhánya*) grains make one *guñjá*; two *guñjás* make one *másha*; sixteen *máshas* are said here to make one *dharaṇa*.

Taddvayaṁ sárdhakaṁ ·karshaḥ puráṇáṁ ṣcaturaḥ palam
Rúpye Mágadha-mánena práhus saṅkhyánakovidáḥ.

41. Two and a half of that (*dharaṇa*) make one *karsha*; four *puráṇas* (or *karshas*) make one *pala*—so say persons well versed in calculation in respect of the measurement of silver according to the standard current in Magadha.

Atha loha-paribháshá.

Terminology relating to (the measurement of) other Metals.

Kalá náma catush-pádáḥ sa pádásh shaṭ kalá yavaḥ
Yavaiṣ catur-bhir aṁṣas syád bhágau 'ṁṣánáṁ catushṭayam

42. What is known as a *kalá* consists of four *pádas*; six and a quarter *kalás* make one *yava*; four *yavas* make one *aṁsa*; four *aṁṣas* make one *bhága*.

Drakshúṇo bhága shaṭkena dínáro syád dvisaṅguṇaḥ
Dvau dínárau sateraṁ syát práhur lohe 'trasúrayaḥ.

43. Six *bhágas* make one *drakshúṇa*; twice that *drakshúṇa* is one *dínára*; two *dínáras* make one *satera*. Thus say the learned men in regard to the (measurement of) other metals.

Text and translation by M. Rangacarya, Madras, 1912.

6. Yuktikalpadruma, attributed to Bhojadeva king of Málwá, c. A.D. 1018–1060; quoted in Vaidyakaṣabdasindhu, Calcutta, 1894.

Mañcálí procyate guñjá sá tisro rúpakaṁ bhavet
rúpakair daṣabhiḥ proktaḥ kalañjo náma námataḥ.

A *mañcáli* is called a *guñjá*, and three of these is *rúpaka*. A *kalañja* is said to consist of ten *rúpakas*.

7. Vaidyálaṅkara, a Ceylon compilation largely from Vágbhaṭa.

Paṇác ca daṣa nishkaṁ syát tair dvádaṣa daṣáshṭabhiḥ | kecit palaṁ tridá práhuh sreshṭha madhya paraḥ kramát.

Ten *paṇas* are a *nishka*. Some say that the *pala* is of three kinds, composed of twelve, ten, or eight of these (*nishkas*), as it is the superior, middling, or inferior.

8. Abhidánappadípiká, Moggallána (reign of Parákrama Báhu I.).

479. Cattáro víhayo guñjá | dve guñjá másako bhave | dve akkhá másaka pañcá | kkhánaṁ dharaṇaṁ aṭṭhakaṁ

479. Four seeds of paddy are a *guñjá*, two *guñjás* make a *másaka*. Two *akkhas* are five *másakas*; eight *akkhas* are a *dharaṇa*.

480. Suvaṇṇo pañca dharaṇaṁ | nikkhaṁ tvanitthi pañca te | pádo bháge catutthe 'tha | dharaṇáni palaṁ dasa.

480. Five *dharaṇas* are a *suvaṇṇa*, five of these a *nikkha*. A *páda* is a quarter. Ten *dharaṇas* are a *pala*.

481. Tulá pala sataṁ ca 'tha | bháro vísati tá tulá | atho kahápaṇo nitthi | kathyate karísápaṇo.

481. A hundred *palas* make a *tulá*, twenty of these *tulás* a *bhára*; and a *kahápaṇa* is called *karísápaṇa*.

9. Abhidánappadípiká Ṭíká (Burmese).

Rúpassa karísena kato saṁvohára padattho kahápaṇo náma, karísappamaṇena rúpena kato paṇo paṇiyo dabba-bhedo karísápaṇo.

"*Kahápaṇa*" is a business term equal to (lit. made of) a *karísa* of silver; "*karísápaṇa*" money, goods, a kind of wealth made of silver a *karísa* in amount.

10. Líl̄ávatí of Bhaskara Ácárya of Bidar (XII. cent.).

Varáṭakánáṁ daṣakadvayaṁ yat sá kákiṇí taṣ ca paṇaṣ catasraḥ | te shoḍaṣa dramma iháva gamyo drammais tathá shoḍaṣa bhiṣ ca nishkaḥ | Tulyá yavábhyáṁ kathitátra guñjá vallas tri-guñjo dharaṇañ ca te 'shṭau | gadyáṇakas taddvayam indra tulyair vallais tathaiko dhaṭakaḥ pradishṭaḥ | Daṣarddha-guñjaṁ pravadanti máshaṁ másháhvayaiḥ shoḍaṣa bhiṣ ca kársham | kárshais catur bhiṣ ca palaṁ tulájñáḥ kárshaṁ suvarṇasya suvarṇa samjñam. |

Twice ten cowries are a *kákiṇí*; four of these are a *paṇa*, sixteen of which must here be considered as a *dramma*; in like manner a *nishka* as consisting of sixteen of these.

A *guñjá* is reckoned as equal to two barley-corns. A *valla* is three *guñjás*, and eight of these are a *dharaṇa*, two of which make a *gadyáṇaka*. In like manner one *dhaṭaka* is composed of fourteen *vallas*.

Half ten *guñjás* are called a *másha* by such as are conversant with the use of the balance; a *kársha* contains sixteen of what are called *máshas*. A *pala* is four *kárshas*. A *kársha* of gold is named *suvarṇa*.
—Colebrooke's Translation, 1817.

11. Yogárnava, by Mayurapáda Pariveṇádhipati in the reign of Bhuvaneka Báhu I., c. A.D. 1273–1284.

Maná gata yutu behedaṭa mátrá kiyat tun talayek amuyek tun hamuvek viyaṭek aṭa viyaṭek madaṭek visi madaṭek kaḷañdek tun kaḷañdek hunek de hunek palarddhayek palarddha dekak palamek . . . . Ehi bilálapádayeka kabalagrahayaya svarṇnaya tíndukaya akshaya picuya karshakaya pánitalayayi yana hunaṭa nam.

The quantities for medicines by which measurements should be taken are called thus:—three *tala* seeds make one *amu* seed, three *amu* seeds one grain of paddy, eight grains of paddy one *madeṭa*, twenty *madeṭas* one *kaḷañda*, three *kaḷañdas* one *huna*, two *hunas* one half-*palama*, two half-*palamas* one *palama* . . . . In these *bilálapádayeka, kabalagraha, svarṇna, tínduka, aksha, picu, karshaka, páṇitala* are names of the *huna*.

12. Vaidya Cintámaṇi Bhaishadya Sañgrahava, by Ṣelasiṁha (Kotte period).

Meṇum kirum vidhiya. Tala eṭa tuneka bara amu eṭa ekek vé. Amu eṭa tuneka bara eka viyaṭek vé. Aṭa viyaṭeka bara madaṭa ekek vé. Visi madaṭeka bara kaḷañdek vé. Tun kaḷañdaṭa hunekeyi namek vé. De hunaṭa aḍa-palameyi namek vé. De aḍa-palamak palamek vé. (There follow the measures of capacity up to the *khárí*).

Mána vidhi visésha nam. Viyaṭa vissak á kala eka akek vé. Aṭa akak á kala kaḷañdek vé. Sa akek á kala ṣáṇaya yana namek vé. Siv ṣáṇayek á kala tun kaḷañdek vé. Bilálapádaya kabalagahaya svarṇakaya tíndukaya akshaya picukaya karísakaya páṇitalaya huraya siv ṣáṇaya yana mé nam tun kaḷañdaṭa nam vé. Aḍa-palamaya suktiya hiteḷlaya[1] ashṭamikaya de-hunaya yanu sa kaḷañdaṭa nam vé. Palaya mushṭiya dvádaṣikaya prakuñcaya bilvaya siv karísaya bara kaḷañdaya yana me tek nam palamaṭa nam vé.

The way of measuring and weighing. Three *tala* seeds' weight is one *amu* seed. Three *amu* seeds' weight is one seed of paddy. Eight seeds of paddy weight is one *madaṭa*. Twenty *madaṭas*' weight is one *kaḷañda*. Three *kaḷañdas* are called a *huṇa*. Two *huṇas* are called a half-*palama*. Two half-*palamas* are a *palama*.

Special ways of weighing are:—Twenty seeds of paddy are one *aka*; eight *akas* are a *kaḷañda*; six *akas* are known as a *ṣáṇaya*; four *ṣáṇayas* are three *kaḷañdas*. *Bilálapáda, kabalagaha, svarṇaka, tínduka, aksha, picuka, karísaka, páṇitala, huna*, four *ṣáṇayas* are the names for three *kaḷañdas*. Half-*palama, sukti, hiteḷla, ashṭamika*, two *hunas* are the names for six *kaḷañdas*. *Pala, mushṭi, dvádaṣika, prakuñca, bilva*, four *karísas*, twelve *kaḷañdas* are the names of the *palama*.

[1] In the Yogarnava *sinitalaya*. The synonyms are largely from the Bhávaprakáṣa.

APPENDIX D.

INSCRIPTIONS.

First–Second Century A.D.

1. Sinadiyagala, reign of Vasabha, A.D. 66–110 (G. 124–168).

(1) Sidham. Maha raja Vahabaya Ani viharahi pohotakara catari rala (read: kala) sata sahasaka (2) kahavaṇa dakiya (read: dariya) karaya pihatahi j(i)ṇa paṭisataranakaṭaya me Kalupahaṇeka vavi paca saha- (3) sa kahavaṇa dariya kanavaya Magana nakerikahi panasa kala ganiya piṭaḷiniya mini do sata masaka dina koṭu . . . .

Hail! In the reign of the great King Vahaba (His Majesty) having enlarged the Ani Vihára, spending a hundred thousand *kahavaṇa* four times, for the purpose of repairing the dilapidations . . . . caused to be dug this Kalupahaṇeka tank at a cost of five thousand *kahavaṇa*. and measuring Piṭaḷiniya in Magana city,* gave two hundred *masaka* [of land] at the rate of fifty each time.

Second Century A.D.

2. Palu Mekichchewa, reign of Gaja Báhu, A.D. 113–135 (G. 171–193).

(1) Maharaja (ha Vaha) bayaha (2) manumaraka Tisa maharajaha puti (3) maharaji Gamiṇi Abeya Upala viba- (4) jakahi Vaḍamanaka vavi paca saha(si) kahavaṇa (5) dariya kanavaya Tubaraba buka saga- (6) haṭaya catiri paceni pari.

Under kahavaṇa, ⊞

E. Z., I, 211: Müller, No. 10: A. S., Seventh Progress Report, p. 44.

The great King Gamiṇi Abaya, son of the great King Tisa (and) grandson of the great King Vahaba, having caused the Vaḍamanaka tank in the Upala division to be dug at a cost of five thousand *kahavaṇa* (granted the same) to the Community of monks at Tubaraba (and thereby secured for them the enjoyment of) the four priestly requisites.

3. Vilivewa, same reign.

(1) Simda (*sic*) Maharaja Gamaṇi Aba- (2) yaha mata Kubaragama vavi (3) tamaha dana daraya catara (4) sahasa kahavaṇa (da)taya gaṇa- (5) ya tamaha viharahi saga dini (⊞ and two numerals).

A. S., Seventh Progress Report, p. 58.

Hail! The minister of the great King Gamaṇi Abaya, having expended his wealth, and spent four thousand *kahavaṇa*, gave Kubaragama tank to the Community in his own vihára.

4. Mihintale, King Gamani Abaya: if Gaja Báhu as above.

1. (19) paca kahapaṇe.

Müller, No. 20.

five *kahapaṇa*.

5. Ruvanveli, No. 2, Anuradhapura: Bhátika Tissa, A.D. 141–165 (G. 199–223).

(4) Kaha- (5) va..ta ha ka ṭa da ta ⊞ ja ka

////kahavana

kahavana . . . . *kahavana*.

6. Situlpav Vihare, King Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa, A.D. 165–193 (G. 223–241).

(1) Siddham Naka maharajaha puta Batiya Tisa maharajaha Maḷu Ti(sa) (2) maharaja aṭa sata ta tisa kahavana da(ri)ya . . . .

Müller, No. 16, revised.

Hail! The great King Maḷu Tisa, younger brother of the great King Batiya Tisa, having spent eight hundred and thirty-three *kahavana* . . . .

7. Karambankulama.

(3) paṇasa kaha- (4) vaṇa [di]ni Me kahavaṇehi Vadikáḍaya (5) vehara karana ni hi ⊞ ga.

Fifty *kahavaṇa* were given: with these *kahavaṇa* ? on account of the Vadikáḍaya vihára.

8. Kcssagamakanda.

A (6) (ma) . va ra kahavaṇa pa . . . .

B (1) Sidha . . . . . . ma da va ḷa ra (2) saṭi kahávana.

A. *kahavaṇa* . . . .

B. Hail! . . . . Sixty *kahávana*.

* *Cf.* Ussayppukallu inscription, and Ptolemy's "Margana, a town."

9. Mihintale, Rock Records d.

(2) kahavana; (3) ⊞ and two numerals.

kahavana.

10. Thuparama, Anuradhapura.

. . . na va ṇa ka be kahavaṇe ⊞

kahavana.

11. Nettukkanda, ix.

(1) Sidham (Majisaka) mataha vasati kahavaṇe vaviya keta (2) cetahi putamuliya.

A. S., Seventh Progress Report, p. 50.

Hail! By the minister Majisaka for twenty *kahavaṇa* the tank (and) field at the *caitya.*

12. Dunumadulukanda.

(1) Ulajaka vavi buku sagaha (2) Sitasa viya ketahi Bujihabika aṇutara be (3). bojana halaṭa kubara dana kariha Kana[sa] gamaka (4) ketahi Saga kubari aṭa kariha Ku- (5) tulatara viya ketahi Tuṇakadeviye buku sagahaṭa (6) kubara dina karihi Kahanahagama karihi (7) Virava Abayi buku sagahaṭa kubara dina sata masaka.

To the Community of monks at the Ulajaka tank at the Sitasaviya tract of fields a field a *kariha* (in extent) was given for the two incomparable refectories at Bujihabika; at the Kanasagamaka tract Saga kubara ("Community field"), eight *kariha*: at the Kutulataraviya tract a field of a *kariha* was given to the Tuṇakadeviya Community of monks: at Kahanahagama a *kariha*; to the Virava Abayi Community of monks a field of one hundred *masaka* was given.

Third Century

13. Ratmale.

(4) dasa ka(ha)vanaṭa

Ten *kahavaṇa.*

Third–Fourth Century

14. Puvarasankulama (emended); Abaya.

(15) Adanada kubara pata catara kariha nava masaka eka kena kari kubara ca Rura kubara pata de ka- (16) riha nava masaka de kana kari kubara ca Maha kubara pata dasa kariha eka paya de kana kari kubara ca Megahiṇiya pata paca kariha eka payaka ku- (17) bara ca U—ona kubara pata (da)sa kariha do payaka kubara ca . . . . hana [kuba]ra pata tedasa masaka tina kena kari kubara ca.*

In the Adanada tract of fields a field of four *kariha* nine *masaka* one *kena* [or $\frac{1}{80}$] of a *kariha*: in the Rura tract of fields a field of two *kariha* nine *masaka* two *kana* of a *kariha*: in the Maha kubara tract a field of ten *kariha* one *paya* two *kana* of a *kariha*: in the Megahiṇiya tract a field of five *kariha* one *payaka*: in the . . . . tract of fields a field of ten *kariha* two *payaka*: in the . . . . hana tract of fields a field of thirteen *masaka* three *kena* of a *kariha.*

15. Kotaveheragala, Horivila.

(1) Si(dh)am Me viharahi biku sagahaṭa (2) maṇiya me tisayaka kahavaṇa laha- (3) ka bataṭa dini visi kahavaṇa pinataṭa dini (4) parihana nakuṭaṭa dasa kahavaṇa kotu veḍani (5) dini ⊞

Hail! (For alms) to the Community of Bhikkus at this Vihára, distribution was made (*lit.* measured out) thus—for ticket-rice, 30 *karshápaṇas* were taken and given; for charity, 20 *karshápaṇas*; for cremation obsequies, 10 *karshápaṇas.*

C. A., III., Pt. 3, p. 206.

Fourth Century.

16. Ruvanveli, No. 4, Anuradhapura: 3 Meghavaṇṇa II., A.D. 304–332 (G. 352–379).

(8) aviya eka hanigatahi eka sahasi ⊞ . . . .

at one . . . . of the tank one thousand

(13) [Pu]vaya Sir(i) Naka [Ma]haraja- (14) ha puta Mekavana Abaya Naka ⊞ ha [ca]ta lagita tina [vaka] va- (15) sahi.

in the third year from the raising of the parasol by Mekavana Abaya Naka, son of the great King Siri Naka, the elder.

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* Possibly *kari kubara* is the same as *kerẹ kumbur* of the Mihintale Tablets (E. Z., I., No. 7, A lines 46, 49), and the translation should run: "a *kari* field of four *kariha* nine *masaka* one *kena*," &c.

17. Debalgala, ii.

(1) Sidam Meha veherahi pacayahaṭa ca jiṇa paṭisatarakamaṭa ca (3) catara pace kara kcṭu kahavaṇa (ra)ṭa . ritasaka . (ca)ta.

A. S., Seventh Progress Report, p. 50, revised.

Hail ! Both for the priestly requisites and for the repair of dilapidations at this vihára, on account of the four priestly requisites, *kahavaṇa* (were given).

18. Kumbukvewa.

(2) Naka pavata viharahi biku sagahaṭa dasa . (n) (ya) ha (3) ta kahavana d(i) na jiṇa paṭisatiriya . .

Müller, No. 63, revised.

To the Community of monks at the Naka pavata vihára ten . . . . *kahavana* were given for the repairs to dilapidations. . . . .

19. Elikimbulagala.

(2) (pa)ha vihiya kahava- (3) ṇe.

Twenty-five *kahavaṇa*.

20. Amunukole, Ihalagala a.

(2) kahavana.

Kahavana.

21. Veragala.

(1) Si(dha) Bojiya Karavala Tisayaha na va ni ka ?pa dasa kahavaṇe maha biku sagahaṭa dini (2) visiti mala kahava[ṇa] . va (3) ṭi ti la ma . . . . . kahavane (3) . . ha la tihiya kari miṇiya dasa dini (4) va ta ha ma va di na ke maha bhikhu sagha[yaṭa].

Hail ! By the headman Karavala Tisa . . . . ten *kahavaṇa* were given to the great Community of monks; twenty *mala kahavaṇa* . . . . *kahavaṇa* . . . . having measured ? thirty *kariha* ten were given to the great Community of monks at Vatahamavadinaka.

Fourth–Fifth Century.

22. Labu-etabendigala, Moravewa i.

(4) eka sataka kahavaṇa dini ⊞ (followed by S with K pendent therefrom) me eka sataka kahavañehi . . . . .

One hundred *kahavaṇa* were given : with these one hundred *kahavaṇa* . . . .

23. Labu-etabendigala, Moravewa ii.

(2) Sivayi visiya kahavaṇa Dévagiriya viharahi.

Sivayi (spent) twenty *kahavaṇa* at Devagiriya vihára.

Fifth Century.

24. Veragodagala, Aralagamvila : 20th year from coronation of Mahánáma, A.D. 431/2 (G. 477/8).

(4) visi (da)ma kahavaṇa (di)- (5) na puviya Mahanama maharajahi otunu visivana va- (6) sihi.

The remains of the third *akshara* show that it was V, C, Ṭ, Ḍ, D or Ḷ.

Twenty *dama kahavaṇa* were given in the twentieth year since the coronation of the great King Mahánáma, the elder.

Cf. C. A., III., Pt. 3, p. 208.

Fifth–Seventh Century.

25. Jetavanarama, Anuradhapura.

1st step : (3) kahavaṇa; 2nd step : (3) sayaka kahavana.

1st step : *kahavana* ; 2nd step : A hundred *kahavana*.

26. Vijitapura.

2nd step : line (3) ? kahavaṇa.

kahavaṇa.

27. Vessagiriya.

(2) Aba Kusaba giriya ve- (3) hara sayaka kahavaṇe.

The Aba Kusabagiriya vihára a hundred *kahavaṇa*.

28. Steps near Magul Sihasun, Jetavanarama.

1st or bottom step: 2nd stone ; (5) sayaka kahavaṇa.
4th step : 2nd stone ; (3) as last.

1st step : A hundred *kahavaṇa*.
4th step : As last.

29. Mihintale, Maluwa near Dharmasala.

(6) kaha- (7) vaṇa.

kahavaṇa.

Seventh–Eighth Century

30. Tamil Inscription, Hindu Ruins, Anuradhapura (Local Museum C1); 5 and 7 Siri Sanga Bo.

(1) Svasti ṣrí Ko s-Siri Sańka [Poti] (2) máráyaṭki yáṇḍ-aintu . . (3) tu Má(rk)aḷi muṉ aintám pakka (4) tu . s-Sekkiḷáṉ seḍḍi sań- (5) kani- (4) ḍai k-Kumárakaṇattupperúro(m) (6) muppat-Íḷakkásu koṇḍ-itu muta- (7) l keḍámal nisati oru tiru v-amirtu- (8) m-oru nontá viḷakkum vaip- (9) pom-ánom Svasti ṣrí Ko (10) s-Siri Sańki Poti máráyatki yá- (11) ṇḍ-eḷávatiṟ Sekkiḷáṉ Seṉ- (12) ṉaiyiḍai k-Kumára-kaṇattuppe- (13) rúrom muppat-Íḷakkásu koṇḍ-ítu muta- (14) l keḍámal nisati oru tiru v-amirtum-oru- (15) nontá viḷakkum vaippom-áno- (16) m.

Checked with estampage from line 7; doubtful letters in eye copy shown in brackets.

Hail! Prosperity! In the fifth year of the great King Siri Saṅga Bódhi, on the fifth of the former half of Márkaḷi, we the people of Kumárakaṇattupperúr have received thirty *Íḷakkásu* from Sekkiḷáṉ seḍḍi sańkan. Without decreasing this principal we will maintain continually a sacred (rice) offering and a perpetual lamp.

Hail! Prosperity! In the seventh year of the great King Siri Saṅga Bódhi—we the people of Kumára-kaṇattupperúr have received thirty *Íḷakkásu* from Sekkiḷáṉ seṉṉai. Without decreasing this principal we will maintain continually a sacred (rice) offering and a perpetual lamp.

Ninth–Tenth Century

31. 12 Siri Saṅg bo (Sena II.), A.D. 866–901 (839–874). Mihintale plinth course.

(1) Ṣri Siri Saṅg bo ma purmuká doḷosvanne Hihiḷe avagun poho davas satar raṭe vel kemiyán veheraṭ vel . . . . veheraṭ vel kemiyá diye yutu ran sat kaḷandak (2) isá me raṭe me áleyak-hu diye yutu ran kaḷandak isá sang veḷi upéni kemiyaku diye yutu ran de kaḷandak isá kaḷ . . . . kaḷandak isá me raṭe me pirivahannaku diye yutu ran (3) pas kaḷandak isá me raṭe me ran ladu kebiḷi pirivahanná ran tun kaḷandak isá me raṭe me balannaku diye yutu ran de kaḷandak isá me raṭe . . . . isá yan he diye dare vel kemiyá diye yutu ran dasa kaḷanda- (4) k isá me raṭe me pirivahannaku diye yutu ran de kaḷandak isá me raṭe me balannaku diye yutu ran kaḷandak isá me raṭe me áleyaku diye yutu . . . . diya dare uráḷa eḷ tere vel kemiyá diye yutu ran pasaḷo- (5) s kaḷandak isá me raṭe me áleyaku diye yutu ran de kaḷandak isá me raṭe me ariki leyaku diye yutu ran de kaḷandak isá me raṭe me . . . . ṭ kaḷandak isá mo re (*or* ke) di eḷ tere vel kemiyá diye (6) yutu pas kaḷandak isá me raṭe me [?áleyaku] diye yutu ran [? de] kaḷandak isá me eḷ tere pas heme ariki leyaku diye yutu ran pas kaḷandak isá kebiḷi pirivahanná diye yutu ran tun kaḷandak isá me eḷ tere de kebiḷi deṭun diye yutu ran de ka- (7) ḷandak isá me eḷ . . . . y yaku diye yutu ran kaḷandak isá.

Müller, No. 114.

In the twelfth year of the great lord the fortunate Siri Saṅg Bo, on the dark poya day of Hihila (His Majesty ordered) that the field servants of the four districts to the vihára . . . . the field servant should give 7 *kaḷandas* of gold to the vihára, the painters of this district should give 1 *kaḷanda* of gold, the servants that attend to affairs arising in the *sangveḷla* should give 2 *kaḷandas* of gold . . . *kaḷanda*, the wardens of this district should give 5 *kaḷandas* of gold, the warden of allotments who receives this gold should give 3 *kaḷandas* of gold, the overseers of this district should give 2 *kaḷandas* of gold . . . .; the field servant who looks after water and firewood should give 10 *kaḷandas* of gold, the wardens of this district should give 2 *kaḷandas* of gold, the overseers of this district should give 1 *kaḷanda* of gold, the painters of this district should give . . . .; the field servant who looks after water, firewood, sluices, and channel-banks should give 15 *kaḷandas* of gold, the painters of this district should give 2 *kaḷandas* of gold, the guardian scribes of this district should give 2 *kaḷandas* of gold . . . . *kaḷanda*; the field servant who looks after . . channel-banks should give 5 *kaḷandas*, the (? painters) of this district . . . . should give ? 2 *kaḷandas* of gold, all five guardian scribes who look after the channel-banks should give 5 *kaḷandas* of gold, the warden of allotments should give 3 *kaḷandas* of gold, the chiefs of the two allotments of channel-banks should give 2 *kaḷandas* of gold, the (scribes who look after) . . . . channel (banks) should give 1 *kaḷanda* of gold . . . .

32. 19 Siri Saṅg boy (Sena II.). Basavakkulam pillar.

(13) me vẹ- (14) vhi mas mẹru (15) kenekun rẹkẹ (16) genẹ no pa- (17) ṭvuva nuvar (18) laddá atin da- (19) sa hunak ran ma- (20) ha veher piri- (21) vahana mẹṇḍem.

Müller, No. 111, revised.

If any who kill fish in this tank be not caused to be arrested and brought, from the governor of the city ten *huna* of gold (shall be exacted) . . . .

Tenth Century.

33. 9 Abhá Salamevan (Udaya I.), A.D. 901–912 (874–885). Medagama, Tisawa korale, North-Western Province.

(2) me Giri veherẹ maha saṅgnaṭ pas hunak ran dí lahá- (3) bata laganẹ hir sand pamaṇin demi dinmi. (checked from estampage).

Having given five *hunas* of gold to the great Community of this Giri viháré, I give and have given to supply ticket-rice as long as sun and moon shall last.

34. *Circa* Kassapa IV. "Abhayagiri" pavement.

A.—(1) Samana sala pa- (2) tarakamaṭ dun ran (3) na kaḷand.

B.—(1) Radu sala pa- (2) tarakamaṭ dun (3) ka[ḷand].

A.— . . . . *kaḷandas* of gold given by Samana for the stone paving.

B.— . . . . *kaḷanda* given by Radu for the stone paving.

35. *Circa* Kassapa IV. Slab from Anuradhapura.

(1) Ṣrí upásakayan (2) lokanáthayanaṭ ran (3) de hene dan eka aḍ- (4) manakẹ puda bat há (5) eka huna de ẹkekẹ (6) mal há vibaṅḍu kaḷa (7) átuṛayan bat no (8) genẹ e suphaḷan ko- (9) ṭ bat ganna (i)sá.

Müller, No. 129 (checked from estampage).

The venerable *upásakas*, having cured, without bringing rice, the sick, who have (?set apart) for the Lord of the world alms of two *henas* of gold, one *aḍmana* of oblation rice, and one *huna* two *akas* (worth) of flowers, shall take rice . . . .

36. 6 Salameyvan Abahay, son of Buddas Siri Saṅg boy Abahay and Queen Saṅg Banḍay (*sc.* Kassapa V.), A.D. 929–939 (902–912). Anuradhapura, Jetavanarama area.

Lines 48–50: Maha Kapárá pirivenẹ laduvanaṭ piṅḍpasayaṭ ek davasakaṭ amuṇak sál isá satar akak ran isá havurudu nimiyata sivur milẹyaṭ ran dahasak isá.

E. Z., I., 41.

One *amuna* of raw rice and four *akas* of gold a day (shall be granted) to those who have received lodgings of the Maha Kapárá pirivena for their maintenance. At the expiration of every year, 1,000 (*akas*) of gold [or, 1,000 *ran*] (shall be given) to (meet) the expenses of their robes.

37. *Circa* Kassapa V.: Polonnaruwa, pillar from plinth, south of west porch (Archæological Commissioner's premises No. 15).

(21) pa- (22) maṇu kẹbẹli de kiri (23) ek pé de masu de (24) kẹṇak isá mehi (25) me ávú De(vi) maḷ vara (26) Neva - rinẹ mẹli- (27) s ta . [ki]-ri de massa- (28) k isá.

Heritable allotments, two *kiriyas* one *paya* two *massas* two *kẹṇas*: at Devimal vara Neva - rinẹ . . . . in this place . . . . *kiriyas* two *massas*.

38. 2 Buddas Abahay Salamevan Dápuḷa (V.), son of Buddas Siri Saṅg boy Abahay and Queen Deva, A.D. 940–952 (913 925). Vessagiriya, Lines 13–22.

de siyak kaḷand ran dí me ranaṭ havurudupatá vasápavarana depohayé ekmaṭ visi-avuḷ-patak denu-koṭ isá hambu-díhi hambu onákoṭ isá mekun me lahábataṭ dun sẹṭak isá mekun-me havurud avasánayehi vasẹgin ekkeneknaṭ sivur denu-koṭ dun vissak isá pahayẹ budnaṭ vẹṭ-telaṭ dun dasa kaḷandak isá maspatá mẹndi masẹ poho davas vasẹgin ekkeneknaṭ ẹkekẹ sakur há ẹkẹ gitel há deṇukoṭ dun visi kaḷandak isá.

E. Z., I., 23.

(The king granted) 200 *kaḷandas* of gold (with these instructions :—) that out of this gold, a bowl of 20 cakes shall be supplied to one (monk) every year on the two *uposatha* days at the end of the season of retreat (*vassa*) . . . . that out of this same (sum), 60 (*kaḷandas*) shall be assigned for "ticket-rice"; that 20 (*kaḷandas*) be granted for the purpose of giving robes at the end of the year to one of those (monks) in (receipt of permanent board and) residence; that 10 *kaḷandas* be given to him who sleeps in the temple, for lamp-oil; that 20 *kaḷandas* be set apart for the purpose of providing one of those (monks) . . . . with one (gold) *aka* worth of jaggery and one of ghee every month on the *uposatha* day in the middle of the month.

39. 5 Abhá Salamevan (Kassapa V. or Dappuḷa V.), Bandara Puliyankulama, Anuradhapura.

(2) Maha sañgnaṭ da /////// (3)m da bataṭ ran siyak dí. — Having given to the great Community . . for rice a hundred of gold [or, 100 *ran*].

40. Of the same period, " Abhayagiri " pavement.

A.—(1) Haraya sala pata- (2) rakamaṭ dun massa (twice on two separate slabs.) — A.—*Massa* given by Haraya for the stone paving.

B.—(1) Raka upásakayan (2) sala patarakamaṭ (3) dun ran dasakek. — B.—Ten *akas* of gold given by the *upásaka* Raka for the stone paving.

40*a*. 2 Siri Sañg Bo Udá, *sc*. Udaya II., A.D. 952–955 (925–928), or III., A.D. 964–972 (937–945). Badulla pillar inscription.

C.—(line 24) Kuḷa masu puravat (25) (y)i misẹ vetena masu (26) unu koṭa no gannā (27) koṭa isá. — Coin coming (*lit.* falling) (into the bazar) shall not be taken reduced (from the authorized value) save on the plea of supplementing false coin.

The reading, except in the case of the first *akshara* of line 25, which may be *si*, is certain ; the translation is doubtful. The sense seems to be that false coin (*kúṭa-másako*) may be accepted if the deficiency in weight and fineness is made good.

41. 5 Siri Sañg bo (Mahinda IV.), A.D. 975–991 (948–964). Alutvewa, Eppawala korale.

A (17) Ma(ha)demeṭi ku- (18) ḷiyehi aya-vú (He-) (19) viṭiyen kerẹ(r-) (20) sá de kiri ek pá (21) tun masak (ji-)

B (1) vẹl karẹ tun pá (2) tun massak ọ- (3) tulvẹ sá kiriyak

Six *kiri* [sowing extent of land] inclusive of [an additional] three *pá* and three *massa*, after converting to *jivel* land two *kiri*, one *pá* and three *massa* of *kerẹr-tasá* land from the *heviṭiya* in Mahademeti-kuḷiya.*

42. 5 Siri Sañg bo (the same): Kele Diwulvewa, *Ibid*.

(17) Mahasivú ek kiri ek (18) payak Var Dápuḷa ek (19) kiriyak Kumbal A- (20) gbohi ek kiri de (21) pá ek massak. — Mahasivú (granted) one *kiriya* one *paya*, Var Dápuḷa one *kiriya*, Kumbal Agbohi one *kiriya* two *payas* one *massa*.

43. 9 Siri Sañg bo Abhá Mihindu (the same): Vessagiriya.

Line 19. Ran masu uyana.
E. Z., I., 33.

The gold fish park, or the park of gold *másakas*.

44. 16 Siri Sañg boy Abahay, son of Abahay Salámevan and queen Dev Gon (the same): Mihintale.

Slab A, lines 35–36 : Ẹtveherin ran eksiyak kaḷand isá ví dasa yahalak isá. — 100 *kaḷand* of gold and 10 *yahala* of paddy from Ẹt-vehera.

Slab B, lines 1–3 : Naká balana himiyanaṭ davas sál eknẹḷiyak isá vasan banẹ ran ek kaḷand satar akak isá . . . . havuruduvakaṭ setuvamaṭ mal milẹ pasaḷos kaḷandak isá . . . .

To the monk who looks after the Naká (there shall be assigned) daily one *nẹḷiya* of raw rice ; for (expenses of) the opening ceremony of the *vassa* season, one *kaḷanda* and four *aka* of gold; . . . . for cost of whitewashing and of flowers, fifteen *kaḷand* (of gold) yearly.

Lines 7–12 : havuruduvakaṭ setuvamaṭ mal milẹ tun kaḷand de akak isá . . . . ruvan asun maha bo mañgulehi piḷiyaṭ ek kaḷandak isá . . . .

For cost of whitewashing and flowers (shall be given) three *kaḷand* and two *aka* (of gold) a year ; . . . . for (cost of) clothes used at the Ruvan-asun festival of the great Bodhi-tree, one *kaḷanda* (of gold) ; . . . .

* Text and translation from E. Z., II., 233, substituted for the original taken from the Archæological Commissioner's eye-copy. The inscription is now assigned to the reign of Kassapa IV.

Lines 20, 21 : vaṭ míňḍi súvisi janaku isá eknaṭ ek pá bęgin isá havuruduvakaṭ pilívaraṭ eknaṭ ek kaḷand bęgin isá . . . .

Lines 57, 58 : gatuvan ranę no himi koṭ veheraṭ me navatá gatę yutu isá.

E. Z., I., 93, 94–97.

To each of the twenty-four hired *míňḍi* servants one *paya* (of land) and yearly one *kaḷanda* (of gold) for clothes.

The money (*ranę*) of (*i.e.*, paid by) those who have acquired (lands) shall be forfeited and be held by the vihára itself.

45. 9 Siri Saňg bo Abhá, son of Siri Saňg bo Abhá : Vevelketiya.

Lines 16–22 : soyá no gata dasagęmin eksiya pasvisi kaḷandak ran radolaṭ denukoṭ isá no mará keṭuva divmilę panás kaḷandak ran ganná-koṭ isá . . . . tirę no kaḷa dasagęmin panás kaḷandak ran radolaṭ denu-koṭ isá at-pá vahalaṭ giyakugen daḍę panás kaḷandak ran ganná-koṭ isá.

E. Z., I., 247.

Should they not find them (*sc.* the offenders), then the *dasa-gam* shall be made to pay (a fine of) 125 *kaḷandas* of gold to the State. If (the case) be an aggravated assault and not murder (a fine of) 50 *kaḷandas* of gold shall be exacted as (penalty for) damage to life . . . . If (however, the assailants) are not detected, the *dasa-gam* shall be made to pay (a fine of) 50 *kaḷandas* of gold to the State. From those who went out to do menial work, a fine of 50 *kaḷandas* of gold shall be exacted.

Eleventh Century.

46. Adhirájendra, c. A.D. 1070. Polonnaruwa, Coḷa-Tamil.

Gift of 5 kásu and a lamp.

A. S., 1906, p. 26.

Twelfth Century.

47. 38 Jaya Báhu and 15 Gaja Báhu, A.D. 1146. Polonnaruwa, Tamil.

Gift of 102 kásu for a lamp.

A, S., 1909, pp. 26, 27.

48. Inscriptions of Nissaṅka Malla, A.D. 1187–1196. Dambulla.

Lines 6–9 : Tavada matu-vana rajadaruvan karavuvara va(ḍá) genę Laṇkávásín dustha no kaḷa męnęvęyi sitá utte amuṇaṭa aya ek-amuṇu tun-pęḷa há maňḍaran saka há (męnde) ek-amuṇu de-pęḷa há maňḍaran satarak há (pęsse) pas-pęḷa há maňḍaran tunak bęvin aya ganná niyáyen há.

E. Z., I., 129, 133.

Moreover, from a desire that succeeding kings should not (again) impoverish the inhabitants of Laṅká, by levying excessive imposts, he ordained that the revenue should be collected (only) at the rate of one *amuṇa* and three *pęlas* and six *maňḍa-rans* for an *amuṇa* (extent of land) of the best (soil), one *amuṇa* and two *pęlas* and four *maňḍa-rans* for (an *amuṇa* extent of land) of medium (quality), and five *pęlas* and three *maňḍa-rans* for that of the last (quality).

Line 25 : sat lakshayak dhana viyadam kotę maha puda karavá Suvarṇṇagiri guháyęyi nam tabá.

Ibid., 130, 135.

Celebrated a great *púja* at a cost of seven lacs of money (*lit.* treasure), and gave (to this cave) the name of Suvarṇa-giri-guhá " golden rock-cave."

49. Ruvanveli Dagoba, Anuradhapura.

Line 7 : ran ridí masuran mutu męnik vastrábharaṇádi.

Line 13 : tulábhára nęňgí sat ruvaň há ęṭaḷu ridí tiram há ananta koṭę.

Line 25 : satalis lakshayak masuranin pújá koṭę.

E. Z., II., 79–80.

Gold, silver, coins (*masuran*), pearls, precious stones, clothes, ornaments, and the like.

Mounted the scale-pans (and caused great showers of gifts to fall by throwing down . . . .) unlimited quantity (of wealth), including the seven kinds of jewels and silver *tiram* . . . .

Offered forty lacs of *masuran* (coins).

50. Galpota, Polonnaruwa.

A.—Lines 18, 19 : Kahavuṇu tamba loho raň ridí mutu męnik vastrábharaṇádi aneka dhana varsháyen diḷindu gim nivá.

He quenched the fire of indigence with plenteous showers of wealth, consisting of *kahavaṇu* coins, copper, bell-metal, gold, silver, pearls, precious stones, clothes, and jewellery.

B.—Lines 10–11, 12: Dambulu leṇe hot hun siṭi piḷima dágaba ran gává lakshayak dhana vi[yada]m koṭe [mahá] pújá karavá Anurádhapurayé Ruvanmeli mahasé vahanséṭa satis lakshayak dhana viyadam koṭe pújá karavá.

Ibid., II., 110–112.

He caused the reclining, sitting, and standing images in the cave of Dambulla to be gilt, and made great offerings to the value of a lac. He spent thirty-six lacs in making an offering to the Ruvanmeḷi maha sé in Anurádhapura.

51. Slab at Daḷadá Manḍiráwa, Polonnaruwa.

Lines 17, 18: ran ridí kahavuṇu mutu meṇik vastrabharaṇádi dána.

Müller, No. 149.

Gifts (consisting of) gold, silver, *kahavaṇu*, pearls, precious stones, clothes, ornaments, and the like.

Thirteenth Century.

52. 2 Kalyáṇavatí, A.D. 1204. Ruvanveli Dagoba, Anuradhapura.

Livannavun samadaruvan vannakuvarun bamuṇan pasakun sittaru naṭannan gíkiyannan bera gasannan sakun durayan . . . . ranin satuṭu karavá . . . .

J. R. A. S., C. B., VII., No. 25, p. 183.

Pleased with (gifts of) gold [or, money] the writers, the overseers, the appraisers of property, Brahmins, cooks, painters, dancers, singers, tom-tom beaters, conch-blowers . . . .

Fourteenth Century.

53. 3 Bhuvaneka Báhu IV., A.D. 1346/7—1347/8. Lankatilaka.

Line 8: acárivarunṭa dun vít ratran ridí piḷi eṭuḷuvú deyin masuran (9) agayen tun keḷa seṭa lakshayak dí (21) avurutdakaṭa geyakin paṇamak niyáyen denṭa salasaṇu pideni paṇamut eṭuḷuva . . . .

Having given goods, including gold, silver, cloths, as well as paddy given to the artificers, worth three *koṭis* sixty lakhs of *masuran* . . . . including the oblation-fanam caused to be given at the rate of a fanam from each house a year.

54. Gadaladeniya of the same year.

Line 19: karmmántayanṭa paṇam tun dásak vicara dí . . . .

Giving as much as three thousand fanams to the workmen . . . .

55. 10 Bhuvaneka Báhu V., A.D. 1379/80; Demaladuwa sannasa.

Şrí danta dhátun vahanse santaka koṭa pudavá avurudu ekakaṭa panḍuraṭa paṇam pasak dí.

J. R. A. S., C. B., XXII., No. 65, 1912, p. 273.

Having made (the land) the property of the illustrious Tooth Relic, he offered it and gave as tribute five fanams a year.

Fifteenth Century.

56. 39 Parákrama Báhu VI., A.D. 1453/4. Pepiliyana.

pas visi dahasak dana viyadam koṭa . . . . me kí lábhayen satarapat ganná neḷiyen Bodhiyaṭa há Nátha Maitri deteṇaṭa davas ekakaṭa ekin eka déválayakaṭa muḷuteṇaṭa pesi sál pasaḷosak máḷu ran tun massak pol tunak sakuru muḷu ekak ḷuṇu neḷi mukkálak lúṇu duru kasá eṭuḷuvú deyaṭa masu ekak pántelaṭa pol pasak suvanda mal dahasak bulat visi-sayak puvak pasaḷosak há mas ekakaṭa miris neḷiyak dekak . . . . tripiṭakayen masakaṭa grantha ekdahas sat siyayak liyana nam ekakaṭa davas eka-kaṭa sál tunak málu ran demassak pol dekak bulat dasayak puvak pasak mas ekakaṭa ḷuṇu dasayak miris ekak ḷúṇu duru kasá ádiyaṭa panam ekak avurudu ekakaṭa piḷiyaṭa paṇam siyayak há piruvan sáminta davas ekakaṭa vasnaṭa pesi sál pasak geṇehi veḍa-hindina nam pasakaṭa namakaṭa satara begin pesi sál

Having spent twenty-five thousand of treasure . . . from the revenue aforesaid (were given). the *neḷiya* containing four *patas*, to the Bodhi and the Natha Maitri (déválé):—Daily to each déválé, 15 (*neḷi*) of cleaned rice for *muḷuten*, curry worth three *massas* of gold, three coconuts, 1 lump of jaggery, ¾ *neḷiya* of salt, 1 *massa* for onions, cummin seed, turmeric, &c., 5 coconuts for lamp oil, 1,000 sweet-smelling flowers, 26 betel leaves, 15 arecanuts; monthly one or two *neḷi* of chillies . . . . . To one monk who writes 1,700 *granthas* of the Tripiṭak in one month:—Daily, 3 (*neḷi*) of rice, curries worth 2 *massas* of gold, 2 coconuts, 10 betel leaves, 5 arecanuts; monthly, 10 (*neḷi*) of salt, 1 of chillies, 1 fanam for onions, cummin seed, turmeric, &c.: yearly, 100 fanams for cloths.

vissak málu ran aṭak pol navayak kasapeṇ satak sakuru tun muḷu bẹyak pán telaṭa pol sayak há pirivenaṭa davas ekakaṭa bulat tisak puvak pasalosak vidháné tẹnaṭa bulat pasalosak puvak satak sesu tẹnaṭa bulat satalis aṭak puvak visisatarak há mas ekakaṭa ḷunu panasak miris sayak ḷúṇu duru kasádiyaṭa paṇam navayak duntelaṭa há istelaṭa visi de nẹli manávak há avrudu ekakaṭa pirivenaṭa sivru dekakaṭa paṇam siyaya vaṭiná piḷirú dekak aňdanayaṭa pas vissa vaṭiná piḷirú ekak satak vaṭiná dankaḍa ekak dasaya vaṭiná vata baňdana dekak há . . . . sesu tẹnaṭa sivru dasayakaṭa tisa tisa vaṭiná pilirú pasak tuna tuna vaṭiná dasayak há . . . . vihára santaka noyek gamvalin vidhánayaṭa pasamunak há itiri pasayen satara digin vẹdi maha saṇghayá vahanshégen namakaṭa sál satarak máḷu ran ekak pol ekak sakuru bẹ ekak kasapeṇ ekak ḷunumiris kasá aba duntel pántel ẹtuḷuvú deya há bulat dasayak puvak pasak há tera namakaṭa sál pasak máḷu ran tunak pol satarak sakuru mulak ḷunu ekak kasapeṇ dekak ḷunu miris ḷúnu kasá aba duntel istel ẹtuḷuvú deya há bulat tisak puvak pasalosak pántelaṭa tel mẹňḍe ekak há tun dá sẹtapena lesaṭa kalál pẹduru ẹtirili . . . .

J. R. A. S., C. B., VII., No. 25, pp. 194–6.

To the Piruvan sámí daily for meals, 5 (*nẹli*) of cleaned rice ; to five resident monks, at the rate of 4 each, 20 (*nẹli*) of cleaned rice, curries worth 8 (*massas* of) gold, 9 coconuts, 7 young coconuts, 3½ lumps of jaggery, 6 coconuts for lamp oil ; to the pirivena, daily, 30 betel leaves, 15 arecanuts ; to the Vidháné, 15 betel leaves, 7 arecanuts ; to the rest (of the monks), 48 betel leaves, 24 arecanuts ; monthly, 50 (*nẹli*) of salt, 6 of chillies, 9 fanams for onions, cummin seed, turmeric, &c., 22 *nẹli* and a *manáva* for buffalo ghee and hair oil ; yearly, to the pirivena for two robes 2 cloths worth 100 fanams, for the *aňdanaya* (under-garment) 1 cloth worth 25, 1 *dankaḍa* (alms covering cloth) worth 7, 2 *vata baňdana* (girdles) worth 10 . . . . to the rest (of the monks) for 10 robes 5 cloths worth 30 each, and 10 worth 3 each . . . .

From divers villages belonging to the viháré, 5 *amuṇas* to the Vidháné ; from the remaining income to each of the great Community coming from the four quarters 4 (*nẹli*) of rice, curries worth 1 (*massa* of) gold, 1 coconut, 1 half of a lump of jaggery, 1 young coconut, and goods including salt, chillies, turmeric, mustard, buffalo ghee, lamp oil, 10 betel leaves, 5 arecanuts ; to each *tera* 5 (*nẹli*) of rice, curries worth 3 (*massas* of) gold, 4 coconuts, a lump of jaggery, 1 (*nẹliya*) of salt, 2 young coconuts, and goods including salt, chillies, onions, turmeric, mustard, buffalo ghee, hair oil, 30 betel leaves, 15 arecanuts, 1 cup of oil for lamp oil, *kalála* mats, mats, sheets, sufficient to accommodate for three days . . . .

57. 39 Parákrama Báhu VI. Maha Saman Déwálé inscription.

. . . savisi dahasak dhana viyadam koṭa . . . . ehi vihárayehi tun bodhiyaṭa há Saman deviyan bisó deviyan kumára deviyan yana tun tẹnaṭa davas ekakaṭa muḷutẹnaṭa pẹsi-sál pasaḷosak máḷu ran tun massak há pol tunak da sakuru mulu tunak há ḷuṇu nẹli mukkálak ḷúṇu duru kasá ẹtuḷuvú deyaṭa masu ekak há . . . . rája bháňḍágárayen da rája rája mahámátyádingenda karshápaṇa dahasak viyadam koṭa karavú miṇiban ganaran saḷuva há . . . .

C. A., II., pt. 1, p. 43.

. At an expense of 26,000 . . . . for the three Bódhis at the viháré there, and for the god Saman, his queen, and the prince god, daily ; 15 (*nẹli*) of cleaned rice for food, curry worth 3 *massas* of gold, 3 coconuts, 3 lumps of jaggery, ¾ of a *nẹliya* of salt, 1 *massa* for onions, cummin seed, and turmeric, &c . . . . a garment of stiff gold studded with gems and made at a cost of 1,000 *karshápaṇas*, issued from the Royal Treasury and given by kings, royal ministers, &c.

Sixteenth Century.

58. 19 Parákrama Báhu IX., A.D. 1526/7. Kelaniya.

Line 23 : polgas dasayakaṭa paṇamak bẹgin paňḍuru denavat niyama ko (24) ṭa.

C. A., I., pt. 3, p. 156.

Having ordered that tribute should be given at the rate of a fanam for ten coconut trees.

59. 11 Vijaya Báhu VII., A.D. 1520/1. Dondra Déválé sannasa.

Utpalavarṇna devi maha rajjuru sámin santaka koṭa avurudu ekakaṭa paňḍuraṭa paṇam dasayak bẹgin pasida.

A. S., 1892 (Kegalla Report, p. 97).

Having made (the land) the property of the lotus coloured great king of the gods (*sc.* Vishṇu), he granted as tribute yearly at the rate of ten fanams . . . .

APPENDIX E.

1. Lyvro dos Pesos da Ymdia, e assy Medidas e Mohedas by Antonio Nunes, 1554 (in "Subsidios para a historia da India portuguesa," Academia Real das Sciencias, Lisbon, 1868).

Fol. 9 v. : (Hormuz) Do Ouro.

O ouro se pesa por maticaes d' ormuz de 60 no marco ; não tem picotaa : val o matical d'ele, como he, do toque de x^{c}, que he o mais fino que haquy vem, a 3 azares, 2 çadis, e d'aquy não sobee ; e abaixa tee 31 çadis e 30½ çadis, que he o que mais abaixa.

Da Prata.

A prata se pesa por maticaes d'ormuz, como ho ouro, e não tem picotaa. Da de larins que he a mais fina que ha na Imdia, a 3 çadis, 3 faluzes : sahe o marco a 9 pardaos e 9 çadis, de 20 çadis no pardao ; abaixa 20 dinares, que são 2 faluzes ; este he o seu preço.

Fol. 16. : Moedas.

Huum leque val 50 pardaos de çadis, que se chama de maa moeda ; o qual leque não he moeda, e he huum numero per que se fala em ormuz : tem cada pardao destes 2 azares, e cada azar 10 çadis, cada çadim 100 dinares, per esta maneyra se faz comta no remdimento da alfamdegua ; e huum xerafim d'ouro val 21½ çadis de boa moeda, o qual xerafim se comta nos comtos Del Rey noso senhor a 300 reis cada huum, e por esta preço se despendem em ormuz ; e soya de ser que na Imdia valliam mais de çarrafagem 2 e 3 por 100, e agora vallem soomemte 300 reis, que parece ser pelo ouro ser de menos ley do que era. E as tamgas de prata soyam de valer 5 tamgas, que he huum pardao, a 4½ çadis a tamgua, e valião na Imdia a 300 reis e mais algũa cousa de çarrafagem, e agora vallem muito mais, que pasam de 5 çadis a tamga, e vallem na Imdia 5 tamgas 360 reis, quamdo hy não ha idas pera bemgala e malaca, porque emtão valem muyto mais ; de maneyra que he como mercadoria, que aleuanta e abaixa.

Fol. 26 v. : Ceillão.

. . . . .

Hũa calamja tem 20 mamgelins, cada mamgelim 8 grãos d'arroz : huum purtuguês d'ouro pesa 8 calamjas, 2 mangelins.

Val huum purtuguês d'ouro 15 xerafins, de 300 reis xerafim, que he pardao de tamgas ; e 30 fanões da terra vallem huum pardao, e aleuamtão e abaixão ; e são estes fanões de muito roim ouro e baixo.

Fol. 27. : Negapatão.

. . . .

E os fanões deste porto se chama chocrões, que são d'ouro baixo ; valem 12½ e 12¼ por huum pardao d'ouro, de 360 reis o pardao, E o xerafim val a 10¼ fanões, e a 10½, e segumdo tempo tem sua vallia.

Fol. 27 v. : Paleacate.

. . . .

E asy os fanões chocrões pella maneyra de negapatão.

E quamdo se fala per pardaos de fanões, 10 fanões he huum pardao.

2. O Inventario do Thesouro do Rei de Ceylão (1551), Academia Real, Lisbon, 1904.

The total of money and treasure in terms of money is :

5586 x^{es} d Ormuz e 8309 pardaos 4 tamgas per 6007 cruzados e venezeanos a rezão de 7 tamgas cada hũu, e 8370 pardaos per 558 purtugueses douro a rezã de 15 pardaos cada hũu, e 54035 pardaos 3 tamgas 18 reaes em pardaos, e 38 pardaos 4 tamgas 34 reaes per 32 pardaos 2 tamgas em laris a rezã de 5 per pardao douro, e os 3309 pardaos 20 reaes per 2757 pardaos douro 3 tamgas 20 reaes de 6 tamgas pardao.

3. Barbosa (Collecçao de noticias para a historia e geografia das nações ultramarinas, Lisbon, 1812).

Nesta cidade se fas moeda douro e prata, scilicet, huma moeda de muyto bõo ouro, redondo como has nosas, com letras mouriscas dambalas bandas, que chamaom xerafins val trezentos rs. pouco mais ou menos : ha mais dela he feita em meios que val cada huma cento e sincoenta rs. : ha de prata he hũa moeda comprida ha maneira de faua, tambem com letras mouriscas dambalas bandas, que val tres vinteins pouco mais ou menos, e que elles chamão tangas, ha prata da qual he muyto fina ; e de toda esta moeda asy prata como ouro, ha tanta em abastança em Ormus, que quantas naos vem ha cidade com mercadorias, depois de venderem e comprarem hos cavalos e sinais que hamde levar, todo ho mais que lhe fiqua, levaom nesta moeda, porque na India core muyto, e tem muy boa valia.

4. Curieuse Aenmerckingen der bysonderste Oost en West Indische Verwonderens-waerdige Dingen; S. de Vries, Utrecht, 1682: 3rd part, cap. xxiii., p. 498.

Van de Munt 't *Ormus* schryft den voorheenen aengetoogenen *Alvarez* dusdanigh: 't Geld 't *Ormus* bestaet in *Saraffi* en halve *Saraffi* van Goud, welcke laetste Stucken sy *Azar* noemen. Oock hebbense een slagh van Silvere Munt, *Hali* geheeten; waer van de twintigh een *Saraffi* doen, en de thien een *Azar*. Boven dien vindmen hier noch een ander slagh van Geld, soo schoon en goed, dattet in al d'omleggende Landen, jae selfs in *Persien*, *Arabien* en *Indien* ganghbaer, en bynae met Silver te vergelycken is. Doemaels golden ses stucken soo veel als een Ducaet, of *Saraffo*. Dese soort is een stuck Silvers gelyck; zynde langhwerpigh, en is op beyde zyden met *Persiaensche* Letteren gemarckt.

5. Segundo Livro do Tombo da ilha de Ceilão, 1614.

Fol. 12: Dorauaqua (in Beligal Korale).

e paguão mais ao senhorio cada anno, nouenta pimguas, q' valem dozoito larins, a resão de coatro fanões a pimga. . . . Remde esta Aldea ao dito senhorio cada anno, mil duzentos outenta quoatro larins, que vem a ser quoatro sentos vimte oito xerafins de tres larĩs o xerafim.

Fol. 13: Bala panâ (in Beligal Korale).

Remde Esta aldea ao Dito senhorio cada anno seis centos oitenta tres larĩs, e dozasete fanõis, que fazem, duzentos vinte sete xerafins e dous larĩs, e dozasete fanois.

Fol. 72 v: Linia quarua (in Beligal Korale).

e dam os moradores desta aldea ao senhorio cada anno oito amanões darequa por oito quachas de que emteressa oito patacões a Resão de quoatro larines o patacão.

Fol. 73.

A aldea cottanaua que foi dos cutaquarias xaros do madune pay do Raju que lhe seruião no Rio de canasture . . . . tinhão per obrigação amtigamente darem a elRej simquo amanões darequa do cuta—e lhes daua o dito Rej por cada amanão vimte e simquo fanões de prata, e de presente a não dão, e fazem ao dito senhorio sete amanões darequa por coatro l^es^. a cada amanão.

6. Livro Terceiro do tombo das aldeas e portos da ilha de Ceylão, completed 1615

Fol. 2: Putalão.

corenta E oito x^es^. de tres l^es^. o x^e^.

Os quoatro majoraes que tem este porto tem obrigação de pagarẽ cada Anno noue çentos fanões de prata dos que quinze fazẽ hu l^e^. que fazẽ sesenta larĩs.

De cada cacha que vem de manar ao dito porto se pagão dous fanõis q' são doze bz^os^.

Fol. 2 v: Xellauam candil.

pagarão por Costume antigo a elRej cada Anno corenta fanõis de doze fanõis a larim.

Fol. 12: Chillao.

E de cada cotta de sal, se paga hum fanão de prata q' são seis bz^os^.

Todos os offiçiaes moradores no dito porto são obriguados a paguar por rasão de seus officios Em cada huum Anno per duos paguos hũa calamja E mea douro do toque de noue mates que val coatro x^es^. pouco mais ou menos.

Fol. 23: Carupitĩ cussauallj (attached to Madampe).

E pagão os ditos ao sinhorio cada anno sento E vinte fanõis de prata q' são seis larines.

Fol. 25.

E valem os ditos sesenta E dous mil coucos trezentos E dez larĩs a Ressão de dez coucos o fanão.

Fol. 32: Negumbo.

De cada carga de boi de nelle, ou nacherỹ paga hum fanão E m^o^. de prata q' são noue bz^os^.

Fol. 32 v.

paga a elrej meo larĩ que são dez fanõis de prata.

Fol. 33.

Os ourives, Carpinteiros, ferreiros, e todos os mais offiçiais, macanicos, pagão todos yuntos Em cada Anno a elRej de dr^tos^. do officio que cada hum tem, hũa calania E mea douro de noue mates o toque que ual a rezão de oito l^es^. a calania que uem a ser coatro x^es^.

Fol. 44 : Ilheo de munancarẽ (Negombo).

trezentos E sesenta fanões que fazẽ em l[es]. dezaoito l[es].

Fol. 61 : (Negombo).

o Costume a que chamão Polaja que he de cada des palmr[as]. hũ fanão de prata comforme ao Costume antigo do dito porto, E valẽ tres mil fanõis q' são sento E sincoenta l[es].

Fol. 160 : Mellauana.

e paguão os moradores desta Aldea ao senhorio cada anno hum amanão e meo daReca por hum patacão e meo de coatro l[es]. o patacão.

Fol. 161 : Hicârue.

pagão ao senhorio cada anno seissentos, E setenta e dous fanões de bada, que fazẽ corenta E coatro l[es]. e dous fanões de quinze fanões ao larim.

Fol. 162 v : Caraua (attached to Rayigama).

e pagão os ditos panias ao senhorio cada anno nouenta e seis pãis de ferro, que valem desanoue l[es]. E coatro fanões a Rezão de sinco pães ao l[e].

Fol. 162 v : Patuuata (attached to Rayigama).

e tres ortas que pessuẽ tres culles de seru[co]. em que hâ vinte palmeiras, os q[es]. pagão ao senhorio cada ano sento E sincoenta fanões de prata antigos dos q' quinze fazem hũ l[e].

Fol. 177 : Belligão.

e colhem em todas estas ortas ao porto cada anno sesenta mil coucos que ualem pello preço comũ sesenta E sinco patacõis de qoatro larins o patacão.

a Renda do peixe amdaua aRendada no tempo do raju por mil E quinhentos fanões de prata, a Rezão de quinze fanões cada larim que p' anno sem larins.

Fol. 196 : Mature.

oito mil fanões de prata, que vem a ser qoatro sentos larĩs.

Fol. 214 v : Quoatro Agrâs de pedraria.

e todos os moradores desta Aldea aJumtauão todos os fanões e larĩs e mais custumes que pagauão ao Raiu seis mil fanões de prata, cada anno.

7. Livro do Foral das aldeas e propriedades desta Ilha de Ceilão, 1614–1615.

tt[o]. do porto de Columbo.

Fol. 162.

Os ourives paga cada hum delles, cada anno, dous manguelĩs douro ou hum larim por elles.[1]

tt[o]. das quoatro agra's da pedraria.

Fol. 166 v.

hum olho de guato, que pezou sinco Calanzas, que são çem mangelĩs.

8. Foral do tombo da Ilha de Ceylão, 1614.

Fol 165.

Valaue. oito mil fanões de prata q' são quatro centos larĩs.

Fol. 171.

Folha de Resquate dâreca que se faz per conta da fz[a]. Real nesta Ilha.

Vinte e dous amanões em Salpety corla por vinte e dous patacões em cachas.

E oitenta e seis amanões em Reigão Corla, por outros tantos patacões em cachas.

E cento e secenta e tres amanões em passadũ Corla, por outros tantos patacões em cachas.

Fol. 172.

estes dous Costumes são e erão de mil fanões de prata pera sima q' são sincoenta larĩs.

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[1] *Cf.* the Hormuz xerafim of 39·6 grains equal to five larins of 78·7 grains. In the Tombo at Chilaw 1¼ *kalañjus* of 90 touch are equated with 4 xerafins, that is 12 larins.

9. Foral do Reino de Jafanapatam e Vany, 1645.

Fol. 24 v: Soma de todo o Reyno.

Valem os foros do Reyno mil trezentos e oitenta pardaos hum chacarão, e seis mâs e mª.	1380·1·06½
Valem os foros do Vanỹ trezentos e dous pardaos, e desacete mâs e mª. ..	0302·0·17½
Valem as rendas que andão arrendadas oito mil cento sincoenta e seis pardaos	8156·0·00
Val a Prouincia de Beligamo noue mil seis centos trinta e sete pardaos dous chaq' e 18 mâs	9637·2·18
Val a Prouincia de Temerache tres mil quatro centos nouenta e hũ pardaos 1 chaq' e 5 mâs	3491·1·05
Val a Provª. de Baddamarache dous mil nouecentos cincoenta e tres pardaos hũ chaq' e treze mâs	2953·1·13
Val a Provª. de Pachelepaly dous mil quatrocentos vinte e hũ pardaos hũ chaq'e doze mâs e mª.	2421·1·12½
Somão as rendas todas do Reyno, e Vanỹ vinte e oito mil trezentos corenta e hum pardaos, quatro chacarõis, e doze mâs e mª.	28341·4·12½

De que se abatẽ dous mil cento setenta e hum pardaos, hũ chacarâm, e oito mâs e mª. que tanto val o q' comẽ os foreiros das duas jlhas Cardiva e Tanadiva, e os mais q' tem Aldeyas naquelle Rnº.

Ficão liquidos vinte seis mil cento e setenta pardaos, tres chacarõis e quatro mâs.

A que se ajunta a estimação do preço de trinta e sete aleâs a que estão obrigados os pencionrºˢ. que vendidas hũas p outras a duzentos e sincoenta pardaos que he o menor preço que pode ser conforme os preços em que hoje estão valem noue mil duzentos e sincoenta pardaos.

q' juntos aos vinte e seis mil cento e setenta pardaos, tres chacarõis, e quatro mâs fzᵉᵐ. trinta e sinco mil quatrocentos e vinte pardaos, tres chacarõis, e quatro mâs .. .. 35420·3·04

Fol. 26.

Somão estas despesas vinte tres mil, quatrocentos e desanoue xˡˢ. e mº. moeda de Goa que fasẽ pardaos daquelle Rnº. doze mil sete centos sessenta e tres pardaos e tres fanõis q' abatidos de trinta e sinco mil quatrocentos e vinte pardaos tres chacarõis e quatro mâs que val o Rnº. resta vinte dous mil seis centos sincoenta e sete pardaos, hum chacarâm, e catorze mâs que tanto tem mais a fzª. real no dito Rnº. de que importão suas despesas pª. acudir a Ilha de Ceilão, e declara se que são pardaos de des fanõis, que fasẽ pardaos de Ceilam corenta e sinco mil tresentos e catorze e mº. e hum fanam.

Fol. 27: Rendas da Ilha de Manar, e terras de Mantota.

A renda da Ilha do tabaco digo A renda do tabaco da Ilha mil e quinhentos trinta e sinco pardaos de des fanõis	1535·0
. . . .	
As pareas da pescaria do aliofre seis mil pardaos	6000·0

Fol. 27 v.:

Somão as despezas dous mil nouecentos e seis pardaos, e seis fanõis, que abatidos de dezanoue mil nouenta e noue pardaos e tres fanõis—Restão dezaceis mil cento nouenta e dous pardaos e sete fanõis—q' fazem xˡˢ. de Ceilam trinta e dous mil trezentos oitenta e sinco pardaos digo xˡˢ., e dous fanõis .. .. 32385·2

Fol. 37: Regimento do passo de Columbo.

Cada tone q' for pescar em cada hum dia do anno q' fiser a tal pescaria, pagarâ ao adigar e rendeyro hũa caixa grande daquellas que quinze caixas fasem hum fanam.

Fol. 48: Regimento que fica na fortalesa de Manar.

E p q os pagamentos que se fzẽ nesta ilha das ordinarias não he conforme ao que de prez[te]. está no Rn[o]. de Iafanapatam aiustado cõ a valia da moeda de que a fz[a]. real vem receber pda [perda], ordeno que os ditos pagamentos se fação pel'a maneira que no Rn[o]. de Iafanapatam que he a sinco fanõis, e m[o]. x[im]. de Goa, e as mais despesas se farám a x[im]. de Ceylam q val sinco fanõis, e pella dita maneira se farâ computação, e pagamento de hũa, e outra despesa.

Fol. 51 v.: Regulation for the Pearl Fishery.

Primeiramente seis mil patacas de pareás.

10. Aragão, Moedas Cunhadas em nome dos Reis, Regentes e Governadores de Portugal, vol. III., Lisbon, 1880.

Doct. 72: September 28, 1629.

Em Goa aos vinte e oito de Setembro de seiscentos vinte e nove, estando os Sr[s]. Governadores em Conselho da Fazenda e os Ministros deputados delle tratando de algumas couzas da Ilha de Ceilão convenientes ao serviço de Sua Magestade em prol e beneficio de sua Real Fazenda, e em particular do grande prejuizo que era, vallerem os Santomés na dita ilha menos preço que nesta Cidade de Goa, por dali resultar levarem os mercadores mui pouco dinheiro pela perda que nella tinhão, e algumas fazendas que levavão erão de pouca importancia, pola terra não dar lugar a se levarem a ella muitas veniagas, e que a esse respeito havia muitas vezes baixa na canela, por os mercadores não terem comodo para poderem levar o dito dinheiro sem muita perda sua, e tratando-se do remedio que ao sobredito se podia dar, pelo grande prejuizo que disto resultava á fazenda de Sua Mag[e]. e seus vassallos; E visto como os Santomés valem a quinze tangas e um vintem nesta Cidade, que fazem moeda della tres xerafins e um vintem, e não se poder a Ceilão levar outra moeda em que haja menos perda que santomés; se assentou no dito Conselho por todos os ditos Ministros delle que da mesma maneira que nesta cidade valha cada santomé na Ilha de Ceilão quinze tangas da dita moeda desta Cidade, e que venha a fazer tres xerafins, de cinco tangas o xerafim; e que da feitura deste assento se guarde o que nelle assim se contem inviolavelmente, para nunca mais os ditos santomes vallerem na dita Ilha menos dos ditos tres xerafins, moeda desta Cidade; e em virtude deste assento com que os ditos senhores Governadores se conformarão, se passara provisão que será apregoada na Ilha de Ceilão e aonde mais pertencer e for necessario para a todos ser notorio. Paulo Serrão o fez,—Eu Manuel Pereira de Samiguel, Escrivão da Fazenda o fiz escrever.—Gonçalo Pinto da Fonseca—D. Lourenço da Cunha—Leitão—Salema—Soares—Sanches—Adfui Magalhães.

(Archivo do extincto conselho da fazenda de Goa., liv. 4, fol. 7.)

Doct. 83: August 18, 1634.

Em Goa aos 18 de Agosto de 1634 estando o Exmo. S[re]. Conde de Linhares com os fidalgos e Ministros declarados á margem deste assento, lhes propoz que a Camara desta Cidade de Gôa, a de Cochim, Mallaca, Ceilão, e tambem a Companhia do Commercio lhe fazião apertadas instancias pela grande falta que nellas havia de moeda, e que por essa causa estava quasi extincta de todo a mercancia e diminuido com isso o trato e as rendas Reaes das Alfandegas, e que a moeda antiga que havia de Xerafins, alem de ter muita liga era de todo acabada, e que os 50,000 xerafins, que em seu tempo se havião batido em patacões de *6 tangas, tres, tanga, e meia,* desfazendo-se para isso patacas do dinheiro do Soccorro, tinha S. Magestade reprovado, e ainda estranhado por Carta sua de 11 d'Abril de 1632, que logo foi lida no dito Conselho por mim Ambrosio de Fretas da Camara Secretario do Estado; e que agora não era menor a necesidade de moeda, como era notorio e presente ao dito Conselho, assy nesta Cidade como nas mais referidas, cujas Cartas tambem forão lidas; e que considerando o que S. Magestade ordenava pela dita sua Carta, e a necessid[e]. que se padecia por falta de moeda, lhe dissesse o Conselho o que se devia fazer na materia; e depois de se praticar nella com todas as considerações devidas, foi de parecer todo o Conselho conformemente que se devia logo accodir a esta tão urgente necessid[e]., que não dava logar a ser consultada a S. Mag[e]. e esperar dous annos resposta sua, a que assy se devia acodir a esta falta tão manifesta, mandando-se bater a moeda necessaria, e que essa devia ser de lei de tostão, porque a que se havia batido em patacões de 6 tangas, tres, tanga, e meia, era de tão boa qualidade que toda teve saca para o inimigo, que foi a causa de nos acharmos de presente sem nenhuma, e que assim não havia lugar da dilação, nem se topava em inconveniente algum para se deixar de remedear tão grande falta, e da qual dependia o Commercio de toda a India, ainda que fosse com se desfazerem os Realles que vem do Reino; porque era sabido que todo o ouro e prata na India era fazenda em que há ganho e perda, e que se entendia que se os Ministros de S. Magestade em Portugal tiverão noticia dessa falta, com os mesmos fundamentos que neste Conselho se considerarão, virião em mandar bater a dita moeda, sem embargo de o haver o dito Senhor prohibido pela dita sua Carta, que parecia era fundada em enformações erradas; e que para se bater a dita moeda se fizesse diligencia se havia prata lavrada, e em falta della se batessem Realles como ficava dito.

E depois de se ter assy assentado acrescentou D. Francisco de Moura o seu voto: que lhe parecia por fugir do in conveniente de se defazerem os Realles e se não encontrar com a dita Carta de S. Mag^{e}., que seria de voto que se batesse a dita moeda de ouro de S. Thomem para baixo athé tangas e meias tangas, pois a necessidade prezente era tão grande que se não podia remedear de outra maneira, e punha em contingencia o soccorro de Malaca; e approvando S. Exª. e o Conselho todo este seu parecer, assentou que da prata de realles se não fizesse moeda alguma, pois S. Magestade a prohibia; porém que da prata lavrada e outra de barras ou de pastas se lavrasse até a quantia de 50,000 xerafins em tangas de Malaca, de peso e toque das que se fizerão em April passado, p^{a}. com isso poderem os mercadores fazerem seus empregos p^{a}. Mallaca; e que para o Commercio e uso desta Cidade e da de Cochim e Ceilão se fizessem *Xerafins de ouro* de lei de S. Thomés velhos, que *valha* 300 *reis cada hum*; e *meio xerafim de* 150 *reis*, dando S. Exª. de tudo conta a S. Mag^{e}., do que se fez este Assento em que o dito S^{r}. Viso-Rei se assignou com os ditos Conselheiros.—O Conde.

(Assentos do conselho de estado de 1629, fol. 124).

Doct. 84: December 9, 1634.

Letter of Viceroy to King defending his coinage of S. Thomés and patacões of new design:

Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo e Constantino de Sá em Ceilão sempre estiveram batendo moeda, o que hoje se não faz, porque em conformidade da ordem de V. Mag^{e}. o tenho prohibido, para que só em Goa se laure.

(Arch. da secretaria do governo em Goa, liv. das *monçoes*, fol. 41).

APPENDIX F.

1. Resolutions of the Galle Council, Galle Records, Vol. V.

April 19, 1655.

Aengesien 't sedert weynigen tyt herwaerts ondervonden hebben onder de Goase munten voornamentl. in de 10, 6 endo 5 stvrs. grote valscheden gepleecht wierde, ende dies aengaende getracht d' inventeurs ofte plegers van sod^nige valsche muntisitie te attrapperen, op gisteren ons door den ondercoop: Cornelis vander Duyn gevanckel. 3 Compicen herwaerts syn aengesonden hebbende deselve met hare stempels, smelt Croesen, aloy, als andere gereetschap op het werck bevonden, soo dat aen de valscheden niet en hebben te twyffelen, soo is by den E. H^{r} Gouv^{r}. voorgedragen derwyle grote partye sodanige munte in gange is, ofte het niet Raetsaem sy deselve aft te setten, sulcx geconsidereert synde en dat de aensienlyckste ingeseten handelaers gout smits toetsens als andere verklaren onder de heele en halve pardaus Cruysados &ca noch geen valscheyt vernomen hebben, soo is goet gevonden en vast gestelt de pardaus noch voort te laten loopen ende geseyde 10. 6 ende 5 S^{ts}. alloy binnen te ontbieden, & door gecommitteerdens S^{rs}. Jean de Vogel, Abraham Vervelen ende Ysbrant Godstken te laten innen de goede munte van ervarene goutsmits getoest ende voor goet gekeurt synde met dit ⱯE merck te laten stempelen ende de valsche d^{os}. met een scherpe bytel midden door een teken te beytelen ende oock geresolveert de E. Comp^{e}. ongehouden te syn de g' interesseerdens haer schade te vergoeden dat een yder het syne sal moeten dragen.

Aldus gedaen ende geresolveert in de stad Gale ten jare, maent, ende dage als voren.

2. Extracts from the Resolutions of the Political Council.

Vol. II., September 11, 1659.

Consideratien van Commandeur Paviljoen.

"Ick achte dat de Fanums behooren in steede van vier ende een half, wederom tot vyf stuyvers gelyk als eerst gereekent te worden, zo wert een perdau eeven Twee en een halve gulden dat de Compagnie voordeeltelyker is, want de betalinge van 't Guarnisoen geschiet met guldens dat de Fanums niet en raakt, ende de inkomsten ontvangt men by pardaus, waarteegen de onkosten die men in dat geldt, of die reekeningh betaalt niet mogen halen. De Abassys syn achtien stuyvers waardigh na rato der Spaansche Realen, die Sestigh gelden ende behoorden myns bedunkens daarop oock gestelt te werden."

Ib., September 11, 1659.

Vaarder Ordre en Instructie voor den Ed. Anthony Paviljoen, Opperkoopman Commandeur over 't Coninckryck Jaffenapatnam.

"Dewyll op Jaffenapatnam geen fanums in gebruick syn mach UE. die op 5 sts. reduceeren, maar is 't mogelyk sal UE. invoeren sodaniger cours van penningen en reductie als aan desen Cant op Ceylon geschiet reeckenende de Rdr. van 8 schellingen tot 51 sts. daar door dE. Comp^{e}. op yder Rdr. 3 sts. voor 't verschot van haar penningen in 't verstrecken der maantgelden avanceert en voorts niemandt schaade noch proffyt toebrengen."

Vol. VII., December 8 and 10, 1668.

Geconsidereert en overwogen wesende hoe de mooren en andere trafficanten gestadich de betere Nederlandsche munt, besonderlyck de ducaten en provintie daalders van 't landt voeren, om waarinne te voorsien, ende soo veel doenlyk de goede munt op 't landt te houden, is goed gevonden en g'arresteert tot nader ordre en goetvinden van haar Edn. op Batavia, de provintie daalders in den ontfang en uytgeeff te laten valideeren tegens elff schellingen off sesentsestich lichte stuyvers, synde gereeckent tot twee in een ducaat, die alhier op 22 sch. of 2⅞ Rd. gangbaer syn, en al voor 12 jaren daar vooren gevalideert hebben.

Vol. IX., May 29, 1670.

De coopluyden Dominicus van Vorsten en Francois Mountainier, expres gecommitteert, omme eenige Coetchynse fanums te doen raffineeren, en haere rechte waerde uyt te vinden, by rapport onder dato 28en courant vertoont zynde, dat de 24 stx. tegens een rdr. op Mallabaer gangbaer, geensints de gesegde waerde behaelen, maar d'E. Comp[ie]. daerop omtrent een derde off wat minder advanceeren zoude, wanneer den provintie off pylendaelders tot 60; ende den pagoden tot 120 stvrs. wert gereeckent, zynde soo veel gemelte fanums in allooy minder waerdigh zyn, dan de gemelte pagoden en pylendaelders soodanigh oock by de vier diverse proeven is wedervonden, welcke proeven ende ondervindingh is verstaan nu mede tot hare Ed. Hoogachtb. nae Batavia over te senden, ten eynde haer Ed. 't groot onderscheyt magh blycken, en mede dat deselve fanums hier niet dan tot groote schade van de gemeente, en disrespect van d'E. Comp[ie]. sullen connen gangbaer gemaackt werden; dogh is mede gearresteert haar Edn. voor te houden dat d'E. Comp[ie]. wanneer ons geen vaderlants payement magh gebeuren met veel reputatie souden connen herwaerts senden palliacatse fanums die met den aloy van de pagoden soo veel beeter accordeeren, en overeencomen.

Vol. IX., July 4–9, 1670.

In raade gemediteert hoe noodigh 't sy, dat haer Ed. hoogachtb. op Batavia kennisse werde gedaan, hoedanigh Tutucoryn nae 't ooghwit en ordre der Ed. heeren majores dient versterkt, dat tot bevorderingh van de negotie den provintie daelder niet hooger dan 60 strs. daer dient te gaan . . . . Verders nopende 't tweede poinct wesende geconsidereert hoe met 't voortsetten van den handel op Tutucoryn ende binnen 't landt van den Neyck van Madure met merckelyk meer capitaal dan voorheen sullen dienen te werden geadsisteert, oock wy dogt de Rdr. off provintie daelders niet op 't landt connen houden veel min de ducaten. Is na genome deliberatie geresolveert alle de provintie daelders en ducaeten niet hooger te stellen dan d'ordre medebrengt, namentlyk den ducaet op 120: ende den provintie daelder op 60 Stfrs. dewyl anders niet alleen groot verlies op de munt souden hebben, maar ook concequent de cleeden soo veel duurder coomen te staan, ende onse proffyten door een onredelyke wyse op Ceylon soo veel souden comen te verminderen, doch op dat daarmede 't rechte oogmerck mogte werden bereyckt, is oock goet gevonden hier op Ceylon geen provintie daelders off ducaten te laten gaen, maar die als een coopmanschap te houden, laetende als voorheen hier op Ceylon coers nemen de coopere cassen, schellingen, dubbelde en enckelde stuyvers, voorts ropias, abassys, paliacatse pagoden en fanums. Ende om d'E. Comp[e]. toe te brengen alle doenlycke voordeelen tot spulaes van haere swaere lasten, is wyders noodigh geacht haer Ed[e]. hoogachtb. op Batavia mede voor te dragen, hoe meenen noodigh te syn, dat alle crachten inspannen om in tyden en wylen van den Neyck van Madure te verwerven, selfs munt tot Tutucoryn te slaan, gelyck op Paliacatte geschiet; dogh is oock nodigh geacht haer Ed[e]. middelerwyl gedienstigh en eerbiedigh te versoecken, soo ons van Batavia eenige provintie daelders off ducaten off andere Europeese spetie wert gesonden, dat deselve niet hooger mogen werden getaxeert dan die uyt 't Vaderlant overcomen, ende soodanigh de ducaten en 't gout voor 't costende nae Cormandel gesonden werden, dewyl Ceylon sowel als Batavia seer sware lasten dragen moet oock niet behoort onttrocken te werden 't geen 't selve eygentlyck competeert en ook in voorige tyden altoos is geschiet.

Vol. XIII., March 26–April 12, 1675.

By missive van 15en February deses jaars, door d' provisioneele opperhoofden d. E. E. Pieter Verwer en Thomas van Rede, mitsgaders den raat van Nagapatnam, aan d'Ed[e]. heeren superintendent en gouverneur gesz: gebleeken synde, hoe door de gestadige revolte tusschen den madureer en d' visiapoerse mooren aldaar voorvallende, seer veele wevers en andere hantwerkers uyt hun dorpen gejaagt, en naar de noort geloopen syn, om 't welcke voor te comen, haar E. E. schryven alles aan leyden, om deselve in de buytenstadt te troonen, en dat haar daar van niets wederhielt, dan de sware tollen diese voorgaven in de buytenstad, soo van hun branthout, provisie, etc. ('t geen sy uyt 't land becomen moeten) onderwerpen waren, sulx haar E. E. op d' approbatie van d'E. heeren superintendent, ne gouverneur voormelt, al eenige derselver hoofden voorgehouden en geanimeert hadden, hun onderhebber de wevers, in de buytenstad te brengen, onder conditie dat sy niet meer als in andere dorpen, ja op coureloer ofte om de noord selfs betalen, en behalven dat voor een jaar van de tollen van die kleynigheeden vry syn souden, gevolglyk van alle vexatie en dwingelandy der inlanders bevryt wesende, onder de veylige bescherminge van d'E. Comp: hun arbeyt connen bevorderen, 't welcke hoopten mettertyd niet alleen een goeden uytslag, maar ook nut, en rust baren soude, waarover dan gedelibereert synde, verstaan is, by aanschryvens derwaarts afgaande, haar E.E. gedoente desen aangaande niet alleen voor

wel aan te sien, maar ook te approbeeren, als wesende een goede middel omme veele nutte hantwerkers tot ons te trecken ende om dewelke boven het slaan van copere beekers nog meer werck te bestellen, oock gearresteert werde, deselve mede copere tammecassen (soodanigh die nu op Ceylon gangbaar syn), te slaan laten en ten selven eynde 400 kisten staafcooper tot 30 Rds. 't picol getaxeert derwaarts over te senden, welcke spetie aldaar in't vermunten, na de coers te deser plaatse, wel . . Rds. op ider kist meer rendeeren, en boven de oncosten van de munt, oock een proper overwinst toebrengen sal . . . .

Den Coopman Francois Mountaineer den tyt derselve employ omtrent het munten der coopere cassen van een goede erkentenis toesegginghgedaan synde, in cas hy besorgden dat het werck getrouwelyck en spoedig gedaan wiert, ende geconsidereert, hy gedurende 't munten derselver cassen dien arbeyt met besonderen yver behartigt, veel dieveryen door goede en nauwe toesigt belet, mits desselfs gestadige en nodige presentie, al vry wat moeyten en ongemakken geleeden heeft, werde verstaan, hem in belooning van dien dienst, en voldoening van de gedane beloften, te meer sulx aan voorige gecommitteerde geschiet is, toe te leggen de somma van een hondert courante Rds.

Vol. XIV., December 11, 1676.

Contract met Egosie Ragia, heer van Tansjouwer, art. 5.

Egosie Ragia consenteert en staat d'E. Comp. toe, binnen nagap: munt te mogen slaan soo fanums als pagoden de fa^{s}. naer de maniere en alloy als deselve in de landen van tansjouwer in gewoonte syn van 3½ mat, ende p^{s}. op de alloy van palliacatte a 8⅝ mat yder meede op gelycke wyse d. Ed. heer admirael 't selve met Carvette nayck boven vermelt bedongen en g'accordeert heeft, mits dat d' E. Comp. en Egosie ragia elck sullen trecken de helft van de winsten en incomsten derselve munterye, naer dat d'oncosten alvooren daeraff getrocken sullen worden en sal Egosie ragia in deselve munterye mogen stellen een persoon om wegens zyn hooght. reecq : van de incomsten te houden.

Vol. XV., December 10, 1677.

Extract uyt de Resolutoire Notulen der Stadt Nagapatam Vrydagh den 5en November, 1677.

Den E. oppercoopman ende Opperhooft resumeerde vervolgens de missive gisteren van d'Ed. Hr. Gouvr. alhier aangebracht, en komende tot de periode van 't stempelen der pagoden, waer in haer Ed: Ho: A: van Batavia een verandering hadden gelieven te ordonneeren, om deselve van de palliacatse te konnen onderschyden, wiert naar een generale omvraginge met gemeen advys goetgevonden tot een onderschyt van anderen nu voortaen en die in toekomende geslagen sullen worden met dusdanige letter N op de ringge te tyckenen en vermits tot noch toe op dat werck geen dagel^{s}. speciale opsiender is geordonneert geweest, maar sulcx alleen op wederzydtse Cannecappels aancomen, soo is tot hooft over de munters onder een hooger opsicht ende commando van den E. van Rhee gestelt ende geauthoriseert den bramine adigaer Rammanade Ayen.

Vol. XVIII., August 12, 1680.

Dewyle haer E. E. H.a. tot Batavia in voorm : haer E. E. jongste missive gelieffden te ordonneeren, dat de pagoden die van Nagap : na Chormandel in specie wierden versonden niet hooger dan tot 105 stuyvers sodanigh die daer ter kuste koers nemen souden mogen in facture werden gebracht, en dat 't selve gevolgel : Nagap : een groot verlies soude geven, en den Commandant Verwer en den raet daerom te raden waren d'selve liever (volgens ons vorig gedragen consent) met partyen na Jaffanap : te bestellen, op vertrouwen deselve tegens 105 stuyvers op Chormandel aengenaem souden wesen, en vermits in dat geval Jaffanap. dan het verlies van 15 stuyvers op yder pagood soude komen te dragen, soo d' selve van daer na Chormandel wierden versonden, gelyck onfeyllyck soude moeten geschieden, vermits die specie op Jaffanap. soo weynig als hier tot den uytgeef nodig sy. Soo gaff den heere Pyl den raet in consideratie, off het niet best en gevoeghlyck ware, dat Nagapatn. dat voors : verlies selfs quam te dragen, ten aensien dat Comptoir reets de winsten daer van op de mundt getrocken hadt, en buyten dien nogh 10 stvs. en 12 penn : op yder pagood quam te proffiteeren, schoon die tegens 105 stvs. wierden versonden, waerop dan gelet wesende, is eenparigh g'oordeelt, dat by versendingh der gem : goude specie van Nagap : na Jaffanap : off andere plaetsen deselve soo wel als na Chormandel niet hooger dan 105 stvs. yder pagood sullen vermogen in facture gebracht, en het verlies dat als dan daerop komt te vallen, tot Nagap : op winst en verlies afgeschr : sal moeten werden, doch vermits onder de voors : Nagapatn : oock een goede somma aan palliacatse pagoden aldaer berustende, en die soowel als de nagap : aldaer tegens 120 stvs. by d'E. Comp. en haere Coopluyden ganghbaer waren, en waer op 't Comptoir Nagap : gevolgelyck niets hadde geproffiteert, soo is meede g' arresteert de vrunden tot Nagap. te authoriseeren het verlies daar op by versendinghvallende met het generael te mogen vereffenen.

Vol. XVIII., October 19, 1682.

Dewyle nevens voorsz: missive mede overgesonden ende ontf. is een original biljet by d'Ed^{le}. heer gouvern^{r}. gen^{l}. en heeren raeden van India in conformiteyt van de expresse ordre der heeren meesters by haer Ed^{le}. letteren van den 30 : 9ber 1681 vervat gepublic^{t}. waerby de ducatons dewelcke alomme 't sedert ontrent vier jaren herw^{ts}. gangbaer gemaeckt ende als een courante munt tegens een en een halve rd : het stuck uytgegeven en ontf : alle wederom ingetrocken ende op vyff en tseventigh stuyvers offte een en een quart rd. gestelt zyn, met ordre ende bevel 't selve alhier op desen Eylande

van gelycke te doen omme de dienaren en ingesetenen van dat gelt te ontlasten, ende hetselve weer in s'Comp : cassa over te nemen te weten indien uyt het vaderlant gedurende de voorsz: tyt van vier jaren eenige der voorm. ducatons offte silvere reyders ontf. ende voor 1½ rd. mogte uytgegeven syn, en anders niet also het in geen reden soude bestaen dat d'E. Comp. de wisselinge dede, ende daer by schade te lyden quam, ende alhier niet alleen in den opgem : tyt maer lange jaren bevoorens soodanigen munt niet is aengebraght, offte gangbaer geuseert dewelcke onder de gemeente mede weynige en selden vernomen werden soo is verstaen het intrecken der voorm: ducatons niet te laten geschieden, ende oversulcx het gem : biljet niet verder te publiceeren als tot advertentie dat de ducatons aldaer, en elders voortaen tegens vyff-quart rd. sullen gangbaer syn indervoegen als hier onder volght.

Laurens Pyl, &c.

Nademael d'Ed^{le}. heer gouverneur generael Cornelis Spielman en d'E. E. heeren raden van India by haer Ed^{le}. seer g'eerde letteren van 29en aug. jongstleden de 7en dese maent met 't schip Z. beverlant en 't fluytje waveren op Colombo ende den 19en daer aen alhier aengebraght, ons hebben gelieven aen te bevelen, en te gelasten in conformiteyt van de Expresse ordre der Ed^{le}. heeren bewinthebberen ter vergaderinge van de 17 binnen middelb : in Zeelant onse heeren principaelen by hare generale missive van den 30 : 9ber des voorleden jaers vervat omme de ducatons offte silvere reyders dewelcke nu al eenigen tyt by haer Ed^{le}. tegens een en een halve Courante rd. offte 't negentigh stuyvers syn gangbaer gemaeckt voortaan niet hoger te mogen uytgeven offte gangbaer maecken als tot 75 Stuyvers offte een en een quart rd. soo is 't dat my in naercominge van de ordre by desen daervan alle dienaren, burgeren, en onderdanen onder Comps : gehoorsaamheyt en subjectie op desen Eylande staende, ende gehoorende hebben willen adverteeren ende door affkundiginge deses waerschouwen, dat na desen de ducatons offte silvere reyders niet hooger als tot 75 stuyvers offte een en een quart rd. sullen aansien offte het sy in ontf. offte uytgift voor een gangbare munt aengenomen werden, met dese precautie, omme de dienaren en onderdanen van d'E. Comp. als alle andere schade te voorcomen mitsdien een iegelycke sigh voor gewaarschout magh houden.

Gegeven In't Coninckryk Jaffanapatnam den 19 October a°. 1682.

Vol. XXII., September 4, 1688.

Zyn Ed^{le}. gaf mede te kennen dat de persiaense zilvere abascys en mamoedys in voorige jaren hier aengebragt, by d'E. Comp. zonder met haer chiap gestempeld te zyn aen een yder maer waeren uytgegeven en dat schoon men naderhand deselve doorgaens heeft gestempeld, nog een menigte der voorige ongestempelde onder de gemeente waren berustende, waerdoor s'Comps: geld van 't geene door particuliere van buyten reets is en nog mogte werden aengebragt, niet kan werden onderscheyden waaruyt wel schadelyke consequentien mochten ontstaen, om de welke soo veel mogelyk voor te komen, syn Ed^{le}. in deliberatie gaff, door wat middel 't selve best zoude konnen geprecaveert en den aanbreng dier munt door particuliere die daer op hun voordeel weten te doen gestuyt, en geweerd werden, zoo is na deliberatie verstaen, en goet gevonden dierwegens zoodanigen biljet te doen publiceeren ende afigeeren, als hier onder werd geinsereert:

Laurens Pyl, raet ordinaris van India, gouverneur en directeur des Eylands Ceylon, de Custe van Madure etc ende den raed, alle degenen die deese zullen zien, offte hooren lesen, salut doen te weeten, nademael in ervaringe gekomen zyn dat onder de persiaense abascys en mamoedys hier eenige jaeren herwaerts by d'E.Comp. aen haere dienaren en door deselve vervolgens aen de gemeente uytgegeven, nog veele die met s'Comps. stempel niet syn gemerckt, komen te loopen, daer door men s'Comps. geld van 'tgeene particulier mogt werden aengebragt niet kan komen te onderscheyden, 't welk van quade consequentie zoude konnen werden ; soo is 't dat wy daer inne willende voorsien, g'arresteerd en goetgevonden hebben aen allen en een ygelyk soo wel s'Comps. dienaren, en alle andere ingesetenen van wat staet off qualiteyt deselve syn, die eenige persiaense zilvere abascys ofte mamoedys met s'Comps. stempel niet gemerkt synde, onder sig mogte bevinden, te gelasten, ende gebieden, gel : gelasten ende gebieden by desen, alle deselve twee dagen na de publicatie deses off tusschen den 8en tot den 30en deser lopende maend september te brengen ten huyse van d'E. fiscael deses Casteels alwaer syn E. met Expresse gecommitteerdens van s'morgens ten half acht, tot s'middags twaalff, en van s'middags ten half twee tot vyff uuren zullen sitten en deselve aldaer doen stempelen, op paine, dat zoo ymant na 't expireeren van den voorm. gepresigeerden tyd, mogte bevonden worden zynde ongestempelde abascys off mamoedys aldaer niet gebragt, maer naderhand nog by sigh te hebben, ofte datter van buyten door particuliere ongestempelde munt mogte werden aengebragt, deselve voor ongangbaer zullen verworpen, en by d'E.Comp. niet aengenomen, maer tot laste, en schade van desselffs eygenaers, gelaten werden, en op dat niemand eenige ignorantie mogte komen voor te wenden off te pretendeeren sal dese soo wel in de hollantse, als Zingaleese tale gepubliceert en g'affigeerd werden, alsoo wy zulx ten meesten dienste der E.Comp. zoodanig bevinden te behooren.

Vol. XXIII., January 27, 1691.

Dewyl ondervonden is alhier verscheyde valsche abascys onder de gestempelde in swangh gaen, niet sonder presumptie deselve door dese, of geene particulier gemackt en gestempelt zyn, soo is tot weeringh en voorkomingh van soo grove en schandelyke bedriegeryen, verstaen dierwegen het onderstaende biljet te publiceeren, en affigeeren.

Laurens Pyl Raat ordinaris van India, gouverneur en directeur des Eylands Ceylon, de Custe madure etc. Ende synen Raade,

allen dengeenen die desen sullen sien, ofte hooren lesen, Salut, doen te weten, dat ons gebleeken synde hoe onder de met s'Comps. stempel gemerkt zynde abascys verscheyde valsche van loot, kooper, en spiaulter komen te lopen, en in swangh gaen, niet sonder vermoeden dat scodanige abascys alhier ter plaetse door onse eygen ingesetene gemaakt en uytgegeven worden, door soodanige middel niet alleen d'E.Comp. maer ook haere onderdanen op 't hoogste prejudiceerende, so is 't dat wy daer in willende voorsien, en sulx in tyts voorkomen, en beletten ten dienste der E.Comp. en 't welvaren haerer onderdanen g' arresteert, en goedgevonden hebben te ordonneeren, statueeren, ende bevelen, gelyk wy ordonneeren, statueeren, ende bevelen by deesen, dat van nu voortaen nae de publicatie deses de voorsz: valsche abascys niet tegenstaende deselve al met Comps. stempel gemerkt mogten syn, by niemant voor gangbaere munt sullen mogen uytgegeven, veel min aen anderen overgedragen werden, als verklarende by desen van nu aff aen alle soodanige abascys biljon, en niet ontfankelyk, en op dat den maeker van deselve abascys zoude mogen g'attrappeert, en uytgevonden werden, soo wert een ieder by desen gerecommandeert, en aenbevolen, by ontfangh van eenige valsche abascys 't selve aen den fiscael deser stede bekent te maken, en op te geven den naem dergene die deselve comt uyt te geven, om daer op nae te speuren van wien deselve eerst gekomen, en uytgegeven syn, en alsoo den maeker te ontdekken, onder beloften dat dengeenen die soodanigen persoon wert aen te wysen tot een premie sal genieten de somma van een hondert Rds., dogh ten contrarie daer van kennisse hebbende, en 't selve niet aenbrengende, na exigentie van saeken gecorrigeert worden, alsoo wy alle 't selve ten dienste der E.Comp. en welvaren van 't gemeen soodanigh bevinden te behooren.

Vol. XXIV., July 5, 1692.

Na het aenroepen van des heeren heylige naeme, maekte syn Ed[le]. in raede bekent, dat syn Ed[le]. in nacomingh der ordre van haer Ed[le]. aghtb[e]. de hooge Indische regieringh tot Batavia, vervat by haer Ed[le]. aghtb[e]. seer g'eerde missive van 13e May jongstleden tot het intrecken der gestempelde ducatons, of silvere ryders soodanigen biljet had doen vervaerdigen, als hier onder volght.

Thomas van Rhee, gouverneur en directeur des eylants Ceylon, d'custe madure, en onderhoorige landen, mitsgaders den Raad allen dengeenen die deese sullen sien, ofte hooren lesen, saluyt, doen te weten, hoe d'hoogh Ed[le]. heeren Mr. Willem van Outhoorn, gouverneur generael, en d' E.E. heeren raeden van nederlants India, by haer Edl[le]. aghtb[e] jongste Letteren van den 13en May passado op 't aenschryven van d' Hoogh Ed[le]. heeren mayores in 't patria, de dato 17e december 1690 na herwaerts hebben gelieven te ordonneeren, de ducatons, of silvere ryders, de welcke met het merck van een kleyn Ruytertje na de slincker hand rydende, geslagen, en tegens een en een halve ryd[s]., of twaelf schellingen yder ganckbaer gemaeckt syn, wederom im te trecken, soo is 't, dat wy in nakominge van dien ordonneeren, en beveelen gelyck wy ordonneeren en beveelen by desen, aen alle 's Comps. dienaren, borgeren, onderdanen, en andere ingesetenen deses gouvernements, dat allen, en een eygelyck van deselve, die eenige ducatons. ofte silvere ryders, voorsien synde met soodanigen merck, als hier vooren is geseght, by sigh mogte bevinden, sullen hebben te brengen binnen deesen Casteele in 'S comps. Cassa, omme aldaer ten overstaan van twee Expresse gecommitteerdens aen den Cassier van d'E.Comp. te leveren, en daer voor gelyck voormaels en doorgaans uyt gem: Cassa syn uytgereykt, wederom deselve waerde van een en een halve ryxd[s]. of twaelf schellingen yder te ontfangen, waer toe dan deselve sullen vaceren, en haar laeten vinden, des dingsdags en vrydags nademiddagh de klocke half drie, gedurende den tyt van vier weecken, ofte tot den vyfden der aenstaende maand aug: toe, na welcke tyt geen meer aengenomen, noghte oock soodanige gemerckte, of eenige andere ducatons tegens twaelf schellingen yder gangbaer aengesien, of gehouden sullen worden, dierhalven houde een iegelyck zigh hier mede voor g'adverteerd, omme namaels geene Exceptien van ignorantie te pretendeeren.

Met welckers inhoud den raad sigh geconfirmeert hebbende, is vervolgens g'arresteert 't selve op overmorgen voor de middagh, ten overstaan van den fiscaal, en twee leden uyt den aghtb[e]. raed van Justitie deses Casteels van de ordinaire puye te laeten publiceeren, en alomme affigeeren, mits tot het inwisselen van de voorsz: ducatons by den Cassier te committeeren den boekhouder Philippus Speght, en vryburger Esajas de Flournoy, als leden van d'E.Civilen raad alhier.

Vol. XXX., July 25, 1704.

Hoewel Compagnies groote gelt cassa thans redelyk was versien van payement en ducaten, zoo voor den Maduresen handel als tot den dagelyksen uytgift: Zoo had zyn Edele op 't voorstel van den E. hoofdadministrateur Hendrik Huysman, nogtans niet willen nalaten dese vergaderinge voor tedragen, of niet noodig ware voor 't aanstaande ingevalle ons tegen hoop en verwachtinge van genoegsame payement vonden ontbloot, haar Edele Achtbare qualificatie te versoeken, om by verlegentheyt te mogen aantasten en gangbaar maken:

goude ducaten	tegen 2¼ rds.
zilvere ducatons	tegen 1⅜ do.
do. ropias	tegen ⅜ do.

het welk eenparig wierd toegestemt.

Vol. XXXIX., October 17, 1716.

Zyn Edele Communiceerde de vergaderinge seeker request door d' overheeden van het schip Boeckenroode gerepresenteert, waar by deselve versoek doen ten eynde te mogen hebben de volle proemie van 600 lighte guldens off twee honderd ryxsdaalders, voor dat zy de reyse uyt het vaderland, ongerekend de legdagen, binnen de ses maanden hadden afgelegd.

Vol. XLVI., March 14, 1724.

Aangesien de schaarsheyt van koper en zilvermunt, mitsg. abundantie van goude pagoden, welke eerste niet konnen werden verkregen, als door het verwisselen der pagoden en sulx met 1, 1½ en ook 2 fanums verlies, waarby de dienaren van d'E.Comp : soomeede die geene welke door de diaconye deser steede werden g'alimenteerd en andere menschen heel veel schade lyden, by placaat van den 7 : february 1719 soodanige schaggeryen en verwisselingen is verboden, mitsg : den 8 : july des selvigen jaars g'amplieerd behelsende ten principaalen, dat alderhande silver en kopergeld, geen biljon maar goed en gangbaar synde, vry en onverhinderd, mitsgaders sonder de minste beswaarnisse zal mogen werden in en uitgevoerd, soo wel in en uyt de Wanny, als in en uyt andere havens en langs allerhande toegangen van buyten naar Ceylon.

Vol. XLIX., September 5, 1727.

Ter deser occasie ook door den Heer Gouverneur te kennen gegeven zynde de meenigvuldige klagten die dagelyx wierden gedaan over 't besnoeyen van alderhande gangbare munten en speciaal van de dubbelde zilvere stuyvers, zo is om het selve zo veel doenlik voor te komen gearresteert daar tegen te emaneeren een placaat mitsgaders een ieder daar by te verbieden het besnoeyen van voorsch : en alle andere munt spetien op peene dat de geene die daar aan schuldig bevonden werd voor de eerste maal zal gegeeseld en voor drie jaren in de ketting geklonken werden om alhier aan de gemeene werken te arbeiden, en voor de tweede maal gegeeselt, gebrandmarkt en voor twintig jaren in de ketting na de Caab de Goede Hoop gerelegeerd, mitsgaders voor de derde maal met de koorde aan de galg gestraft dat er de dood na volgt.

Vol. XLIX., November 4, 1727.

In gevolge het besluyt op den 5en 7br pass° alhier genomen produceerde den Heer Gouverneur alsnu in rade het concept van een placaat en een billiet omme te verbieden en tegen te gaan het besnoeien van allerhande munt spetien en speciaal van dubbelde zilvere stuyvers, mitsgaders het uytgeven van de nieuwe enkelde stuyvers uyt het vaderland voor hoger prys, als deselve inderdaad waardig waren, dewelke vervolgens opgelesen zynde, zo is derselver inhoude vervolgens geapprobeert ; en op dat het besnoeien der munt spetien des te eerder als een snode practyque mogte werden uytgeroeid so meende den Heer Gouverneur dat by het eerst gem : placcaat alle uytgave van besnoeide munt en inzonderheid van dubbelde stuyvers behoorde te werden verboden, op verbeurte van zes Rds. telkens aan den officier die de calange doen zal, 't geent by de raadsleden zodanig mede nodig g'oordeeld zynde, zo is verstaan dat poinct mede in eerst gem : placcaat te laton inssuceren en zodanig vervolgens publiceeren overal op desen Eylande tot narigt van een yder.

Vol. LXIII., August 28, 1737.

Vervolgens door zyn Ed. ter vergaderinge vertoont synde drie monsters van 8. 16. en 24 duyten, in de midden doorgedrilt, en dus med een dun draatje, van deselfde specie als gem. kopermunt, aan den anderen vast gemaakt of geregen, en aan beyde enden geklonken, om te dienen in de wandeling so als haren cours en waarde mede brengt, voor een twee en drie dubb : sts :, tot gemak en gerief niet alleen van de gemeente, die door het veelvuldige tellen der duyten uyt de eene hand in de andere, thans markelyk beswaart word in den handel en ook in de dagelykse uytgaven, door de moeyte die daaraan telkens opnieuw moet worden besteed, maar ook insonderheit tot behulp van den Cassier en Winkelier, by wien de 8 thans naar het geresolveerde op den 15 Juny pass°. permanente geldtellers, nog niet kunnen toeryken om den ontfang en uytgave effen te houden, vragende Zyn Ed. of het niet ten evengem. eynde een goede zaak zoude zyn dat men S'Comps : weegen in diervoege 4 of 5,000 rds : liet approprieeren, om in de wandelinge te kunnen blyven, als het vervoeren dog niet onderworpen zynde, en dus gelyk zy werden uytgegeven weder in de casse komende en roulleerende temeer de comp. daar by geen ander prejuditie lyd als het gewigt van der draad waaraan deselve geregen zyn, bedragende op 1,000 rds : omtrent 8 of 9 lb. draadkoper, zynde circa 3 p^r. mille, daar in tegendeel het onderhoud, waaromme de voorz : geldtellers al lang hebben verzoek gedaan, en waarin men haar in het vervolg andersinds ook eenigermaten zal moeten tegemoet komen, vry wat meer bedraagt, en het gerief dat hier door zal werden toegebragt aan den cours der negotie, die al wat vertraginge en ongemakken thans onderworpen is, door de moeylykheit der tellinge van so veel duyten, als men tot betalinge van de minste kleinigheit uyt S'Comps : pakhuysen noodig heeft, vry wat meer importeert ; terwyl men dog genoegzaam niets anders als voorsz : duyten onder de gemeente ziet roulleeren ; so is verstaan 4 á 5,000 rds. : in dier voegen te laten afsonderen door expresse gecommitteerdens en de geklonkene enden met een klein stempeltje te laten merken tot voorkominge van bedrog, als een zaak zynde die niemand prejudiceeren kan, en mere domesticq is, ook 't eenigertyd aan de Comp. geen schade kan geeven, naar dien de duyten buyten het voormelte kleine gaatje altoos deselve blyven, al wilde men die selfs naderhand weer van den anderen slaan, en in diervoegen uytgeven.

Vol. LXVIII., August 6, 1740.

Aanvankelyk produceerde den heere Gouverneur in vergadering een aparte missive door den Tutucorynse administrateur Crytsman naar herwaarts geschreven, en eergisteren met de chialoup Veldhuysen alhier bestelt, inhoudende communicatie dat de fannums munterye naar veel talmens en hooftbrekens eyndelyk aen de gang geraakt en ten dien eynde aan de munters was afgegeven 350 pagoden en 80 spaanse realen ; de grootste swarigheyt volgens het schryven van voorm. Crytsman, nu eenlyk maar bestaande in de uytgave dier munt specie onder den inlander, waar toe hy egter beloofd syn uyterste vlyt te zullen aanwenden. Zo wierd sulx voor communicatie aangenomen, en goed gevonden die bediendens de novo te gelasten zig omtrent dat geheele werk stipt te houden aan de ordres van haar hoog Ed. vervat by derselve seer g'eerde missive van den 30 Oct. anno passo., en uyt dewelke haar bereets extract dien aangaande by missive van den 30 Maart j. leden is toegedeelt.

Vol. LXVIII., September 14, 1740.

Vergolgens gereflecteert zynde op het schryvens der Tutucorynsche bedientens by briefjes van den 6en courant ten opsigte van de fannums munterye, die zy zeggen so verre geslaagt te wesen dat sedert den 23 Aug. passo. voor een bedragen van 1000 pardauwes gemunt zyn 10013 fans., kostende met alle de ongelden f. 2598 · 17 · 9. en dus f.—. 5. $\frac{682}{310013}$* het stuk, waarvan bereets vier vyfde gedeelte onder de ouder fanums vermengt, zo op Tutucoryn zelfs. als de onderhorige zuyder comptoiren, om en van de hand gezet zyn, en in consideratie genomen zynde dat dese fanums al wat veel in waarde met de oude verschillen, vermits deselve niet meer als 4 stuyvers 1 penning wesentlyk halen kunnen, daar men tegen onderstellen moet dat dese wel 5 stvs. waardig, en dus $\frac{15}{16}$ stuyver beter als de oude zyn, wanneer men de overige 3 $\frac{682}{10013}$ penning rekent voor het maakloon etc. zo is verstaan dat werk nogmaals op de zelve wyse (dat is met 's lands stempel, omdat men het nog te vroeg oordeelt die van de Comp. te gebruiken) te laten hervatten en de overwalsche bedientens aan te schryven om voor een somma van 1000 pardauws wederom andere fanums te laten munten, die (zo na als maar immers mogelyk is) niet meerder als 5 stuyvers ieder komen te kosten met alle de ongelden, so om het meerder voordeel dat de Comp. daar op als dan zal behalen, als verschillende aanstonds 4$\frac{3}{5}\frac{1}{2}$ per cento ten goeden, als om het gemak dat zulx zal geven by de boeken, en dat het overeenkomt met de reductie, ingev... e die indertyd eens mogt komen stant te grypen of ingevoert te werden.

Vol. LXIX., March 27, 1741.

Wyders in dese byeenkomst geresumeert zynde de van Tutucoryn ontfangene specificatie, wegens de wesentlyke waarde der jongst aldaar voor S'Comps. reeck. gemunte fanums, in vergelyking der regte maduresc. of eygentlyke tans rouleerende landsmunte volgens welke onder anderen S'Comps. fanums —$\frac{3}{16}$ mat minder dan de andere zouden toetsen, daar nogthans, onder de recapitulatoire besoigne is gearresteert deselve wat beter van alloy te maken, om des te gemakkelyker het burgerregt daarvan te verkrygen. Zo is verstaan de bedientens andermaal te qualificeeren tot het munten van fanums, uyt een gelyke quantiteyt van ducaten en spaanse realen, als sy de eerste maal gebruykt hebben, en zo veel minder koper onder de specie te laten mengen, dat onse fanums insteede, van —$\frac{3}{16}$ mat minder, — $\frac{1}{16}$ mat meerder, dan de madureesche toetsen: als het eenigste middel zynde, om deselve by den baatzugtigen mallabaar ingang te doer vinden zynde daar nevens nog verstaan by het arrest deser vergadering sub dato 4 Oct: ao. passo. waarby besloten is tot de reductie van de madurese fanums tot f.—.6.—. niet te treden, maar deselve volgens den presente of ouden coers te laten roulleren tot nader ordre van haar hoog Edelhedn. nog al nader te persisteeren, om reden gedagte maduresе fanums, volgens gem. specificatie de reecq: naar den verkoop gemaakt zynde niet ver van f.—.6.12. zouden komen te kosten, mitsgaders uyt te stellen de consideratie deser vergadering nopens het voordeel van dese voorsz : nieuwa munting tot dat deselve zal afgelopen syn, vermits men dan met meerder sekerheyd daarvan sal kunnen oordeelen.

Vol. LXXV., April 17, 1743.

Het vertoog door het Tutucoryns opperhoofd den koopman Noel Anthony Lebek opgemaakt, nopens het voortsetten der fannums munterye voor S'Comps. rekening daar ter Custe, waar op sub dato 22 Maart jongst leden het nemen van een finaal besluyt is uytgesteld geworden tot dat den Edelen Heer designeert gouverneur van Gollenesse alhier g'arriveert zoude zyn, thans, na dat welgemelte zyn Edele zig dat werk aangaande naar behooren g'informeert hadde uyt de papieren daar van gereekende, ten fine voorsch. andermaal onderhanden genomen, en wel met geen quaad oogmerk ingerigt, dog egter niet volkomen voldoende g'oordeelt zynde zo wel aan de ware intentie van haar hoog Edelen, die men agte alleen het redres van den so zeer vervallen handel in het ryk van Madure door dit expedient beoogende, niet zo seer het behaalen van veele en groote voordeelen met, of liever van de munterye aan en voor zig selfs te bedoelen, als wel de verbetering van de geld specie, en dat men staat maken kan op de waarde derselve naar dies coers by de boeken ; als aan het geordonneerde van hier successive naar het aflopen der eerste vermunting in den jaare 1740,

* Read : f.—5.3 $\frac{682}{10013}$ and below, 3 $\frac{682}{10013}$ penning.

alles zyn uytzigt gehad hebbende op de verbeteringe der fannums in haar alloy, eenigsints boven de intrinsique waarde der veritable hedendaags rouleerende madureesse, ter aanmoediginge van den Inlander tot acceptatie van deselve; daar integendeel de gedagten van 't gemelte opperhoofd Lebek daar heenen hellen, om de fannums zo na als immers doenlyk zy so wel van stempel als alloy de regte lands munte niettegenstaande 't gantsche verval des handels aan dies gebrekkelykheyd werd toegeschreven te doen egaliseeren, alleen naar 't schynt met insigt om de maatschappye door 't middel van de munt te doen gaudeeren van winsten die deselve met relatie tot den handel aan de andere kant, wederom dubbeld zoude moeten bezuren.

Zo is naar een ryp overleg van zaken en overweginge van alles wat ter materie dienen konde goed gevonden en verstaan, eerst en vooraf approbeerende dat men aan de overwal op dat vertoog geresolveert heeft by provisie maar voort te munten, ten eynde de munters aan 't werk te houden, wyders ten beste van de Comp. in voldoeninge aan de gevenereerde beveelen der Edele Hooge Indiasche regeeringe zo na mogelyk en tot voorkominge teffens van alle in der tyd te dugtene quade gevolgen uyt de usurpatie van de munt, zo het geviel dat den wettigen pretendent van het land den erfelyken throon zyner voorvaderen eens wederom mogt beklimmen, alvorens verder te gaan met de munterye te laten probeeren of er kans is met de Marrattysche hoofden als tegenwoordige bezitters van hey ryk, een accoord daar omtrent te treffen, en daar by mits betalende een zeker tantum voor geregtigheyt zo als de gantsche wereld door gebruykelyk is, de vrye munt te bedingen voor de Comp. die by verandering van de regeering, dat altyd desnoods met een matig geschenk aan den Armane wel wederom goed kan maken, en ondertusschen door desen weg het regt verkrygen zal tot een prerogatief waar van mettertyd sulke considerable voordeelen voor haar Edele te wagten syn; aangemerkt zynde daar en boven, dat het genoegsaam een absolute noodzakelykheyd is dit middel te amplecteeren om de koopliedeu die volgens het genoteerde by Tutucorynse missive van den 26 der voorm. maant Maart (men denkt alleen uyt beschroomtheyt) tot nog toe geweigert hebben de laatst gemunte fannums in betaling hunner goederen to accepteeren, en andere gedagten te brengen, en alle scrupuleusiteyt in dat opsigt by hen resideerende weg te neemen. Zynde in de tweede plaatse best geoordeelt ag tervolgens het geresolveerde aan dese tafel op den 14 7ber 1740 de fannums die voortaan voor S'Comps. reekening sullen geslagen worden, zodanig in alloy te doen nemen dat deselve zo na als immers mogelyk is, met alle de ongelden daar op loopende niet hooger als 5 ligte stuyvers 't stuk komen te kosten, geconsidereert dat men thans ongemunt goud aan handen heeft ten dienste der munterye veel ten goede in prys verschillende met het geene men tot nog heeft moeten gebruyken, en dat by gevolg de fannums daarvan gemaakt werdende op desen voet, de veritable madureesche ver genoeg de loef zullen afsteeken in intrinsique waardye. Terwyl al verder in de derde plaatse is g'arresteert, ter voldoeninge aan het geresolveerde onder de recapitulatoire Besoignen van den 22 tot 26 Feb. 1740, en haar hoog Edelens daar op gevolgde aggreatie, nu eerst een kleen tantum van fannums te doen slaan met S'Comps. merk aan d'eene, en 's lands stempel aan de andere kant, om te zien of er kans is de zulke met reclusie van alle andere in den handel in te voeren, gelyk te wenschen ware dat van success mogt zyn, om dat men 't beste staat op zodanige fannums zoude kunnen maken, en dezelve by een iegelyk aanstonds te kennen zouden wesen, daar men nu genoodzaakt is alles op de troun en eerlykheyt der saraafs of geld telders te laten aankomen.

Vol. LXXVI., July 6, 1743.

Item dat, vermits S'Comps. fannums thans gretig werden gezoekt, en naar alle apparentie binnens korten tyd op de pettes of weekmarcten zelfs wel geaccepteert zullen werden, het opperhoofd Lebek voornemens is, van nieuws een quantiteyt van 30 à 40.000 fannums te doen slaan, equaal van alloy met de laatst gemunte, of van 3¾ mat in toets, met verzoek om nopens het een en ander van hier met ordre te mogen werden gemunieert . . . . dog wat aangaat het fannum munten, de bedientens daarentegen aan te schryven, dat ofschon men het slaan van nog eenige duysenden fannums wel aan hun goed overleg gedefereert wil laten, men egter daaromtrent gene verandering wil hebben gemaakt in het geresolveerde over de munterye sub dato 17 April J°.leden, maar verstaat, dat zy zig daer aan zullen hebben te houden, en het zelve stiptelyk observeeren, tot zo lange men de nood des vereyschende, hen wederom anders zal bevelen.

Vol. LXXVIII., November 4, 1743.

Vervolgens ook gesproken zynde over 't geene haar hoog Edelens by derselver jongst ontfangene circulairen brief van den 19e July pass°. hebben gelieven te ordonneeren ten opsighte van de acceptatie en bereekeninge der Inlandsche geld specien, namentlyk dat op plaatsen daar men genoodzaakt is Contanten voor het goed te accepteeren, die by de Comp. ongeusiteert zyn, en dat volgens zekeren cours die men den cours van dat land noemt, voortaan zulk geld niet anders zal mogen werden aangenomen dan voor zilver tot negotie dienende, en gevolgelyk by het gewigte, en pro rato van dies gehalte naar den cours van het evengem. zilver door geheel Indien uyt de nieuwe reductie der ropias (tot 30) en van de ducatons (tot 78 Sts. swaar geld :) genoegsaam afteneemen :

En gedibereert hoedanig zulx met betrekking tot de Madureesche Fannums so 'S Comps. eygen gemunte, als andere behoord te werden verstaan

Is op de propositie, en conform het begrip van den heere gouverneur dien aangaande g'arresteert de fannums die van eygene reek. van de Comp. ter voorsch. Custe geslagen zyn en werden, tot nader ordre van welgem. haar Edelheedens als eene bekende, en door de Comp. selve ingevoerde munte waar op men staat maken kan, te laten cours houden by de boeken tot guldens, stuyvers, en penningen nogthans gereduceerd, en in gelyker voegen met de veritable Madureesche fannums die voortaan in betaling van koopmanschappen nog ontvangen, of uyt noodzakelykeyt tot voortsetting van de lywaats procure voor pagoden ingewisselt mogten werden, voor eerst te handelen, tot dat 'S Comp. fannums overal gangbaar zullen zyn : met dien verstande nogthans, dat de overwalsche bedientens zullen moeten zorge dragen van dese bedorven munt specie altoos geene meer te ontvangen in betaling van goederen, veel min in te wisselen als sy kans sien wederom van de hand te zetten en in contrarie gevalle hetselve voor haar reek : en verantwoording sullen moeten neemen.

Zynde wyders ook goed gevonden om de gemeente hier te lande by publicatie en affixie van een billiet, of advertissement bekent te maken dat van nu af aan uyt kragte van hoog gem. haar Edelhedens gunstige concessie, de ropias, en goede wigtige ducatons, de eerstgem. tot dertig en de andere tot agt en seventig sware stuyvers 't stuk, alomme onder het ressort deses gouvernements so wel als elders in 'S Comps. cassa zullen worden geaccepteert, op dat een ieder daarna kan reguleeren.

Alverder na resumptie van opgem. haer hoog Edelens circulaire missive, in deliberatie genomen zynde, hoedanig, of tot wat prysen de pagoden, en andere thans alomme om de west van Indien gepermitteerde geld specien voortaan hier te lande op wissel naar het Vaderlant te accepteeren ; Is op den voorstel van den heere gouverneur verstaan voor ditmaal de pagoden tegens 96, de ducatons tot 78 en de ropias tot 30 sware stuvyers 't stuk op wissel naar het Vaderlant wel aanteneemen, tot gerief der geenen die eenige gelden hebben over te maken, dog egter by wyze van precautie het surplus tot 12 sware stuyvers op de pagoden en ducatons en zes stuyvers per ropia daarenboven door de respective telders op een aparte recipisse by provisie in cassa te doen overbrengen, om also genamptiseert te blyven tot tyd en wyle haar hoog Edelen sig dat poinct aangaande nader zullen hebben gelieven te expliceeren, en als dan onder intrecking der verleende recipissen voor de Comp. aangehouden, dan wel aan haar wederom uyt gekeert te werden, nadat de ordre van hoog gedte. haar Edelhedens inhouden en dicteeren zal.

Vol. LXXIX., January 11, 1744.

Terwyl in de tweede plaatse betreffende het inwisselen van fannums aan de overwal, goed gevonden wierd de bedientens maar eenelyk over te wysen, tot de jongste beveelen der heeren meesteren op dat subject, vervat by haar Edelen Hoog Agtb. gevenereerde missive aan generaal en raden tot Batavia van dato 28 Aug. 1742, dese regeering onlangs in extract bedeelt, en aldus luydende :

" Voorts heeft het ons zeer ontstigt uyt de geciteerde missive der Ceylonsche ministers te zien dat dezelve hadden bestaan om alle koopmanschappen aan de overwal even als in vorige tyden wederom voor fannums te laten slippen, gerekent tegens 6¾ ligte stuyvers het stuk, onaangesien UE. de ministers deses gouvernements hadden gelast by missive van den 27 July 1740 geen fannums aan te neemen dan tegens 6 stuyvers het stuk . . . .

vervolgens hebben geresolveert ingevolge van UE. resolutie van 27 July 1740 op dit respect genomen tot redres en herstellinge van de byna desperate lywaten negotie ter vorengem. kuste de fanums te reduceeren by provisie op 6 ligte stuyvers, sonder dat voortaan fanums by de berekening van S'Comps. boeken zullen werden g'admitteert, maar de winsten moeten werden berekend by guldens, latende het accepteeren van fanums over ter verantwoording van de bedientens onder den anderen, ten eynde die daardoor te doen toesien, dat sy die die munt niet meerder nog duurder aannemen als zy die weder konnen uytgeven."

Vol. LXXIX., April 28, 1744.

En waar by consteerende, dat overmits de absolute weigering van alle kooplieden in 't generaal om sig met S'Comps. eygen fannums te laten betalen . . . al wilde men zelfs fan. van 4½ : insteede van 3¾ zo als tegenwoordig laten slaan, de bedientens contrarie haar hoog Edelens zo ernstige recommendatie om de munterye met kragt voort te zetten, en gestadig aan de gang te houden, goed gevonden hebben by provisie met munten uyttescheyden om met die ongewilde specie niet over kropt te geraken . . .

Zo is goedgenvonden hetselve te approbeeren . . . tot dat men gesien hebbe of het expedient om geen goederen anders als voor S'Comps. eygene fannums uyt de pakhuysen te laten volgen van een gewenscht succes sy, ofte niet, en zo ja, als dan aanstonds met alle magt wederom voort te munten : waar tegens den heere gouverneur den Secretaris ordonneerde aan te teekenen zyn Edelens gevoelen te wesen dat men zich door de voorsch. weygering in geenendeele behoorde te laten afschrikken . . . en de hoop verloren geeft om ooyt dat werk in effe te krygen, als om dat 113000 fannums die tot nog toe in 't geheel maar geslagen syn, in een land van die uitgestrektheyd als de Madurese Cust weinig beschieten kunnen.

Vol. LXXXIII., January 8, 1745.

Door het ongewoon gebrek aan duyten, waardoor byna den dagelyksen handel stil staat, en voornamentlyk den inkoop van arreek word gestremt, alzo de bovenlanders niets anders dan duyten voor de vrugt willen accepteeren, is goed gevonden de kleine party, die van die kopere munt nog in de groote geld cassa is, aan den Cassier af te geven, om door denzelven weder aan den ontfanger van den arreek verstrekt te worden, mitsgaders by een billiet het verwisselen voor opgeld van die koper munt wel scherpelyk te interdiceeren, en een iegelyk te recommendeeren om alle het geene hy boven zyn dagelyks gerief onder zich heeft, in S'Comps. kleene geld cassa te brengen, waarvoor hem ropias of pagoden in plaatse zal werden gegeven in hoope dat men op het van hier afgegane circulair schryvens wel wat ontset van de subalterne buyten comptoiren krygen zal niet alleen, maar dat de vorwagt werdende vaderlandse scheepen ons daaromtrent uyt onse grootste verlegentheyd helpen zullen.

Vol. LXXXVI., July 11, 1746.

Dewyl haar hoog Edelens hebben gelieven qualificatie te geven tot het munten van bazaroekken zo als dat de leden kwam te blyken by extract uyt haar hoog Edelens secreete brief de dato 24 7ber 1745 aan den heere gouverneur geschreven zo is goed gevonden eerstdaags een begin te maken met het munten van dat kleyne geld, welkers aloy en mengsel bestaan zal uyt halff lood en thin, doende deselve gangbaar zyn tegens 64 op een Hollandse dubbelde stuyver off 192 voor een schelling, die tot meerder gomak door middel van een snoertje door een gaatje in het midden aaneen geregen zullen konnen worden, zynde hare swaarte bepaald â 338 off daaromtrent op een pond. En is ook wyders het opzigt en de bezorginge van dat werk buyten en behalven de twee gecommitteerdens die dagelyks daar by zullen vaceeren d'E[s]. kooplieden Johannes van Sanden en Marcellus Bles aanbevolen, die dan ook gelast wierd de wormen, ovens en wat verders tot de gietinge van de munt specie nodig zal zyn, in gereetheyd te doen brengen.

Vol. XC., May 5, 1747.

Vervolgens maakte Zyn Edele de leeden bekent, dat thans alles wat tot de aangelegde bazaroek-gieterye nodig is door den koopman Marcellus Bles was in gereetheyd gebragt en dat werk eerstdaags een begin stond te nemen, zo wierd geresolveert, daar omtrent dese schikkinge te maken, dat namentlyk gemelte koopman Bles de directie en generale opzigte over de munterye zal hebben, en de onderkoopman Pieter Spiering met nog een bequaam boekhouder, die den E. opperkoopman van der Spar daartoe zal benoemen als vaste gecommitteerdens dagelyks by dat werk zullen vaceeren, welke alles wat daartoe hoord onder hare verantwoordinge zullen hebben, en zeer opléttend zullen moeten zyn, dat daarmeede opregt gehandelt en niets van die munt door het daar aan arbeydende volk of iemand anders gestolen word, zynde sufficante kisten beschikt waar in de spetie van lood en thin, de bazaroeken die daar van zullen gegoten worden, en vormen, ieder seperaat konnen geborgen worden, en om eens vooral een nette rekening te konnen maken ontrent het verlies, dat by het gieten en bewerken van de munt zal komen te vallen zo is goed gevonden d'E. Warnar Berghuys, Pieter Elders Schuthup en Govert van Allenhoven uyt deze vergadering te committeeren, om ten hunnen overstaan eenige ponden specie te laten afwegen, daar van een halven dag te doen gieten en de spillagie die daar op zal gevallen zyn, by een nadere overweginge als een vast verlies in het vervolg op die munterye te bepalen en af te schryven.

Vol. XCIII., October 12, 1748.

Vervolgens in serieuse overweging genomen zynde dat ingevolge de gedane publicatien met primo der aankomende maand Nov. de tyd verschenen zal zyn, dat de nieuwe Nagapatnamse pagoden, volgens haar hoog Eds. gerespecteerde ordre ook den desen eylande met een toegift van 8 P[s]/₀ op de 100 stux sullen moeten beginnen te roulleeren, en dat men op de bekomene nadere informatie der Cormandelse ministers ten dien belange ter resolutie van den 5 April deses jaars welgem. haar hoog Edelhs. ordre degrepen heeft mede te brengen, dat dese nieuwe munt zo wel by den uytgaaf als ontfang by parthyen en by de enkelde pagood met de voorsch. toegift van 8 ten hondert moet berekent uytgegeven en ontfangen worden, bedragende dus 88 $\frac{4}{5}$ Holl. sts. per pagood, en waaruyt dan komende te ontstaan de swarigheid hoe men door dese zeer ongerieflyke breuke van $\frac{4}{5}$ sts. in de behandling van dit geld van den anderen zoude geschieden raken, dewyl er geen kleene munt gevonden word, die sulks vereffenen kan, wat den dagelyksen handel betreft, so wierd op den voorstel van den heere gouverneur met eenparigheid van stemmen en op welgem. haar hoog Edelhedens approbatie als nu nader geresolveerd het voorsz: opgeld te stellen op acht Holl. Stuyvers netts per pagood, dat dan komt te bereekenen 88 stuyvers Holls. ieder pagood en agt en een derde pro cent of agt en een derde pagoden op een hondert pagoden ven dese nieuwe nagapatnamse munt om dus tebeter teregt en alle verwarringen, die ander met die quade breuk dagelyks zouden exteeren voor te komen mitsgaders van dit besluyt de subalterne Comtoiren tot narigt ten spoedigsten by extract deses kennis te geven.

Vol. XCVI., November 29, 1749.

Men nam vervolgens in rype deliberatie haar hoog Ed. ordre vervat by derselven hoog g'agte letteren van den 17 Oct. pass[o]. nopens het stellen der nieuwe Nagapatnamse Pagoden op 90 sware stuivers het stuk, of men zulx namentlyk ter Madureese kuste mede in train zoude kunnen brengen ? Waarover dan met den anderen aandagtelyk gebesoigneerd en vooral in aanmerking genomen zynde, dat men de kooplieden daar ter kuste

onafhankelyk van d'E.Comp. zynde niet noodsaken kan eenige munt anders te ontfangen als die daar gangbaar is, behalven dat de P^a/$_o$ aldaar doorgaans nog al voor meerder dan 90 stuivers word uitgegeven . . . waaromme resolveert ten opsigte dier geld spetie te Madureese kuste voor alsnog geen verandering te maken, maar op den ouden voet te laten continueeren.

Vol. CII., November 5, 1753.

Voorts wierd ter pligtschuldige observantie van hunne hoog' Edelheedens gevenereerde aparte missive van 13 Aug^o. pass^o. gearresteert om by placcaten bekent te maken en van de gewone puye aftekondigen, dat voortaan zo by ontvangst als uitgave S'Comps. weegen en particulier, alomme op dit eyland, de wigtige ducatons tegen twaalf schellingen het stuk zullen roulleeren en de ropyen alhier gangbaar en waarmede men hier temarkt komt mits dat ze ook deugdzaam en wigtig zyn tegen seven en twintig stuivers het ps., mitsgaders dat geen ander geld op assignatie na Nederland in de Cassa zal aangenomen werden dan goude pagoden en zulx tegen negentig stuivers het stuk met 4 ten hondert rabat voor de risico der zee.

Vol. CVII., November 12, 1756.

Waarna in overweging nemende het groot gebrek aan contanten ten desen gouvernemente waarvan men in cassa alhier byna niet meer heeft dan de 6000 ps. holl. gecartelde ducaton: Zo wierd goedgevonden om die nieuwe spetie met een merk op den Bataviasen voet te laten stempelen en zodanig uit te geven en te ontvangen tegen 22 schell. ieder, mitsgaders dat werk te laten geschieden ten overstaan van Justitieele gecommitteerdens ten meede bywesen van den E. hoofd administrateur Samlant.

Vol. CVII., December 1, 1756.

Vervolgens gesprooken zynde over de loode boezoeroeken die in a^o. 1746 alhier geslagen dog by de bovenlanders ten eenemaal ongewild en ongangbaar mitsgaders by s'Comps. eyge onderdanen maar een last post zynde als die deselve zo wel als de verdere dienaren niet dan als byna met dwang komen te ontfangen en waardoor men thans wel ruym 1500 rds. van dat geld in cassa heeft zonder te kunnen uytgeven, en ook niet zonder suspitie dat dese en geene baatzugtige menschen hun niet ontzien nogte geschroomt hebben die boezoeroeken na te gieten en die almede onder s'Comps. uyttegeven en te verspryden, gelyk men al bereets of niet lange na dat die munt gangbaar geraakt was zulx heeft ontdekt op de premie van 300 rds. die men ten sessie van 22 January 1748 belooft heeft aan den geenen die zal komen te ontdekken wie de maker of makers van die valsche munt syn, zo is verstaan in hoope van haar hoog Edelens goedkeuring deselve weder intetrekken, mitsgaders ten dien eynde een ygelyk by billietten daar van kennis te geven en alomme een termyn van agt dagen tebepalen om deselve wederom by de E.Comp: te brengen en in de kleyne geld cas by inwisseling tegens ander geld naar waarde te intrageeren, en gedurende dien tyd of tot het zien ontfangen van dat ongewild loodgeld door den cassier, telaaten vaceeren twee ondercooplieden welke nevens den cassier zullen moeten toezien dat er geen andere dan van S'Comps. eyge stempel ter inwisseling worden gebraght of ontfangen, en in cas van suspitie daar van kennis tegeven, intusschen ook de verdere uytgaaf van dat loodgeld gesurcheert telaten.

Vol. CVII., December 26, 1756.

En dewyl haar hoog Edelens ons daar by (brief van 30 7ber: laastleeden) hebben gelieven te ordonneeren om de cours der zilvere munt spetien onder dit Gouvernement wederom te stellen op den vorigen voet teweten de ducaton op 13 schell: de souratse ropyen tegens 30 stvs. de nieuwe schell: tot 7½ stvs. de dubb: stvs. voor 2½ en den duyt tegens –¼ stvs., zo wierd goedgevonden en verstaan ten eersten de respective groote en kleene cassas zo wel als by alle de geene die S'Comps. penn: onder haar administratie hebben zo wel hier als op de onderhoorige plaatsen te laten opnemen alle zodanige zilvere specien als aldaar te vinden mogten zyn, en de daar van intekomene rapporten met eede te doen bekragtigen, midsgaders vervolgens by billietten van wegens den ontfangst en uytgave dier munt specien, de gemeente kennisse te geven gelyk het behoord.

Vol. CVIII., January 7, 1757.

Vervolgens is op het ingekomen bericht dat de gemeente alhier scrupuleus geworden zynde uyt eygen beweging onder malkanderen weygerachtig is om de sogenaamde blaauwe stvs. dewelke nu een geruyme tyd lang als gangbaar geld ten desen eylande gerouleerd hebben t'accepteeren, zonder dat deselve door ons zyn afgeset off billion verklaard, goedgevonden en verstaan alle dienaren en onderdanen van de generale Nederlandsche oost indische comp. zoo wel Europeers als inlanders onder desen gouvernemente en onse commissie sorteerende by billietten bekent te maken dat de voorm. blaauwe stvs. door ons niet zyn afgeset of billion verklaard, met last aan deselve om gem. munt onder malkander gelyk bevorens voor goed en gangbaar geld uyttegeven en te ontfangen, deselve teffens preadverteerende dat by d'E.comp. zo wel in de kleene cassa als by alle de mindere administrateurs dat geld almeede zal werden ontfangen by geringe somma teweeten tot supplement der oneffene stuyvers boven de andere spetien als ducatons ropias etc.

Vol. CVIII., February 9, 1757.

Voorts opgelezen zynde een schriftelyk advys van den Wel Edelen groot agtb: heer gouverneur Jan Schreuder op de nadere verantwoording der Tutucorynse bediendens wegens de halve stuyver die op de successive aldaar ingesamelde retouren voor Nederland per rdr. te wynig aangerekend is; vond men goed met gemeld advys te conformeeren en die bediendens aanschryven, dat de redenen die zy by haar papier ter hunner verschooning avanceert, als

of het geval in questi dan wel dese halve stuyvers reek: een gevolg zoude zyn van haar hoog Edelens gevenereerde ordre van den 5 Nov. 1743 weder zo flaauw, verre gezogt en onsakelyk bevonden zyn, dat men zelfs niet begrypen kan hoe die bediendens hebben durven onderstaan iets tot hun defensie te allegeeren dat daar toe geen de alderminste relatie heeft, want welgem. haar hoog Edelhedens spreken by voorsz. geciteerde ordre eenlyk van fanums die door ons zelfs gestempeld worden, dat die vooreerst en zolange de schaarsheyd van dat geld en de toenmalige gehalte van deselve duurte wel by de boeken mogten lopen tegens 4⅘ Stvs. het stuk, waar van dan 10 : stux op een rdr. gerekend niet meer dan 47½ Stvs. uytmaken en het welk by gevolg geen de minste betrekking hebben kan tot de cóhtanten waarvoor de lywaten pro patria ingekogt zyn.

En voorts ofschoon men de hier voren geciteerde ordre al konde verdragen en ten cas subject applicabel maken, zo zoude deselve evenwel niet langer hebben konnen en mogen stand grypen als men elk fanum tegens 4⅘ stvs. berekende, en dus in het volgend jaar of in a°. 174⅘ al weder hebben moeten cesseeren om dat men die munt toen al tot 4⅘ stvs. het stuk gereduceert en 10 stux net een rdr. of 48 stvs. uytmaakten.

Vol. CX., September 17, 1757.

Eyndelyk of in de laatste plaatse in de vergadering opgelezen zynde, de periode uyt de zeer gevenereerde generale missive der heeren XVII in dato 4 October 1756 aan haar hoog Edelens te Batavia geschreven en ons dezer dagen met de komste van het retourschip Zuyderburg in Extract toegebragt continueerende ordre om zo wel ten desen gouvernemente als ter kuste Chormandel geen andere muntspetie op assignatie na Nederland in S'Comps. cas te accepteeren dan goude Nagapatnamse pagoden, tot 90 stuyvers het stuk met 4 pro cento rabat, of eygenlyk om in Nederland gerombourseerd te worden met 86⅖ stuyvers ofte f.4: 6: 6⅖ in steede van 86⅓⅔ stuyvers, die by dat geeerbiede extract daar voor gesteld zyn : Overmids nu daar by geen mentie gemaakt werd van het bevoorens geordonneerde door welgem. haar hoog Ed. groot agtbaarheedens by gerespecteerde missive van den 17 Oct. 1754 dat namentlyk aan de brouwers geaccordeerd geworden is . . . . omtrent de spetien en het in cassa tellen van deselve, dat indien de ducatons ten desen eylande door schaarsheid als anderzints hooger als 78 stuyvers roulleeren mogten, het als dan aan de correspondenten der afladers vrystaan zoude de waarde van de 18 ducatons voor ieder vat bier, by het twaalfde articul het getroffen accoord gespecificeerd, in andere zilvere spetien te mogen tellen die dan door ons zouden moeten worden geaccepteerd tegens zooveel stuyvers, als ieder derzelver in de wandeling gangbaar geweest waeren, voor de publicatie van haar hoog Edelens placaat van den 6 Nov. 1753, den cours der geldspetien betreffende ten eynde de waarde van het getal der ducatons, tegens 78 stuyvers ieder gerekent zynde, aan de E.Comp. dusdanig te konnen voldoen, zo zag men vervolgens hier over ook na de gevenereerde ordres die ten belange der geldspetien en het tellen van dezelve op assignatie successive door haar hoog Ed. naa herwaarts geexpedieerd, mitsgaders speciaal by derzelver hoogst gerespecteerde missive van den 31 Aug. 1753 te vinden zyn, alzo dieselve muntspetie of de ducaton op twaalf schellingen ofte 72 stuyvers en de ropyen op 27 stuyvers gestelt zyn, en dese regeering teffens gelast is, om geen andere spetie op assignatie in S'Comps. cassa te accepteeren dan de pagoden tegens 90 stuyvers ieder met 4 ten hondert rabat het geent dan ook ten desen Eylande zoodanig geobserveerd en in practyk gebleeven is tot den 16 Jan. 1755, wanneer men van hoogst gedagte haar hoog Ed. by geeerde missive van den 9 Nov. 1754 naderen last ontfing gegrond op een besluyt van den 20 Sept. bevorens aan de hooge tafel genomen dat namentlyk iemand ten deesen gouvernemente hondert pagoden zonder opgeld in Cassa tellende, daar voor eene assignatie ontfangen zoude van 450 guldens, om in Nederland betaalt te worden ; zynde dus ieder pagood gerekent op. f. 4 : 10 zuyver, zonder eenig opgeld of wissel verlies ; en voor 100 Ducatons een dirgelyk bewys van 360 guldens, dat is voor ieder ducaton in voegen als vooren f. 3. 12, mitsgaders voor 100 getelde gangbaare ropyen, een assignatie van 135 guldens, of voor ieder ropy f. 1. 7 limpo, welke ordre wyders gevolgt is van hoogst gedagte haar hoog Ed. nadere schikking, by gevenereerde missive van 30 Sept. 1756, waar by de cours der zilvere munt spetien weederom gesteld werd op den vorigen voet te weeten, de ducaton op 13 schellingen of 78, de Souratse ropy op 30, een nieuwe schelling op 7½, en de dubbelde stuyver op 2½ stuyver, mits omtrent de assignaties in Europa blyvende by de bevoorens ten dien opsigte gestelde en zoo even aangehaalde ordre schoon men nu hier by zo min als by die der hoog Ed. heeren XVII iets vind, ten opsigte van het gemaakte contract met de meermelde brouwers, of het tellen van penningen door derselver gemagtigdens alhier op assignatie ; zo is egter uyt aanmerking der positive ordre van hoogst gedagte heeren XVII op de propositie van den Ed. heer gouverneur met eenparigheid van stemmen goedgevonden vooreerst en tot nadere ordre van haar hoog Ed. geen andere spetien op assignatie na Nederland te accepteeren, als nieuwe Nagapatnamse pagoden tegens f. 4. 10 om in het Vaderland met 4 pro cento rabat ofte f. 4. 6. 6 het stuk weder voldaan te worden.

Vol. CXXIV., February 10, 1761.

De Tutucorynse bediendens by brieve van 31 January passato versogt hebbende, vermits aldaar geen Goud ter vermunting tot Pagoden meer aan handen was en den lywaat handel nog na wensch vlottede, dat sy ten spoedigste met geld mogten g'assisteerd werden ; is verstaan by eerste gelegentheid 10000 Nagapatnamse Pagoden derwaarts te zenden.

Vol. CXXVIII., June 1, 1763.

Nademaal de Tutucorynse Bediendens by Missive van den 9 May J°. leeden ongeagt ons genomen en hun reeds toegesonden besluyt van den eersten Maart bevoorens, egter als nog by aanhoudinge en op het kragtigste blyven versoeken, om ten minsten maar by provisie eens voor 4000 Rds. aan fanums temogen laten slaan, intussen men van haar hoog Edelheedens ordres derwegens zal hebben erlangt, en de verzogte quantiteit tog zo veel niet is, waar by ook komt, dat de bediendens met zo veel ruymte en ernst aan de toesteminninge van dat verzoek onder verzekeringe dat daar in geene de minste swarigheid resideerd, al vry veel goede evenementen en uyt den weg ruyminge van Capitale inconvenienten toeschryven, 't geen men van hun als daar leggende, niet wel ongereflecteerd diende te laten, zo wierd na dat den gesw: klerk Gratiaan met Extract uyt voorm. Tutucoryns brief by d E. leeden rond gesonden was, op de propositie van den wel Edelen heer Gouverneur unanime goedgevonden en verstaan eens voor een preuve het slaan van 4000 Rds. aan fanums te accordeeren, mits deselve voor der bediendens eyge resico geslagen, item by de boeken niet als fanums maar als pagoden gelyk van ouds bekent en daarom ook de weinige winst die er op mogte vallen, voor eerst niet berekent, maar daar van een aparte aantekeninge tot nadere gehouden werde, dewyl de Comp. dog van geen fanums by de boeken willende weeten wel tevreeden zoude zyn, indien ze in dit geval maar geld om geld erlangd en bovendien haare oogmerken beryken mag.

Vol. CXXXI., May 25, 1764.

Noch werd verstaan hier te insereeren een van ginter ontvangen rendement van vermunt goud bestaande in 385 marq. 1 onc en 9 eng met het schip Damsicht uyt Nederland alhier aangebragt en met het schip Giesenburg van hier naar de overwal gesonden, aanwysende dat by het vermunten van het zelve ¼ pr. co. schaers of f. 283 : 19 verlooren is.

Bevinding of Rendement van 385 Mark 1 onc 9 Engels Goud ongemunt aan 16 baaren gelyk hieronder gespecificeert staat welk goud onder meerder . . . per. 't schip Giesenburg alhier aangebragt : welke ter g'eerde ordre van den E. E. gebiedende heer Godfried Zweepe opperkoopman en opperhoofd der Custe Madure door d'E. Johan Hartwig Kuhfahl onderkoopman en Administrateur alhier uyts Comps. groote geld cassa in de munt verstrekt tot slaan van Nieuwe Tutucorynse Pagoden vervolgens door den Essayeur Jan Collet g'Essayeert en door my ondergeschrevene Muntmeester ten byweesen der gekommitteerdens den Jr. assistent Jan Collet en voorleser Paulus des Cotes behoorlyk doen verdeelen, mengen, smelten, en tot gruis gieten mitsgaders de munters inhandight, Namentlyk:

Mark.	Onc.	Eng.	Pag.	Swaarte	
201	—	4	14524	$\frac{8}{160}$	Aan 10 Baaren goud
184	1	5	13305	$\frac{1}{1}\frac{7}{28}$	Aan 6 Baaren goud
385	1	9	27829	$\frac{2}{8}\frac{2}{4}\frac{1}{6}$	Aan 16 Baaren goud
—	1	—	9	$\frac{1}{32}$	aan 16 hier getrokkene halve proeve à 1¼ Eng. ieder aan de administrateur te bewaring in de groote geld cassa afgegeven
385	—	9	27826	$\frac{2}{8}\frac{0}{4}\frac{1}{6}$	Rest aan goud.
26	2	16¾	1904	$\frac{3}{2}\frac{2}{3}\frac{3}{80}$	aan geraffineert kooper Japans hierby gedaan om hetzelve te breagen op het gehalte der Nagapatnamse pagoden van 19 caraat 2⅞ gryn.
411	3	5¾	29724	$\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{5}\frac{3}{8}\frac{7}{6}$	goud en koper tesamen.
—	2	16½	25	$\frac{6}{1}\frac{1}{2}\frac{7}{80}$	by het breken der staven en smelten verloren.
411	—	9¼	29698	$\frac{2}{2}\frac{2}{5}\frac{7}{8}\frac{8}{6}$	Blyft.
—	2	4¼	19	$\frac{2}{2}\frac{0}{5}\frac{1}{8}\frac{3}{6}$	by het wederom smelten en gruysen verloren.
410	6	5	29678	$\frac{1}{1}\frac{3}{2}\frac{1}{8}$	Rest nog.
—	—	1¼	—	$\frac{2}{1}\frac{4}{1}\frac{9}{2}$	aan 1 proefje als vooren overgegeven g' Essayeert op 19 caraat 2⅞ gryn ruym.
410	6	3¾	29678	$\frac{1}{5}\frac{4}{1}\frac{1}{2}$	blyft nog.
—	—	2½	1	$\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{5}\frac{1}{6}$	aan 2 proeven van twee geslagen pagoden uytden heelen hoop door een in de munt onbekent persoon gelangt en te presentie van den E. fiskaal en twee Justitie leeden g'essayeert op 19 Caraat 2⅞ gryn ruym.
410	6	1¼	29677	$\frac{1}{5}\frac{2}{1}\frac{9}{1}$	Dus zuyver gehouden gerekent à 72¼ Pagoden swaarte ieder mark uytmakende Pagoden 29677. 4⅞ fanums.

Voor Zilversmits of munters	Pag.	3	1	—		
,, den schryver of Bramine	,,	—	2	—		
,, ,, smelter of kopersmit	,,	—	1	¼		
,, 't verlies	,,	—	—	¾		
	Pagoden.	3	5	—		
Gereduceert tegens kust fan^s. 22½ per Pag. is pag. 39 per miel ..					.. Pag. 95.11¾	
Voor koolen	Pag.	—	12	—		
,, oly gruys potten pannen limoenen tamarindo en oud doek tot het bekleeden der kroesen		—	6	—		
,, pioens of Laskoryns		—	—	½		
	Pag.	—	18	½		
Gereducert als vooren is pag. $\frac{3}{4}\frac{7}{5}$ per miel					Pag. 24.7½	
	Gaat af Pag.					120 — ½
	Blyft pag. 29557		4	¼		

Waarvan in maniere als vooren aan den E.fiskaal en leeden ter overbrenging in de groote geld cassa overgegeven ..	2	—
Blyft voor de Massa Pagooden ..	29555	4¼
Treke af Mark 26. 2 onc. 16¾ Eng. geraffineert dan wel 18¼ lb. ongeraffineert kooper Japans kosten ..	1	4½
Rest pagoden ..	29553	18½
Voege hier wederom by de waarde van 3¾ Eng. uyt voorsz: Massa overgegeven ..	1	13
Teld pagoden ..	29555	13½
Stelle in de groote cassa afgegeven ..	2	—
Addeert pag. ..	29557	13½

Voorschrevene Mark 201.—. 4 Eng. zyn mark fyn 171 Caraat 22 gryn $5\frac{3}{8}\frac{2}{4}\frac{1}{6}$ berekent â f. 400.—.—½ mark fyn naer aftrek der proeven van 12½ Eng. ten kosten van f. 26. 14. 8 p^s. ..	f. 68747. 11. 8	
Voorschreven mark 184. 1. 5 Eng. zynde mark fyn 157 Car. 7 gryn $2\frac{7}{16}$ berekent â f. 400.—.—.½ mark fyn naar aftrek der proeven van 7½ Eng. ten kosten van f. 16.—. 8 p^s. ..	f. 62904. —. 8	
Dus komt weesentlyke te bedragen den ontfangst ..	..	f. 131651.12.—
Waarvan gelyk vooren gezegt naer detractie der daar op gevallene ongelden voor de Comp. geslagen zyn pagoden 29557 $\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{5}$ makende tot f. 399.—. 2 p^s. ruym de Mark fyn ..	..	131367.13.—
Gesubtracteert zynde zo verthoont zig by dese vermunting een verlies van ¼ pr. co. schaars of	..	f. 283.19.—

Tutucoryn den 28 Maert Anno 1764

(was geteekent) F. Damman

(in margine) bereekent (geteekent) J. Collet en Paulus des Cotes.

Vol. CXXXVI., February 11, 1766.

De Heer Raed Extra-ordinaris van India en Kormandels Gouverneur Pieter Haksteen, den heer Gouverneur onderhouden hebbende, dat daer ter kuste in de wandeling waeren Portonovose Pagoden, die wel twee schellingen minder in alloy waren bevonden, dan de nieuwe Nagapatnamse, om welke reeden zy ook te Nagapatnam waeren billioen verklaard, doch by menigte naer Ceylon overgebragt wierden, met versoek dat alhier een expedient daer tegen mogte uitgevonden worden, wyl de Nagapatnamse munt daer sterk door leedt, en baatzuchtigen de nieuwe Nagapatnamse

pagoden tegen ondeugende Portonovosche met vier percento agio opwisselden, die ze dan op Portonovo weeder lieten vermunten. Zo werd op de propositie van den heer Gouverneur verstaen. geene Portonovose pagoden, zoo hier als op de onderhoorige komptoiren in s'Comps. kassa te accepteeren, en sulx by biljetten door geheel Ceylon tedoen affigeeren, op dat de gemeente zich voor schade kan wachten, en voorts in der tyd nader te besluiten om die ondeugende munt even als te Nagapatnam in 't geheel voor ongangbaar te verklaeren.

Vol. CXXXVI., April 26, 1766.

Hierna kommuniceerde de heer Gouverneur by de jongst van Nagapatnam ontfangen aanreekening der herwaerts gezondene 50000 nieuwe Nagapatnamse pagoden ontwaerd te hebben, dat de Kormandelse ministers deese plaets ieder pagood aanreekenen tegens 96 stuivers insteede van sulx, gelyk in voorige jaaren steeds gebruikelyk was, teegens $88\frac{5}{9}$ stuivers te doen.

En gemerkt dit konfusie baeren zoude, omdat men de pagoden, die tot voortzetting der lywaat handel naer Tutucoryn gezonden worden, niet hooger dan tegens 90 stuivers ieder aanreekent zo werd eenparig gearresteert het surplus, van $7\frac{4}{9}$ stuivers op ieder pagood Nagapatnam by eerste gelegenheid weder terug te reekenen en de Ministers te onderrichten dat wel is waar de wissels, van hier op Nagapatnam getrokken, de nieuwe Nagapatnamse pagood, volgens resolutie deeser tafel van den 22 October 1765 tegen twee rds. of 96 stuivers bereekent, doch dat dit enkel geschiet om baatzuchtige particulieren niet ten koste van de komp. te doen profiteeren van de winst die volgens de berekening der boeken op de pagood zoude tebehaalen weezen, welke reeden geen betrekking heeft op de gesondene 50000 die alleen voor den Tutucorynschen lywaat handel zyn geeyscht.

Vol. CXL., July 27, 1767.

De betaeling der pachtpenn: zal moeten geschieden, aen den ontvanger in pagooden tegen 90, nieuwe gekartelde Ducatons tegen 80, oude ducatons tegen 78, en Souratse Ropyen tegens 30 stuivers ieder, en ook in duiten.

Vol. CXLIV., January 17, 1769.

Door de bedienden (van Jafna) verzoek gedaan zynde, om qualificaatsie tot het overzenden van het koper geld dat aldaar boven de benoodigheid in voorraad is, en daar op aengemerkt wezende, dat men hier almede met een groote meenigte duiten is bezwaard, en dat Trinconemale van sgelyken zulk een groot restant heeft, dat het wel voor anderhalf jaar ruim voorzien is, doch dat onder de gemeente te Jafna noch al zilvere ropyen roulleeren, die daar voor geen dertig stuivers en somtyds ook dukatons gangbaer zyn, die men dus gemakkelyk zal kunnen opwisselen de ropyen tegen 30 en de gekartelde ducaton voor 80 stuivers.

Zoo wierd goedgevonden en beslooten de bedienden te qualificeeren om zilvere ropyen voor kopere duiten voor 30 stuivers op te wisselen, en gekartelde dukatons tegen 80 stuivers en dit zilvergeld herwaarts te zenden.

Vol. CXLVI., October 30, 1769.

Dat hoog gedachte Regeering by evengem. schryven (18 July 1768) in de eerste plaatse tot den grondslag van haere redeneering verondersteld hadde, dat men hier goud genoeg zoude aen handen krygen, om de opgenomene pagoden te kunnen te rugge geeven, doch dat het tegendeel van dien zeeder bevonden was, en als noch exsteerde, en dat de beveelen van hoogstdezelfde nopens de pagood van 90 stuivers op assignaetsien op zich zelve wel stellig waren; doch met de voorgaende passagie vergeleken wordende, eer voor een verbod, om voortaan op dien voet geene pagooden te negootsieeren, moesten gehouden worden, dan voor een verbod, ten opzichte der reets genegootsieerden het welk ook de uitdrukkingen "Extraordinaire hulpmiddelen," en "zullen behoeven te treeden," nader scheenen aen te duiden, en dat boven dit alles het akcepteeren van de pagooden teegen 90 stuivers in Nederland zonder wissel verlies, inderdaad en voor zoo verre men op de intrinsique waerde der hier roulleerende Muntspecien acgt gaf, voordeeliger was, dan het accepteeren van zilvere ongekartelde dukatons teegen 78 stuivers met $7\frac{9}{13}$ rabat of van zilvere Soeratsche ropyen teegen 30 stuivers met een rabat van 10 per cent, aengesien by de nieuwe reduksie of zoogenaemde prys coerant der geldspeetsien tot Nederlandsch geld de Ceilonsche, en dus ook de daermede in gehalte gelyk staende nieuwe Nagapatnamse pagood, op 83 stuivers, de oude ongekartelde dukatons op 63 stuivers, en de zilvere Soeratsche ropy op 24 stuivers Nederlandsch geld gesteld waeren, en dienvolgende 100 nieuwe pagoden met 130 dukatons en 47 stuivers en met 345 soeratsche ropyen en 20 stuivers gelyk stonden.

Vol. CXLVII., March 30, 1770.

Is op de propositie van den heere Gouverneur goedgevonden en verstaan tot meerder gemak in de dagelykschen handel, de pagoden by ontvangst en uitgaeve in de kleine kas, te doen bereekenen ider teegens 101 stuiver in plaetze van $100\frac{20}{33}$ indisch geld en daer van by extract deeses de noodige Advertentie te geeven, aen den kassier van Kolombo en dien van Gale, en den bedienden van het Negocie komptoir mits desen te gelasten om den meerderen koers van $\frac{13}{33}$ stvs. indisch ten faveure van 't generael in te nemen, zoo meenigmael de kleine kas pagoden ter uitgave krygt.

Vol. CXLVIII., June 9, 1770.

Uit aanmerking dat de reedenen van het besluit deeser tafel van den 11 February 1766 om geen Portonovosche Pagooden in s'Comps. cassa te ontvangen, seedert het verlaegde allooi van de nieuwe Nagapatnamse en Tutukorynse pagoden niet meer exteeren tenminsten dat het rouilleeren daer van voor zoo veel Ceylon aengaet aen s' Comps. pagoden munt op Nagapatnam niet hinderlyk schynt te kunnen weezen, en wyl buiten dit gebrek aen zilveren specien genoodzaakt heeft om de Portonovosche pagooden, uit den handel van olifanten geploflueerd, tot de dagelykschen uitgaven zoo hier als op Gale, te emploieeren, en den koers daarvan blykens besluit van den 30 Maart j.l. te bepalen op 101 Indische stuivers. Is na deliberaetsie goedgevonden en verstaan te resilieeren het voorz. besluit, en dat dienvolgende het derweegens gepubliceerde biljet van den 22 february 1766 zal worden ingetrokken.

Vol. CXLIX., November 12, 1770.

Is na deliberaetsie goedgevonden en verstaan tot meerder verklaring van het geresolveerde deeser tafel van den 30 Maart j.l. nopens den cours der gouden pagoden, by deesen te arresteeren, dat de by voorsz. besluyt bepaelde cours der pagoden tot 101 stuivers het stuk, alleen plaats hebben zal, wanneer iemand in de kleene kas insteede van andere munt specien met pagooden betaelt, en dat ook dien volgende een ieder die gelt uyt de kleene kas ontfangt elke pagood tegens 101 stuivers moet aannemen, doch dat by 't overbrengen van pagooden uyt de groote kas na de klyne kas, dezelve naer de by de kompenie bepaelde waarde van 100$\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{3}$ stuivers het stuk zullen bereekent worden by de Negocieboeken, en de kassier ook voor geen hooger waerde zal worden gedebiteerd, tot voorkoominge van gedurige in- en af-schryvingen.

Vol. CLXI., December 31, 1776.

Vermits de voor weinige dagen van Jaffnapatnam ontvangen 7000 stux pagoden zyn bevonden alle Portonovosche te wesen, waer uit genoeg blykt, dat met voordagt geen andere dan zulke pagoden door de kooplieden van Kormandel aldaer worden aengebragt; zo is om den aenvoer van kompenies pagoden te animeeren, goedgevonden en verstaen de bedienden te qualificeeren om deselve aen te neemen tegen 83 Stvs. Ned. ofte 100$\frac{2}{3}\frac{0}{3}$ stvs. Ind. met last om de Portonovosche pagoden niet hooger dan tegen den ouden prys van 96 stuivers Ind. aentenemen.

Vol. CLXIX., November 23, 1780.

Zyn geleezen en geapprobeerd de resol. van den 17 dezer waer van verstaan is deze aantekening te houden vermits men ontwaard heeft, dat de Keiserdaalders en Spaansche reaelen, die zederd eenigen tyd alhier zyn aangebragt, met voordeel na de kust Kormandel worden verwoerden en verwisseld tegen Portonovosche pagoden, wyl dezelve schoon meerder in waarde, alhier maar voor twee ropyen gangbaar zyn, en vermits uit een berigt van den muntmeester Damman gebleken is, dat de Keiserdaalder is in essai bevonden 10 penn: 1 gryn, en heeft gewogen 18$\frac{7}{16}$ Eng. en dus na de intrinsique waarde 't zilver op 26 'mark fyn gerekent te staan komt op 54$\frac{3}{8}$ stv^{s}. Ned., en dat in zelver voegen de Spaense reael, of piaster, van den nieuwsten muntslag is in essai bevonden 10 penn. 17 gryn, en heeft gewogen 17$\frac{8}{16}$ Eng. en dus na de intrinsique waarde te staan komt op 50$\frac{7}{8}$ stv^{s}. Nederlands mitsgaders dat deeze twee muntspecien, tegens de intrinsique waarde van een Soeratsche ropy, die in essai houd 11 penn. 16 gryn, en op 23$\frac{1}{2}$ stv^{s}. Ned. te staan komt, vergeleken zynde, meerder aan waarde hebben, dan twee Suratsche ropyen als de Keiserdaalders 7$\frac{3}{8}$ stv^{s}. ende piaster 3$\frac{7}{8}$ stv^{s}. beiden Ned. geld, zo is goedgevonden en verstaan de Keiserdaalders en Spaansche reaelen beiden gangbaar te verklaeren tegen drie en sestig stv. Ind. en den kassier Reintous te qualificeeren, om de zelve tegen deezen prys in Kompenies Kas aan te neemen, en zulks wyl de Keiserdaalder schoon meerder in waarde door de kusthandelaers minder gezogt wordt, dan de Spaensche reael.

Vol. CLXXI., July 12, 1781.

Onder de bylaegen van de met het schip Willem Fredrik aangebragte papieren ontvangen zynde een advertissement van den 10 Maert 1780, waar by hunne hoog Edelheden alle Suratsche persiaansche en Bengaalsche arkatsche ropyen, even als de bataviasche gangbaar verklaeren tegen dertig swaere stuivers ider, waar voor dezelve by de kompenie zullen ontvangen en uitgegeven worden.

Zoo is hier over gedelibereert en in aanmerking genomen, dat hoe wel onze order voornamentlyk voor Batavia schynt geschikt te zyn, dezelve echter met nog meer reeden op Ceilon kan geappliceert worden, waar ongelyk minder zilvere speetsien als te Batavia roelleeren, en wyl men daer door waarschynlyk de slegte portonovosche pagooden zooveel te beter zal kunnen wegkrygen, en weg doen blyven, En is dienthalven goedgevonden en verstaan het voormelde advertissement hier en op de onderhoorige kantooren op Ceilon te laeten publiceeren, met last en bevel om voor gemelde zoorten van ropyen aanteneemen en uittegeven, mitsgaders te akcepteeren en onder den anderen te laeten roelleeren als en goede gangbaere zilvere munt tegen de prys van derting Ind^{s}. stuivers ieder ropy.

Vol. CLXXI., November 30, 1781.

Wyl men het niet langer konde wagen op Tutukoryn pagooden te munten, weshalven ook de omslag van de munt naar Kolombo is ontbooden, waar van de muntmeester Damman met de voornaamste munt gereedschappen reets alhier is aangekomen, en de inlandsche munters waarschynlyk binnen korten zullen volgen, zoo is door den heer Gouveneur in overweeging gegeven, of men in deze tyds omstandigheeden niet wel de munt te Kolombo konde opslaan, en een gedeelte van het voor Nagapatnam gedestineerde goud tot pagooden laeten vermunten, die zeer waarschynlyk binnen korten zullen van pas koomen; En is na deliberaatsie goedgevonden en verstaan dit voorstel mits deezen te amplekteeren, en op Kolombo een munt aanteleggen, om zoodra de inlandsche munters komen opdagen pagooden te munten.

Vol. CLXXII., April 2, 1782.

Wyl de Kompenies pagooden die op $100\frac{20}{33}$ stuivers Indiasch te staan komen ter vermyding van moeyelyke breuken volgens resoluutsie van den 30 Maart 1770, op 101 stuivers Indiasch geld gesteld zyn, reets veel jaaren onder partikulieren roulleeren tegen 102 stuivs. en zelfs tans hooger worden verwisseld is goedgevonden en verstaan de alhier geslaagene Pagooden door den Kassier alhier en elders te laaten uitgeven tegen 102 stuivers Indiasch en derhalven ook voortaan nieuwe Nagapatnamsche en Tutukorynsche Pagooden in 's Kompenies Kas te laaten ontvangen tegen denzelven prys van 102 Ind. stuivers.

Vol. CLXXIV., February 4, 1783.

Weegens het nog aanhoudend en dagelyks toenemend gebrek aan schyde munt, is op de propositie van den Heer Gouverneur goedgevonden en verstaan kopere doedoes te laten slaan van een duyt het stuk, die bevoorens op Ceilon in wandeling zyn geweest en op Jaffanapatnam nog roulleeren; mitsgaders ten zelfden einde de alhier gemunte goude fanums te laten uitgeeven teegen vyf Indische stuiver het stuk.

Vol. CLXXIV., February 13, 1783.

De Muntmeester Fredrik Damman bericht hebbende, dat het lange zal aanloopen tot men een noemwaardige party van kopere doedoes van een duyt zal kunnen munten, en dat het oogmerk om meer kopergeld in de wandeling te brengen aanmerkelyk verhaast zoude worden, indien men behalven de doedoes van eene duyt, ook andere liet slaan van vier duiten elk.

Zoo is na deliberaatsie goedgevonden en verstaan, gemelden muntmeester mit deezen te qualificeeren, om ook kopere doedoes van de waarde van vier duiten, of een Indische stuiver 't stuk te munten, even als bevoorens alhier geroulleerd hebben.

Vol. CLXXIV., May 12, 1783.

Tot vervulling van het dagelyks meerder toeneemende gebrek van kontante speetsien is na deliberaatsie goedgevonden en verstaan alhier zilvere ropyen te laaten munten na het alloi en gewicht van de Bataviasche ropyen en aan alle partikulieren vryheid te geeven, hun zilver in de munt te brengen en op dien voet te laaten vermunten, mits dezelve geneegen zyn de daar van komende ropyen aan de kompenie op intrest te geeven teegen half per Cento 'smaands waar van de gemeente alhier en op de onderhoorige Kantooren by biljetten zal worden verwittigd.

Vol. CLXXVI., March 5, 1784.

Vermits het besluit dezer tafel van den 12 Mey 1783 om alhier zilvere ropyen te laten munten na den Bataviaschen muntvoet door Hunne Hoog Edelheeden is geapprobeerd by gevenereerden brief van den 14 oktober 1783 en men buiten des geen voordeeligen uitweg weet met het van Batavia ontvangene baar zilver met het schip Willem Fredrik;

Zoo is na deliberaatsie goedgevonden en verstaan het gemelde zilver alhier te laten vermunten tot ropyen na het alloy en gewigt van de Bataviasche ropyen, en daar van by eerstkomende gelegentheid twee tot een monster aan Hunne Hoog Edelheeden te Batavia te zenden.

Vol. CLXXVI., April 1, 1784.

In overweeging genoomen zynde, dat indien de ropyen volgens het besluit dezer tafel van den 5 Maart na den Bataviaschen muntvoet gemunt worden, dezelve op de kust Kormandel niet zullen roulleeren en dus kompenies ingezeetenen in verlegentheid zullen gebragt worden, met een muntspeetsie, die ze buiten 's lands niet kunnen gebruiken.

En uit een berigt van den muntmeester Damman gebleeken zynde, dat het zilver, het welk het schip Willem Fredrik heeft aangebragt, volgens de ontvangene aanreekening tot ropyen van de Suratschen of Bombaysen muntvoet zonder verlies kan vermunt worden, en dat als dan nog eenige winst zal overschieten.

Zoo is met alteraatsie van het voormelde besluit na deliberaatsie goedgevonden en verstaan, het met het schip Willem Fredrik ontvangene zilver te laten vermunten tot ropyen naar een alloi en gewigt koomende ten naasten by over een met de Suratse en Bombayse ropyen, te weeten: dat elke ropy moet weegen seven en elf agtiende Engels en van alloi weezen elf penningen en sestien grynen, wanneer als dan nog eenige winst zoude overschieten, echter met last aan den muntmeester Damman, om voor de vermunting deeze bereekening nog maals natezien, ter verzekering, dat dat de kompe. daar by geen schade lyde.

Vol. CLXXVII., December 14, 1784.

D'E: Hoofdadministrateur en g'eligeerd Dessave van Jaffena de Bok aangeweesen hebbende, dat de kopere doedoes die volgens het besluit dezer tafel van den 13 februari 1783 alhier gemunt worden met alle ongelden te staan koomen op dertig Indische stuiver het pond te weeten,

het uitkoops kostende van een pond Japansche staaf koper ..	f.	—	19·	$3\frac{1}{5}$
voor verlies by het gieter en versmelten a 10 pr. Ct. ..	„	—	1·	$14\frac{1}{2}\frac{8}{5}$
het werkloon van het vermunten van een pond ..	„	—	8·	—
voor de stempels en andere ongelden ..	„	—	—·	$14\frac{2}{25}$
Tezaamen ..	f.	1·	10·	—

dat van ieder pond geleverd worden seven en dertig stuivs. dan wel hondert agt en veertig quart stuivers, en dat dus de komp : op ieder pond seven stuyvers profiteerd ofte 23 pr. Ct. buiten de eerste winst op het koper ;

Zo is naa deliberaatsie goedgevonden en verstaan. hier van deeze aanteekening te houden en wegens de nog aanhoudende schaarsheid van duiten met het munten van Doedoes nog voor eerst en tot nader order te kontinueeren.

Vol. CLXXVIII., March 19, 1785.

Om verscheide goede reedenen heeft men tot nog toe het gebruik van kredit brieven op Ceilon, niet kunnen invoeren, wyl de Ceilonse ingezetenen hunne weinige kontanten geduurende den oorlog gestadig noodig hadden, en men deeze brieven dus, om zoo te spreeken, alle oogenblikken zoude hebben moeten realiseeren, het geen mits den schraelen voorraed van kontant dikwils niet mogelyk zoude zyn geweest, en zonder het welk nogtans, dezelve ten eersten beneeden hunne prys zoude zyn gedaeld ; dan nu in agtinge genoomen zynde, dat alles tans min of meer wederom den voorigen plooy begind te krygen, en dat niet alleen Hunne Hoog Edelheeden het invoeren van de Kredit brieven nog onlangs nader hebben gerecommandeert by g'eerde missive van den 19 April 1784, maar dat het ook voor den oorlog hier te Kolombo in gebruik geweest is, dat de Kasjiers of hunne Kannekappels bewysen verleend hebben van de kontanten die by hem in bewaaring gebragt zyn, welke doenmaals zeer greetig in steede van Kontanten voor betaaling zyn aangenoomen en zelfs gestrekt hebben tot groot gemak van de gemeente,

Zoo is na deliberaatsie goedgevonden en verstaan, voor eerst een somma van vyfentwintig duizend rds. Krediet brieven te laaten rouleeren van verschillende sommen, die echter aan niemand zullen worden opgedrongen, en maar voor men telkens in 's Komps. kas de kontante betaaling kan ontfangen, waar van de gemeente by biljetten zal worden verwittigd.

Vol. CLXXVIII., March 19, 1785.

Te Tutukoryn tot nog toe in gebruik geweest een zeer verkeerde bereekening volgens welke de pagood tot negentig indische stuiver word gereduceerd, en deese reduktsie reets by het besluit deser tafel van den 3e dezer omtrent de uitkoops pryzen der speceryen afgekeurd zynde ; zoo is na deliberaatsie goedgoevonden en verstaan, deese bereekening van de pagood tegen negentig indische stuiver, geheel afteschaffen en alleen te laaten standgrypen by betaaling der soldyen en emolumenten van de aldaar beschyden zynde dienaaren, aan dewelke de betaaling in pagooden moet geschieden, terwyl alle overige betaalingen moeten bereekend worden in Nederlandsch geld.

Vol. CLXXVIII., May 10, 1785.

Door de Heer Gouverneur overgelegd zynde een model van de Krediet brieven in 't Nederlandsch Singaleesch en Mallabaarsch, die volgens het besluit dezer tafel van den 19e Maart zullen rouleeren ; zoo is goedgevonden en verstaan, zich daarmeede te konformeeren, en hetzelve hier onder te doen insereeren.

La:A: No. . . . . goed voor ryksdaalders 1000.

Wy ondergetekende certificeeren, dat toonder deeses, by De Compagnie te goed heeft Een duizend ryksd[s]. van 48 zwaare stuyv[s].Ind : geld.

Kolombo den 10[e] : Mai Anno 1785.

En is wyders verstaan van deeze Kredit brieven voor eerst te laaten rouleeren

Vyf stuks ider van Duisent rd[s].

Tien stuks ider van vyfhondert rd[s].

Hondert stuks ider van Hondert rd[s].

Hondert stuks ider van vyftig rd[s].

uitmaakende te zaamen de bepaalde somme van vyfentwintig duisent rd[s]., moetende dese kredit brieven door den p[l] : E : Hoofdadministrateur Sluysken en p[l].E : Negootsie boekhouder Raket getekend en door den E : Sekretaris Billing kontrassigneerd worden.

Vol. CLXXX., October 20, 1785.

Wyl het slaan van doedoes niet voldoet aan de vereyschte benoodigtheid, en het geld gebrek dagelyks toeneemt, het welk eenigzints zoude kunnen vervuld met het nog aan handen hebbende Japans staafkoper ;

Zoo is op het voorstel van den Heer gouverneur goedgevonden en verstaan halve kopere larynen aan klyne staafjes te laaten munten, op den zelfden voet, gelyk ze bevoorens gerouleerd hebben, die minder arbeid nodig hebben en waar by ook minder kooper verlooren word, en deese halve larynen op 't Eyland Ceilon gangbaar te verklaaren teegen vier en drie vierde Indische stuiver.

En is wyders verstaan van den E. Hoofdadministrateur Sluysken mits deesen te vorderen een bericht, noopens de swaarte, spillasie en munts ongelden deezer halve larynen, en hoe veel voordeel de Maatschappy by vermunting derzelven kan behaalen.

Vermits ook in voorige tyden een zoort van schymunt op Ceilon gerouleerd heeft onder de naam van boezeroeken die van twee derde gedeelte tin en één derde gedeelte lood waaren gemaakt, en diergelyke klyndere scheidemunt zeer gerievelyk zoude weesen is goedgevonden en verstaan insgelyks van dit aloi een party duiten te laaten maaken, en gangbaar te verklaaren.

Vol. CLXXX., November 22, 1785.

Op een bericht van den essayeur Stiegling houdende dat de zilver werken uit het goevernement, die volgens resol : van den 4 April versmolten zyn en tezaamen gewoogen hebben 70 mark 5 onc. en 16 Eng. by Essai zyn bevonden te weezen van 10 penningen, dat zedert uit het gouvernement afgegevene tampet met daar by gehoorende schootel hebben gewoogen 12 mark 6 oncen en 18¼ Eng[s]. en dat het tampet by essai is bevonden van 9 penn. en 20 grynen, en de schotel van 9 penn : en 16 grynen dus na genoeg het alloy van de Bataviasche Ropy ofte van 10 penn.

Is na deliberaatsie en op het voorstel van den Heer Goeverneur goedgevonden en verstaan, om dit silver in steede van daar van nieuwe zilver werken ten diensten van het goevernement te laaten maaken die nog voor eerst wel te missen zyn, tot ropyen te laaten vermunten, na het alloi en het gewigt van de Bataviasche ropy, En is wyders verstaan om de voorsz : versmolten zilver werken van den Inventaris van de goederen in het goevernement te laten afschryven.

Vol. CLXXXV., March 17, 1787.

Overeenkomstig het besluit ter resolutie van 5 dezer is op de daar toe verkrege last, door den baas der smeeden Rynier Hendriksz een proef genomen in hoe verre het metaal van oude onbekwaeme kannons tot het slaen van doedoes te approprieeren zy en wat daar toe voor kosten moeten worden gedaan om het zelve te brengen tot eene specie bekwaem om daar van doedoes te kunnen slaan.

Uyt het daar van ingekomen rapport gebleeken zynde dat tot 100 lb. kannon metaal, om het te brengen tot het gehalte van doedoes daar van te kunnen slaan, een toesats van 8 lb. oud of nieuw rood koper nodig is.

Dat deze 108 lb. te rafineeren en tot staven te brengen een verlies geven van 9¾ lb. en van die 108 lb. te zamen gesmoltene specie zuyver 98¼ lb. komen en

Dat de onkosten voor het rafineeren en tot staven te gieten van de specie bedragen

ann de mallabaarsche geelgieters voor ider 100 lb.	rd. 2	—
nog voor houtskoolen	—	30
1 lb. salpeter		3
½ parra zout		2

als wanneer die specie is gebragt tot een gehalte om volgens resolutie van den 14 December 1786 daar van gelyk van Jappans koper doedoes te kunnen slaan.

Zo is na deliberaatie goedgevonden en verstaan op dien voet de vermunting van het oude metaal van onbekwaeme kanons tot doedoes door den baas der smeeden te doen werkstellig maeken, en door gemelte baas Hendriksz wegens zyn getrouwe behandeling in dezen den eed te laten presteeren.

En is alverder besloоten tot het slaan van doedoes als gezegt te doen Employeeren 22 p^{s}. metaele kannons by het ten dezen geinsereerd berigt vermelt, die volgens verklaering van de gecommitteerde artillery officiers op hun eed waarmeede aan de kompenie zyn verbonden en als mannen van eer, onder dat berigt gestelt tot geen diensten by der artillery zyn tegebruyken als ten eenemaele onbekwaem en eenelyk voor oud metael bruykbaar zynde, terwyl by ider dier kannons de gebreeken worden aangeweezen.

Vol. CLXXXV., April 5, 1787.

In overweging genomen zynde dat de aanhoudende groote schaarsheid aan zilver geld zelfs in de huyshoudinge alhier veel ongerief toebrengd, is goedgevonden en verstaan dat E. hoofdadministrateur Sluysken optedraegen om te zien of men een party silver zoude kunnen inkoopen tegens zulke prysen dat men daar van een klyne party ropyen kan laten munten alleen tot gerief in de huishouding.

Vol. CLXXXVI., May 12, 1787.

Volgens ingekomene berigten is het zilver, essayeerende 10 penningen, voor het tegenswoordige niet minder te bedingen dan tegens 80 stuyvers indias het reaal, zynde agt en veertig Ropyen het pond, waar by, voor het verlies by de vermunting en de munts ongelden nog ten mindsten twee ropyen moeten worden gereekend op elk pond, zoo dat om op een onschadelyke wyze, van het zilver tot deese prys ingekogt volgens resolutie van den 5 April ropyen te laeten slaan, uit elk pond zilver zullen moeten worden gesmeeden vyftig ropyen,

Waar op gedelibereerd en in agting genomen zynde dat de ropyen na deezen voet geslagen, wel werkelyk hooger staan dan derzelver intrensique waarde, dog dat daarentegen het algemeen gebrek van silver geld onder de gemeente dat meer en meer tot zeer groot ongerief begint te verstrekken het noodzaekelyk maakt dat daarin ten mindsten eeniger maate word voorzien behalven dat ook zelfs het kooper geld dat hier word gemunt werkelyk hooger staat dan de werkelyke waarde daar van, Is goedgevonden en verstaan om tot gerief van de gemeente zoo hier als op de buyten comptoiren na de voorschreeve munt voet te laeten aanslaan twintig duisent ropyen.

En is wyders verstaan

1. Dat de baas Rynier Hendriksz zal worden gequalificeerd, om het zilver tot het munten van ropyen essayeerende 10 penningen intekoopen tegens tagtig stuyver het reaal, zoo het niet minder te bedingen is en zulks alleen by voorraad en tot dat de E. hoofdadministrateur overeenkomstig met de resolutie van 5 April zal hebben gezien of het tegen beetere prysen kan worden bekomen.

2. Dat aan Rynier Hendriksz voor het verlies op het silver by de vermunting en de munts ongelden zullen worden gevalideert twee ropyen op elk pond zilver het zy het silver tot de vermunting door hem zelve word ingekogt, dan wel dat het hem voor de kompenie word gelevert.

3. Dat wyl hier geen essayeur is Rynier Hendriksz de Ropyen die invoegen voorschreeven door hem zullen zyn gemunt, alvoorens ze overtebrengen in 's kompenies kas, zal moeten zenden by de gezwoore keurmeester, die dezelve op den eed door hem by het aanvaarden van zyn dienst gedaan, zal moeten toetsen ter ontwaeringe of dezelve overeenkomstig met de ordre zyn van het gehalte van 10 penningen en die, dit zoo zynde daarop zal moeten zetten de klyne keur.

4. Dat het overbrengen van deese nieuwe vermunte ropyen in 's kompenies kas zal geschieden ten overstaan van Justitieele gecommitteerdens, dewelke de ropyen stuk voor stuk zullen nazien of ze invoege voorschreeven zyn gekeurt, en ze vervolgens by vyftig stuks te gelyk zullen moeten laeten wegen ten ontwaeringe of ze wigtig zyn.

5. Dat deese gecommitteerdens uit elke vermunting zullen moeten neemen een ropy die ze met het zegul van de Justitie verzegelt zullen moeten overgeven aan den E. hoofdadministrateur, en welk verzegulde ropy zal worden verzonden na Tutukoryn om aldaar door den essayeur Stigling nader te worden geessayeert.

6. Dat de ropyen zullen worden geslagen met de stempel waarmeede de ropyen op Ceylon tot hier toe aangeslagen zyn alleen met veranderinge van het Jaar getal waarin ze geslagen worden.

7. Dat de kassier zoo op Kolombo als de onderhoorige komptoiren, aan dewelke elk een ropy tot monster zal worden afgegeeven, met kwalificatie om deze ropyen even als andere kourante munten in 's kompenies kas te ontvangen, zullen worden bevoolen, om tweemaal 's Jaars by hunne maand reekeningen van ultimo augustus en february appart optegeven het getal dezer ropyen die ze by restant hebben en dat de E. hoofdadministrateur zal worden gelast zoo als zyn E. gelast word door dezen om telkens zoo dra de voorsz ; kassa reekeningen zullen zyn ingekomen daar van een zaementrekking te maeken en by berigt aantewyzen hoeveel van deese ropyen in 's kompenies kassen te vinden zyn.

En zal van deze resolutie extrakt worden gegeven aan den E. hoofdadministrateur, gelyk ook extrakten zullen worden gezonden na de buyten komptoiren om te dienen tot der bediendens narigt en zig daar na te reguleeren.

Voorts is verstaan dat aan Rynier Hendriksz zal worden gegeven de ondervolgende instruktie om hem in de vermunting van geld specien daar na te reguleeren, waarop hy zal moeten afleggen den daar op volgenden eed.

Instruktie voor Rynier Hendriksz waar na hy zig in het munten van geld zal moeten gedraegen.

1. De zilvere Ropyen en de koopere doedoes mitsgaders alle zodanige andere geld specien als deese regeering zal goedvinden hier te laeten munten, zullen moeten geslaegen worden onder direktie en opzigt ook ter verantwoording van hem Rynier Hendriksz, op het gewigt en gehalte in deeze nader te bepaelen.

2. De ropyen zullen worden geslaegen, van zilver essayeerende 10 penningen of daar booven en zullen uit een pond zilver van sestien oncen worden geslagen vyftig stuks ropyen, dus zal elk ropy moeten weegen $\frac{1}{50}$ lb. amsterdams gewigt.

3. Voorschreeve Rynier Hendriksz word gekwalificeerd om het zilver, voor zo verre het hem door de kompenie niet word verstrekt, daar toe zelfs intekoopen teegens tagentig stuivers het reaal, zynde agt en veertig ropyen het pond. Voor het verlies dat by de vermunting daar op valt en voor de munts ongelden zullen aan hem worden gevalideert voor elk pond twee ropyen, en zullen dus voor elk pond zilver dat invoege voorschreeven door hem zelve zal zyn ingekogt en vermunt vyftig ropyen of ryksdaalders 31.12.— aan hem worden betaalt.

4. De ropyen voor dat ze van hem Rynier Hendriksz zullen worden ontvangen in 's kompenies kas zullen door hem moeten worden gezonden by den gezwoore keurmeester Christiaan Pieters om door hem te worden gekeurd met de gewoone kleene keur.

5. Die ropyen die Rynier Hendriksz van tyd tot tyd zal koomen te munten, zal de kassier in 's kompenies kas ontvangen ten overstaan van Justieele (*sic*) gecommitteerdens, die dezelve zullen moeten zien tellen weegen en nazien of ze alle behoorlyk gekeurt zyn. Deese gekommitteerdens zullen voorts uit elke vermunting een ropy uit den hoop neemen die ze verzegelt zullen overgeven aan den E. hoofdadministrateur om te worden verzonden na Tutukoryn ten eynde door den essayeur Stigling aldaar nader te worden geessayeert.

6. De ropyen zullen worden geslaegen met dezelfde stempel, waarmeede de ropyen tot hier toe op Ceilon aangeslaegen zyn ; alleen met de verandering van het Jaar getal waarin ze aangeslaegen worden.

7. Het vermunten van kooper of metaal tot doedoes zal worden gedaan op even en dien zelfden voet als dat tot hier toe geschied is, en zullen overeenkomstig daarmeede uit een pond kooper seven en dertig doedoes of een stuiver stukken moeten worden geslagen.

8. Rynier Hendriksz zal onder wat voorwendsel, of met wat stempel het ook zoude moogen zyn, geene munt hoe genaamt moogen aanslaan, dan die hem door deeze regeering voor reekening van de kompenie zal worden aanbevoolen, op peene van by het kontrarie na exigentie van zaeken strafbaar te zullen zyn aan den lyve.

9. Rynier Hendriksz zal op den inhoud deeser Instruktie moeten afleggen den volgenden eed

> Ik beloove en sweere, dat ik geen ander specie, alloy, of stempel, in de my aanbevoolene munten, admitteeren, tollereeren of conniveeren zal, als de geene waar toe ik by speciaele ordre van de ceilonse regeering gequalificeerd en geordonneerd zal zyn, dat ik by het ontvangen, bewaeren, smelten en verwerken der metaelen, die my tot het vermunten mogte worden ter hand gesteld, of door my volgens myn Instruksie zullen zyn ingekogt, zo wel als in alle andere opzigten, precis observeeren en punctueel agtervolgen zal, het geene my by myn Instruksie aanbevoolen is mitsgaders allezints nakoomen wat een goet en getrouwe muntmeester toestaat en betaamt.
>
> Zoo waarlyk helpe my God Almachtig.

Kolombo, den 12 May A°: 1787 (was geteekend) W. J. Van de Graaff.

Vol. CLXXXVII., September 11, 1787.

Uit een nevens voorsz. brief ontvangen bericht van den Essayeur Stiegling, is verstaan hier by te noteeren dat by examinatie van een zilvere ropy, uit de tweede party die hier dit Jaar is gemunt, dezelve bevonden is tehouden in essay 10 penningen en 3½ gryn in het mark fyn.

Vol. CLXXXVIII., October 19, 1787.

Ter voldoening aan Hunner Hoog Edelheeden requisit by § 101, den visitateur tegelasten, om van de doedoes muntery, zo hier als te Jaffena en Gale, bezondere rendementen tevaardigen, om aan Hunne Hoog Edelheeden aangebooden teworden, en voorts hoog dezelven teberichten. dat deeze munterye geschied volgens Resolutie van den 19 April j°. leeden alhier door een b'eedigde munter, en te Jaffena en Gale daar dat van minder belang is onder het opzicht van de administrateurs, door inlandsche munters.

Vol. CXCII., July 7, 1788.

Report by Hoofd Administrateur on specie required from the Netherlands, dated July 4, 1788.

Dat deese betaaling (sc. the expenses of the establishment) zoude kunnen geschieden in heele en halve Hollandsche guldens, welke in voorrang dienen te komen booven alle andere muntspeetsien, wyl dezelve aan Cabo de Goede Hoop teegens vier en twintig stuivs. worden uitgegeeven: evengelyk alle zilvere ropias die hier uit de Indiën derwaards worden overgebragt, en welke dus hier over al ook voor Dertig sts. Ind: gangbaar kunnen gemaakt worden, het geen een advans uitleeverd van vyftig pr. ct.

Naast deeze Hollandse guldens, meend den ondergeteekende dat Hollandse ducaaten in voorrang dienen te komen, wyl dezelve hier in de Indiën teegens Een hondert twee en dertig sts. in betaling passeeren.

De ducatons gaan altoos voor Tachtig sts., dog by gebrek van muntspeetsien ryzen dezelve gelyk alle andere in agio. De oude ducatons gelden acht en zeventig sts. in de wandeling.

De Mexikaanen en Keiserdaalders worden hier met drie en sestig sts. uitgegeeven, dog ryzen in agio, na mate van het geld gebrek.

Scheepies schellingen gaan hier altoos teegens zeven en een halve stuivers.

Nieuw gemaakte Holls., dubbeltjes gelden twee en een halve sts.

Edoch zoo als vooren gesegd ryzen alle voornoemde muntspeetsien in agio, na mate van het geld gebrek of na mate den kusteling zyn reekening beeter kan vinden.

Vol. CXCVI., May 19, 1789.

De Heer Gouverneur heeft ter vergadering gecommuniceert dat 't gebrek aan schymunt alhier weegens de wynige duyten zyn Edele aanleiding heeft gegeeven, om 't advies van den fabriek Rynier Hendriksz tevraegen, over het munten van duyten uit een compositie van lood, thin, en spiauter, en dat hy waar op heeft overgelegd 't hier onder g'insereerd schriftuur

Wel Edele Groot Achtb: Hoog Geb. Heer!

De vermunting van duyten in een compositie van ⅝ lood, ⅛ thin, en ¼ spiauter, uitmakende een pond, kan op de volgende manieren geschieden en voor de te specificeerene prysen door den ondergeteekende aan DE: komp: geleeverd worden, als:

Duiten 72 op 1 lb. gaande of 18 stuivers uitbrengende, voor 13½ stuivers het pond, zynde sulks zuyver, na aftrek van alle ongelden zoo wel als de onderstaande spillagie van 14 pr. c: die by versmelting en vergieting tot duite stukken bequaam ter vermunting zullen komen te vallen. Dus DE: Comp. als dan nog (behalven de eerste winst op 't inkoops bedragen) komt te profiteeren 4½ stuivers op elke pond dier compositie.

en Duiten 80 op 1 lb. gaande of 20 stuivers, uitbrengende, voor 15 stuivers 't pond, en overigens in alles als hier boven gesegd, Dus DE: Comp. hier by wel 5 stuivers op de pond compositie zal komen te profiteeren.

Terwyl als ondergeteekende de boven gem: 14 pr. C: validatie op de voorsz: drie specien zal dienen te hebben, also deselve by versmelting tot 't maaken der Compositie zoo wel als by weder versmelting tot het gieten van duite stukken ter vermunting bequaam, verspild raakt: Dus hy voor elke 100 lb: die door hem van DE: Comp., teegens uitkoops kostende zullen worden genomen, maar 86 lb. weder aan haar Ed: verantwoorden kan, blyvende also de 14 pr. C: spillagie zoo wel als alle de ongelden in 't geheel ten laste van hem, die de hooge eere heeft met diep ontsag te syn (onderstond) Wel Edele Groot Achtb: Hoog Geb: Heer! uwel Edele Groot achtb: onderdanigen en gehoorsamen Dienaer (was geteekend) R. Hendriksz (in margine) Kolombo den 16 May 1789.

Waar op gedelibereerd en in agting genomen synde, dat de kopere duyten tot hier toe gediend hebben tot schymunt tans vry schaars syn en het nogthans nodig zy eene klyne schymunt te hebben van een stuiver, is goedgevonden en verstaan, by provisie tot twintig duysend ponden van de voorsz: Compositie telaaten verslaan tot duyts van 80 stux op een pond, op welke vermunting na de by 't voorsz: berigt aangewesene munt voet, de comp: 25 pr. C: zal winnen, boven de winst op de Metaalen, die ze daar toe uitgeeft en waar voor de munter de gewoone uitkoops prys betaald.

Vol. CXCVI., August 26, 1789.

Hunne Hoog Edelh: by § 62 van voorsz: missive aangemerkt hebbende, dat men de doedoes muntery nooyt op onderhorige cantooren behoord te laaten geschieden: Is goedgevonden en verstaan hoogst dezelven te berigten, dat de ongemakkelykheid van 't transporteeren van een zoo grove munt, als de doedoes zyn, en de onmogelykheid om daar van een zoo groote quantiteid in voorraad te laaten aanslaan, dat alle de onderhorige cantooren daarmede van hier, in den vaarbaeren teid, voor een geheel jaar kunnen worden voorzien, aanleiding gegeeven hebben, om ze ook te Jaffena en Gale te doen munten, en dat men om dezelfde reden genoodzaakt is geweest, om dit maal insgelyks te Trinkonomale een party doedoes te laaten aanslaan.

Vol. CC., September 21, 1790.

Batavia Letter of May 26, 1790.

15. Om op hunner hoog Edelheeden aanmerking by § 64, dat de doedoes even zoo gemakkelyk als't koper, na Gale en Jaffanapatnam zouden kunnen worden getransporteerd, aan hunne hoog Edelheeden te vertoonen, dat men heeft moeten overgaan, om ook te Jaffanapatnam, Gale en Trinkonomale doedoes telaaten munten, om dat alleen te Kolombo zoo veel doedoes niet kunnen worden aangemaakt, dat Trinkonomale jaarlyks daar meede kan worden voorzien, voor dat de vaart geslooten word, en dat men daarom 't koper onvermunt heeft moeten zenden, en dat dit ook inzonderhyd na Jaffanapatnam is geschied, om dat de doedoes nog van daar te water na Trinkonomale kunnen gezonden worden, terwyl de vaart hier van daan na derwaards geslooten is.

22. Om op hunner hoog Edelh : aanmerking by § 79, dat men uyt de meerdere winst op 't vermunt koper en metaal, zoude moeten besluyten, dat de daar van geslaagene munt van een slegt allooi is, aan hoogst dezelven teberigten, dat 't Japans koper, 't welk tot doedoes word vermund, voor de vermunting nog wat geraffineerd word, en dat dus 't koper, waar van ze geslaagen worden in effekte beter is dan 't Japans koper. Dat 't mits dien niet is uyt hoofde van de mindere deugd van 't koper, dat op de doedoes boven 't uytkoops kostende van 't koper, nog eene goede winst overschiet, maar alleen uyt hoofde van de bepaalde munt voet, waarna ze gemaakt worden, zedert dat de doedoes hier aangeslaagen zyn, en dat ze nogtans in effekte meer waar zyn dan de hollandsche duyten, gelyk onder anderen aangeweezen is by resolutie van den 26 7ber : 1788.

Vol. CCI., November 30, 1790.

On Batavia Letter.

9. Aan Hunne Hoog Edelh : te berigten dat men zedert eenige jaaren voor de verkogt wordende koopmanschappen niet anders in Cassa krygt, dan Credit brieven en kooper geld, wyl de Ceilonsche ingezeetenen van geen goud of zilver geld voorzien zyn, of 't wynige dat ze hebben, besteeden om van de aankomende vreemdelingen ryst en andere noodwendigheeden te koopen.

Vol. CCIV., March 11, 1791.

On Batavia Letter of September 30, 1790.

§ 8. Aan Hunne Hoog Edelh : te berigten, dat het opgeld op de goude en zilvere specien tegens kopere munt, van tyd tot tyd gesteegen is, na mate dat deze specien schaerser geworden zyn, zoo als dat aangeweezen is by eene Memorie die de lieutenant Kolonel de Raymond, kort voor 't vertrek van het Regiment van Luxemburg, aan de E. gew : Gaalsch gezaghebber Krayenhoff heeft overgegeeven, en dat dit verschil het zedert niet verminderd, maar nu en dan zelfs veel hooger is geweest, dog dat tans betaeld word voor een ropy tot een rd., voor een venetiaansche dukaat 36 schell :, voor een hollandsche dukaat 34 schell : en voor een piaster 96 tot 98 en 99 stuiv[s]. aan kopere munt.

Op § 35 aan Hunne Hoog Edelh : te berigten, dat men zedert lange alhier geen gouden zilver geld in kas gehad heeft, en wyl daerom alle in en verkoop geschied voor papiere-geld of kopere munt, hoogst dezelven te verzoeken, dat men om niet gestaedig by elk artikel van in of verkoop te repeteeren, dat de betaeling geschied is in kopere munt, mag volstaan niet alleen by zulke art : waar voor in der tyd goud of zilver geld ontvangen of uitgegeeven word, dat aanteteekenen.

Op § 93 aan Hunne Hoog Edelh : te berigten, dat de munter van de doedoes, het Japans koper van de komp : koopt voor de gewoone prys van 18½ indische stuivers 't pond ; dat hy voor elk pond 37 stuivers stukken aan de Comp : leeverd ; en dat de Komp : hem aen muntloon betaald 30 st[s]. voor elk pond : zoo dat haer Edele op elk pond 7 sts : profiteerd.

Vol. CCVIII., December 1, 1791.

Dat het roulleeren van koper geld in dit Gouvernement geen nieuwigheid is, wyl reeds voor 40, 50 en zekerlyk veel meer jaaren, duiten, doedoes, die in vroegere tyden te Jaffenapatnam zyn aangeslaagen en zelfs loode munt onder de naam van pitjes, hier te Kolombo voor meer dan 30 jaaren aangeslaegen, de meest gewoone munten van het land geweest zyn.

Dat dit, om van geen oudere teiden te spreeken, op 't duidelykst consteerd uit 't van hier geschreevene aan Hunne Hoog edelh : by brief van den 20 May 1780 § 11 waar by blykt, dat er reeds te dier teid by na geene andere munt spetien, dan kopere duiten op Ceilon rouleerden, niet teegenstaande er eenige jaaren bevoorens, blykens afgegaane brieven aan Hunne Hoog Edelh : van den 29 7ber en 5 December 1769, mitsgaders 4 Maart 1770 uit dit Gouvernement na Batavia verzonden waaren f. 200000 aan kopere duiten. . . . .

Dat op § 4 van voorm : Missive aan Hunne Hog Edelh : zal worden berigt, dat 't een abuis is in de gedaane opgave, dat er 50 tot 52 stuivers aan duiten op een pond zouden gaan, met aanmerking egter, dat schoon ook maar 160 duiten of 40 stuivers op een pond gaan, evenwel de stuivers stukken of doedoes in effekte beter zyn, om dat daar van maar 37 stuks op een pond gaan. . . . .

Dat op § 22 aan Hunne Hoog Edelh : zal worden berigt dat het groot verschil, het welk hier plaats heeft tusschen goude en zilvere speetsien en de kopere munt, niet alleen betrekking heeft tot de doedoes, maar ook tot de nederlandsche duiten, die met de doedoes op dezelfde waarde staan.

Vol. CCVIII., December 29, 1791.

Vermits zedert eenigen tyd herhaalde klagten zyn ingekomen, dat onder die alhier gemeente Compenies loode duiten eene meenigte van valsche stukken roulleeren, die wegens die gelykheid van de stempel, door de onkundige ingezetenen van de echte niet kunnen onderscheiden, en dus meede voor komp : munt ontvangen en uitgegeeven worden ; Is om den voortgang van dit quaat te stuiten, en de ingezetenen voor verdere schade te bewaaren, op de propositie van den Heer Gouverneur goedgevonden en verstaan, de Comp : loode duiten voor billion en niet verder gangbaar te verklaaren en de gemeente daarvan, zoo hier en in het distrikt van de Colombosche dessavony als te Gale en Mature, door de affixie van biljetten kennis te geeven met waarschouwing dat een iegelyk, die van loode duiten voorzien zyn, zig daarvan binnen de eerste veertien dagen, na de affixie van de biljetten moet ontlasten met deese duiten aantebrengen en overtegeeven aan 's comp : gecommitteerdens, die ten dien einde dagelyks 'svoordemiddags van 9 tot 11 uure zullen vaceeren.

Vol. CCXI., February 13, 1792.

Aangezien deezer dagen ontdekt is dat onder de alhier gemunte Compenies larynen, eene menigte van valsche stukken rouleeren, die door de onkundige ingezeetenen van de echte niet kunnen onderscheyden, en dus meede voor 's Compenies munt ontvangen en uitgegeeven worden : Is om den voortgang van dit kwaad te stuyten, en de ingezeetenen voor verdere schaade tebewaaren, op de propositie van den Heer Gouverneur goedgevonden en verstaan, de Compenies larynen, zoo van koper als van Metaal, voor Biljoen en niet verder gangbaar teverklaaren, en de gemeinte daarvan, zo hier als op de onderhoorige kantooren, door affixie van biljetten kennis tegeeven, met waarschouwing dat een iegelyk, die van larynen voorzien zyn, zich daarvan binnen de eersten veertien dagen na de affixie van de biljetten, moet ontlasten, met deeze larynen, aantebrengen en overtegeeven aan 's Comp[s]. gecommitteerdens, die ten dien eynde dagelyks 's voormiddags van 9 tot 11 uure zullen vaceeren. . . . .

Wyders is tot voorkooming dat scheepelingen en andere trafiquanten, door het uitvoeren van de Nederlandsch kopere duyten de ingezeetenen dezes Eylands van eene zoo noodzaakelyke scheimunt niet koomen te ontrieven : goedgevonden en verstaan den uitvoer van voorsz : duyten buyten dit Eyland teverbieden, sub paena dat alle de duyten die by den uitvoer worden agterhaald, zullen worden geconfisqueerd, een derde voor de Kompenie, een derde voor de diaconie en een derde voor den aanbrenger, wiens naam des begeerd wordende, zal worden gesekreteerd.

Vol. CCXI., March 3, 1792.

Report on number of recalled Lead Duits.

Waarover gedibereert en in agting genoomen zynde, dat men met de uyt Nederland aangebragte duyten niet lang zoude kunnen rond schieten en men tot de dagelykse uitgaaven sodanige schymunt noodzakelyk noodig heeft, is dienvolgende goedgevonden en verstaan alle de voorm : ingekoomene loode duyten, in presentie van gecommitteerde justitieele leeden, by den tel en by gewigt te laaten overgeeven aan den muntmeester Renaldus Hendriksz, en denzelven tegelasten deese duyten te versmelten en daarvan andere loode duyten te munten, van tagentig op een lb :, met zodanige stempel als aan hem zal worden opgegeeven, en is teffens verstaan de gemeente by biljetten ook tedoen bekend stellen de stempel, waarmeede deeze duyten zal worden gemunt, en het gewigt van die duyten, op dat ze by den ontvangst zig voor schaade kunnen wagten.

By deeze geleegendheid gesprooken zynde dat onder de doedoes die tans geslaagen worden, veelen gevonden worden die niet regt rond geslaagen zyn en de vereyschte grootte niet hebben, waardoor de stempel daarop ook niet duydelyk gedrukt staat, is goedgevonden en verstaan voorm : Muntmeester tegelasten om by verder munten van doedoes daar in op de best mogelyke wyze te voorzien.

Vol. CCXII., July 5, 1792.

Nopens de by resolutie van den 3[e] Maart j[o]. leeden gearresteerde vermunting van de biljoen verklaarde loode duyten, door den tit : oud kapitain en gew : fabriek Hendriksz als bestierder van deeze muntery, overgelegd zynde het volgende addres.

Aan den Wel Edelen Groot achtbaaren Heer Willem Jacob van de Graaff, raad ordinair van Nederlands India, Gouverneur en Directeur van het eyland Ceilon met dies onderhorigheeden.

Wel Edele Groot achtb : Hoog Geb : Heer !

De onderteekende heeft de eer uw wel Edele Groot agtb: met veel eerbied tevertoonen, dat hy op het ontvangen bevel van uw Ed: Groot achtb: in presentie van gecommitteerdens uit de kleene geld kas, by den tel en gewigt, ontvangen heeft, eene Somma van rd[s]. 10098·27½ uitmaakende 15879 $\frac{3}{4}\frac{1}{8}$ lb: aan loode voor biljoen verklaarde duyten.

Dat hy na eene nauwe gedaane examinatie bevonden heeft, dat onder deze duyten eene party is tevinden uit simpel oud lood en eene party uit oud tin en een soort van mengzel gemaakt en dus by den anderen genoomen geenzints meer geschikt, om uit de verwarde massa zonder deselve voor het geheel by den anderen tesmelten tezuiveren en door het bydoen van zoo veel toezat als vereyscht word tot de gehalte en hardigheid is tebrengen, dat daar uit op nieuwe duyten kunnen worden geslaagen, overeenkomende met de bepaaling als uw wel Ed: Groot achtb: by resolutie genoomen in raade van Ceilon op den 19 May 1789 behaagd heeft temaaken, versoekende de ondergeteekende mits dien met orders gemunierd teworden, hoe hy daarmeede zal hebben tehandelen, wyl hy het slaan of gieten van duyten op geene andere wyze kan doen of aanneemen, dan de ontvengene quantiteyt en die hy nog staat te ontvangen in de eerste plaats direkt van D'E: komp[e]. overteneemen teegen de prys van 10 stuyv[s]. het pond en weder aan haar Ed: teleeveren voor elke 100 lb. die door hem zullen worden genoomen 86 lb. zuyver geslaagen komposietsie duyte stukken van 80 op een pond tegens 15 stuyvers het lb. gereekend, blyvende egter de 14 lb. spillagie zoo wel als alle andere muntsongelden in het geheel voor zyne reekening.

Terwyl hy voorts de eer aanmatigd met schuldige eerbieden trouwe te zyn (onderstond) Wel Edele Groot achtb: Hoog Geb: Heer! uw wel Edele Groot achtb: onderdaanige en trouwschuldige Dienaar (was geteekend) R. Hendriksz (in margine) Kolombo den 23[e] April 1792.

Is uit aanmerking dat het een werkelyk ongerief is voor de gemeente geen klyner schymunt tehebben dan een stuyv:, goedgevonden en verstaan met de vermunting der voorsz: loode duyten op de door den muntmeester voorgestelden voet telaaten beginnen, dog dat des niettegenstaande en onvermindert dit besluit de D'E: leeden Reintous en Vollenhove zullen worden gecommitteerd zo als ze gecommitteerd worden door deezen om te onderzoeken of het voorsz: munt materiaal niet op een nadeligen voet kan worden vermunt met last om van hunne bevinding en inzonderheid of er iemand is aan wien men met gerustheid dit werk vertrouwen kan die het voor minder wil aanneemen de doen, tedienen van berigt. 5 July 1792.

Is geresumeerd een berigt van de Justitieele leeden Johnson en Reinders, gecommitteerd tot de inwisseling van biljoen verklaarde larynen, volgens het welk alhier zyn ingewisseld 101748 larynen bedraagende rd[s]. 10068.39.

En is na deliberatie goedgevonden en verstaan, gem: larynen telaaten afgeeven aan den tit: oud kapitain en gew: fabriek Hendriksz, om daar van doedoes telaaten munten, en van gem: Hendriksz berigt tevraagen, hoe veel munt loon betaald moet worden voor elk pond doedoes, van 37 stuyv[s]. stukken, die van deeze larynen worden geslaagen.

Vol. CCXVII., March 28, 1793.

Nademaal men deser dagen ontdekt heeft, dat eenige Credit brieven vervalscht zyn, door verandering van de daar by uitgedrukte geld sommen, des by voorbeeld van vyf tot vyftig en van honderd tot vyfhonderd: Is tot voorkoming van diergelyke quade practyken voor den aanstaande, op de propositie van den Edelen Heer Gouverneur goedgevonden en verstaan, de gemeente door publikatie en affictie van Biljetten tewaarschouwen.

(1) Dat niemand een Credit brief behoeft aanteneemen in betaaling, ten zy ze op den geenen, die ze hem in betaaling aanbied, behoorlyk is getransporteerd door iemand, die bekend is, en het dus blykt, dat hy daar van is de wettige eygenaar.

(2) Dat de geene, die een Kredit brief, invoegen voorsz: op zyn naam overgedraagen, geeft in betaaling, deselve wederom behoorlyk zal moeten transporteeren aan den geenen, aan wien hy ze in betaaling geeft, en dat by dit transport voortaan, niet alleen deudelyk zal moeten worden bekend gesteld de naam en toenaam van den geenen, aan wien de Kredit brief word overgedraagen maar dat ook by dese overdragt uitdruklyk zal moeten worden bekend gesteld, in geschrift en in Cyffer, het beloop van de Kredit brief.

(3) Dat de ontvanger de ingevulde som, waar meede de Kredit brief is getransporteerd, zal moeten konfronteeren teegens de som, waar voor in 't hoofd van de Kredit brief staat, dat ze goed is en zoo hy de minste reeden van twyffeling mogte meenen te hebben, van vervalsching de som, waar voor in 't hoofd van de Kredit brief staat dat ze goed is, hy zulk een Kredit brief niet behoefd te ontvangen, tot dat de geene, die de Kredit brief bezit, alvoorens ten zynen genoegen behoorlyk zal hebben aangeweesen dat de voorsz: som niet is vervalscht.

(4) Dat mits dien de transporten voortaan zullen moeten worden geschreeven als volgt

Dese Kredit brief groot word by desen door my getransporteerd aan

Kolombo den

(5) Dat alle de geene, die een Kredit brief voortaan in betaaling ontvangst, zonder een behoorlyk transport gedaan gelyk hier boven § 1.2 en 3 voorgeschreeven is, alle versuimen zal moeten houden voor zyn reek: en dat mits dien alle schadens daar uit voortspruitende, zullen loopen ten zynen lasten.

Vol. CCXXVIII., January 13, 1795.

Ingevolge Uw Ed. groot achtbaare bevel by veel geeerd besluyt van den 12 December A°. p°. om aan te wysen het verlies dat de Komp. zoude lyden door de acceptatsie van twee partyen pagooden, die ten bedrage van 5400 stucks, die te Jafna wegens verkoop van een party Elephanten ontvangen, en volgens last deser regeering naar Tutukoryn gesonden, en aldaar geexamineerd, geessayeerd en gewaardeert zyn, de 100 stuks waardig te weezen 86⅞ Skomps., 94½ nieuwe Portonovose en 95½ oude Portonovosche pagoden; heb ik de eer by desen te berichten, dat volgens jongst gesloten contract met Skomps. groot koopman te Jaffenapatnam Kowalen Sittiaar Waytelingen, hy de Elefanten moet betaalen met Portonovosche pagooden bygenaamd Tranquebaarse, elk pagood gerekend tegen 17 schellingen, en by ontstentenis van pagooden een opgeld op ieder rds. van 16 stuivers, het geen op 17 schellingen of een pagood geeft 34 stuivers. De pagooden door de Jafnase bedienden na Tutukoryn gezonden zyn aldaar met de naam van Tranquebaarsche Iskat pagooden bestempeld. Ongeacht alle gedane informatie by de geldwisselaars alhier heb ik niet kunnen ontwaren, welk onderscheid er eigentlyk tusschen de zoogenaamde Portonovosche Tranquebaarsche en Tranquebaarsche Iskat pagoden plaats vind. Ik denke echter in deese het vefligst te gaan, wanneer ik Skomps. pagood tot koopergeld reduceer, en daarna de waarde van de zoogenaamde Tranquebaarsche Iskat pagoden bepaale, en deese waarde vergelyke met hetgeen de Komp. zoo de Elefanten aan Skomps. grootkoopman Waytelingen waaren afgegeven in kooper geld zoude ontvangen hebben, Skomps. pagood op 102 stuivers gereekend en beswaart met 50 per cent. wegens verschil van goud en koper geeft voor een pagood 153 stuivers en voor 86⅞ pagood St.13291·⅞, die waardig zyn 100 Tranquebaarsche Iskat pagooden, hetwelk voor een pagood geeft stuivers 132$\frac{147}{160}$ terwyl Waytelingen de pagood zoude hebben moeten betalen met 136 stuivers, dus de komp. by ieder pagood komt te verliesen 3$\frac{13}{160}$ stuivers maakende op 5400 stux rd. 346.30¾ dat de komp. by verwisseling thans minder zou krygen als wanneer Waytelingen de elefanten ontvangen en met koopergeld betaald had.

(was get.) C. van Angelbeek

Zoo werd uit aanmerking, dat deese schade geen plaats zoude gehad hebben, indien de bedienden zich stiptelyk aan de order deeser Regeering gehouden hadden, goedgevonden het in de keuse van den heer Kommandeur Raket te laaten om de geakcepteerde 6533 iskat pag. over tenemen en daarvoor aan de komp. 136 stuivers kopergeld voor elk pagood te bezorgen, dan wel voor elk iskat pag. de mindere waarde van 3$\frac{13}{160}$ stuivers te vergoeden, uitmakende van 6533 pagooden ryxdaalders 419.18.— mits de risiko van het transport in het eerste geval voor zyne reekening blyve.

3. Batavia Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaat Boek, 1602–1811. Mr. J. A. van der Chijs.

July 19, 1743, Circular.

Nademalen de Ed. H. Agtb^{e}. Heeren Bewindhebberen in Nederland het lang gedebatteerde en met veele tegenstrydige raisonnementen gesouteneerde point van den cours der geldspecien om de West van Indien onlangs op eenmaal hebben gelieven te decideeren door het afschaffen van 't ligt geld by de boeken van de Comp., excepto die van de soldyen, en het stellen van de ropia op 30 sware stuyvers over geheel Indien, om dus gelykstandig met de pagoden van 96 en de ducatons van 78 swaar geld, die met een gering verschil van rysinge en dalinge, het welke 't goud en silver, so wel hier, als in Europa, altoos onderworpen is, voor even dit bedragen in proportie tegens den anderen ook altoos, ten minsten van over veele jaren. zyn gangbaar geweest, afschaffende teffens alle andere specien by 's Comp^{s} boeken dan de voorsz. guldens, stuyvers en penningen swaar geld om op eenmaal voor altoos af te snyden alle mysterieuse berekening, dewelke men veel tydts, als met voordagt, so intricaat en confuus schynt te maken, dat het hyna onmogelyk is door sulk een spinnewebbe heen te sien, so dat op plaatsen, daar men genoodzaakt is contanten voor het goed te accepteeren, die by de Comp. ongeusiteert zyn, en dat volgens sekeren cours, die men den cours van dat land komt te noemen, voortaan sulk geld niet anders sal mogen werden aangenomen dan voor silver, tot negotie dienende, en gevolgelyk by het gewigte, pro rato van dies gehalte, naar den cours van het evengem, silver, door geheel Indien uyt de voorsz. reductie der ropias en ook uyt die van de ducatons genoegsaam af te nemen, met desen verstande nogtans dat onder voorsz. ropias niet anders werden verstaan dan de goede, wigtige Souratse, die met een gering verschil van batta of agio alomme in Indien gerecipieert zyn, en onder de ducatons ook allermeest 's Comp. gestempelde dan wel andere wigtige ducatons uyt de Nederlandse munten.

To come into force on September 1 next.

Ib., 1745.

Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff

Gouverneur Generaal, en de Raden wegens den Staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden, en de Generaale Nederlandsche Geoctroyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie; allen den geenen die deesen sullen sien, ofte horen lesen, Salut; doen te weeten:

Nademalen in Rade van India op den 26 deeser maend goedgevonden en verstaen is, de Inlandsche goude munt onder de naem van *Derham Djawi* alhier geslagen werdende, te verklaren gangbaar tegens twee en een halve Ryxdaelder of twintig Schellingen ieder, en voor die Prijs bij de Comp: alhier te ontfangen en uyt te geven; so is 't dat wy alle en

iegelyk door Affixie en Publicatie van deesen hiervan adverteeren met Last en Bevel gemelde goude munt of *Derham Djawi* tegens gemelden prys so wel aen te nemen, als uyt te geven, Item die aentesien, te accepteeren, en onder den anderen te laten roulleeren als een goede gangbaare goude munte, waarvan het Gewigt bedraagt Seven en een halve Stuyver of $\frac{15}{64}$ zynde $\frac{3}{32}$ Reaal.

Gegeven in 't Casteel Batavia, op 't Eyland Groot Java, den 29 Maart 1745.

Ib., 1747.

Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff

Gouverneur Generaal, en de Raden wegens den Staat der vereenigde Nederlanden, en de Generaale Nederlandsche Geoctroyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie ; allen den geenen die deesen sullen sien, ofte horen lesen, Salut ; doen te weeten :

Nademalen in Rade van India op den 13 deser maand goedgevonden en verstaan is, de Inlandsche Silvere Munt onder den naam van *Derham* alhier geslagen werdende te verklaaren gangbaar tegens dertig sware stuijvers ieder, en voor dit prijs bij de Compagnie alhier te ontfangen en uijt te geven ; so is 't, dat wij alle en iegelijk door affixie en publicatie mits desen hiervan adverteeren, met last en bevel gemelde silvere munt *Derham* tegens gemelde prys so we aan te nemen als uijt te geven, item aan te sien, 't accepteeren, en onder den anderen te laten roulleeren als een goede gangbaare silver munte, waarvan het gewigt bedraagt twintig en een halve stuijver.

Gegeven onder 't groot zegul van de Generaale Nederl. Oost Indische Comp. in 't Casteel Batavia op 't Eyland groot Java, den 19 April A°. 1747. (date altered to 21 April.)

Ib., September 26, 1743.

Op den voorstel van den heere Gouverneur Generaal is, na de verleende permissie der Hoog Edele Heeren 17en omtrend den cours der wissels, verstaan de ministers ten eylande Ceylon te qualificeeren om de goede en gangbare pagoden aldaar te mogen laten roulleeren tegens 96 sts. swaar geld, mitsgaders die munt sonder opgeld op wissel na Nederland te accepteeren tegens 90 gelyke swaare sts. ider, om so veel mogelyk gelykstandig te syn met de ducaton van 72 sts., die hier in cassa word g'accepteerd, en het geld verlies by de telling der wissels op Europa na genoeg eguaal te maken ; dog de wissels in Indien, 't sy na dese hoofdplaats of van de comptoiren onder den anderen, te laten roulleeren ten pryse, als het geld by de Comp^{e}. ontfangen en uytgegeven word, dat is: tegens 96 swaare sts. de pagood, observeerende alleen het geene by voorsz. verleende permissie uyt Nederland ook geclausuleerd is om geen geld te accepteeren, daar men het niet nodigh heeft, nog te trecken op plaatsen, alwaar men niet ruym daarvan voorsien is ; mitsgaders dat ook den teller ten voordeele van de Comp^{e}. sal moeten laten vallen 4 p^{cto}. voor de secuure remise van syne penn., wanneer het op Batavia getrocken word, en op alle andere, Westersche comptoiren onder den anderen 3 p^{cto}., dog tusschen Ceylon en Cormandel, item Ceylon en Mallabaar twee ten hondert, maar van Mallabaar op Cormandel direct en vice versa almede 3 p^{cto}., als alle andere Westersche comptoiren onder den anderen, tot Malaca toe inclusive.

Ib., June 14, 1767.

By 't leezen van de missive der heeren Meesteren de dato 21 October 1766 gezien weezende, dat Hoogstdezelve gearresteert hebben om de berekening der muntspecien in Indisch-geld by de *boeken* van de Compe., except die van de soldyen, eenmaal voor altoos af te laaten schaffen en dat vervolgens alle de Indische muntspecien by de boeken worden ingenomen naar derzelver intrinsique waarde, gecalculeert naar de waarde van den Nederlandschen gekartelden dukaton, gerekent op zes en zestig stuivers, als mede het staafgoud tot de prys van f. 375 en het staaf-of baarzilver tot f. 26, beide Hollands courant geld, het mark fyn, daar het nodig zal bevonden worden, het zy dat de aanrekeningen uit Nederland iets hooger of laager mogen uitkomen ; dog dat haar Edele Hoog Achtbaare de bepaaling van den tyd om dit zoodanig t'introduceeren buiten andere schikkingen, daar toe relatief, byzonder ook met betrekking tot het accepteeren van geld op assignatie naar Nederland, aan de dispositie van deeze regeering overgelaaten hebben, in vertrouwen, dat men niet verzuimen zoude hier mede zoo dra mogelyk een begin te maaken ; en deswegens door den heer Gouverneur Generaal g'avanceert zynde, dat het wel zeer noodig voorkomt, alvorens men tot verscheide schikkingen nopens deeze gewigtige verandering in de boeken, met het geene daartoe relatie heeft, besluiten neemt en speciaal over de juiste berekening der differente geldspecien op onderscheide plaatsen, voornamelyk ten belange van den ontvang en uitgaaf deezer gelden 's Comps. wege, daar over met alle noodige aandagt zyne gedagten laat gaan, met instantie, dat de heeren leden zich daar toe, even als zyn Edelheid, geliefden te verledigen, om per naaste daar over te kunnen delibereeren ; dog dat echter nu al aanstonds den vroegsten tyd konde bepaald worden om, ingevolge de positive order der heeren Meesteren, met de berekening der muntspecien in Indisch geld by voormelde boeken een einde te maaken ; zoo is, in aanmerking gekoomen, dat hier inne over gansch Indie een eguaalen voet diende te worden gehouden om geen oneindige confusien in de negocie papieren, ja, den handel zelfs te veroorzaaken en dat, gelyk ook niet wel eerder als met den aanvang van een boekjaar kan begonnen worden, wil men niet bloot staan voor verwarringen in de generaale en byzondere boeken, dus niet vroeger als met primo September 1768 ann het groot oogmerk van haar Edele Hoog Agtbaare

kan worden voldaan, om dat, zoo 'er ook al moogelykheid was naar de West en Noord van Indie de ordres deezen aangaande voor primo September naastkomende te doen ontvangen, zulks volstrekt onmogelyk ten aanzien van de groote Oost zy, en dus overzulks goedgevonden en verstaan om de respective ministeren en bedienden op de buiten comptoiren by eerste gelegenheden prealabel kennisse te geven, dat, in overeenkomst van 't door de heeren Meesteren aangeschrevene by gevenereerde letteren van den 21en dito, met ultimo Augustus 1768 over gansch Indie zal en moet worden afgeschaft de berekening der muntspecien in Indisch geld by de boeken van de Compagnie, uitgezonderd van de soldyen ; en dat gevolgelyk met primo September daar aan alle Indische muntspecien by de boeken zullen en moeten worden ingenomen naar derzelver intrinsique waarde, gecalculeert naar de waarde van de Nederlandsch gekartelde dukaton, gerekend op 66 stuivers, als mede het uit Nederland komende staafgoud tot de prys van f. 375 en het baar-zilver tot f. 26, beide Hollands courant geld, het mark fyn, daar het noodig zal bevonden worden ; onder toezegging, dat zy, ministeren en bedienden, nader zullen worden geelucideert en geordonneert, hoedanig zich dienaangaande in verscheide omstandigheeden zullen en moeten gedraagen.

4. Memoir of Governor van de Graaff to his successor J. G. van Angelbeek. July 15, 1794.

178. De voorsch : krediet brieven zijn in het jaar 1785 mits geld gebrek in dit Gouvernement ingevoert, en daarmeede zijn zeedert alle huiselijke afbetaalingen gedaan, uitgezonderd alleen zulke waar toe geene krediet brieven konden worden gebruikt, en waar toe wijl er ook geene koopere duiten genoeg waaren, gaande weg zoo veel koopere munt is aangeslaagen, als daar toe van tijd tot tijd is noodig geweest.

179. Het koper geld is hier zeedert veole jaaren een gebruikelijke munt, en zoo lange de Komp : met en benevens hetzelve tot huislijke uitgavens ook deed besteeden een partij zilver en goud geld, dat daar door onder de gemeente in omloop kwam, hadde dat geen of ten minsten geen zeer merkelijk ongemak.

180. Doch zoo dra de Komp : bij het invoeren van papiere geld tot haar huislijke uitgavens in dit Gouvernement, niet anders dan krediet brieven en koopere munt emploijeerde, wierd het zilver en goud geld spoedig heel schaars, en na maate dat deeze schaarsheid toenam, steeg het in den koers onder de gemeente gaandeweg booven derzelver vastgestelde, numerike waarde, relatief tot de krediet brieven en koopere munt.

181. Reeds verscheide jaaren is deezen hoogeren koers der goude en zilvere specien, geweest omtrent 50 p.ct. met een klijne reizing of daaling, na maate dat de ballans ten nadeele van Ceilon min of meer groot geweest is.

182. Bij de Komp : geeft dat geen ongelegentheid. Dezelve doed des niet temin met de krediet brieven en de koopere munt tegens de vollewaarde, die ze representeeren, alle huislijke afbetaalingen, doch s'Komps : dienaaren en andere ingezeetenen zijn daar door zeer gedrukt, wijl ze alles wat van buiten komt, na maate van dien, duurder betaalen moeten.

183. Deeze ongelegentheid is voor hun te meer drukkende geworden, na dat Hunne Hoog Edelheeden hebben bevoolen, dat de Assignaatsien na Nederland moeten worden betaald half in zilver of goud geld, of anders met 50 p.ct.: opgeld, en dat de assignatien op Batavia moeten worden getrokken onder voorwaarde, dat aan de trekkers zoo veel minder zal worden betaald als den hoogeren koers der goude en zilvere specien op Ceilon relatief tot de Ceilonsche krediet brieven, grooter is dan den hoogeren koers der goude en zilvere specien te Batavia, relatief tot de Bataviasche krediet brieven.

184. Wanneer Ceilon geen grooter bedraagen op assignaatsien naar Europa accepteerd, dan het geen van ouds bevonden is, dat dit Gouvernement tot huisselijke afbetaaling noodig heeft, is het voor de Komp : om het eeven, of de betaaling geschied in goude of zilvere muntspecien dan wel in krediet brieven of koopere munt, zoo als da zeer omstandig getoond is bij verscheide van onze nedrige brieven aan Hunne Hoog Edelbeeden onder anderen bij brief van den 28e Januarij 1793 §. 79.

185. In het overmaaken van geld op assignaatsien na Batavia, kan zeekerlijk dit misbruikt gemaakt worden, dat de luiden die expres zilver of goud geld daar toe meede brengen van Batavia, dit eerst op Ceilon met groote winst kunnen kon verteeren in krediet brieven op koopere munt, doch daar in kan worden voorzien en wanneer het tellen van geld op assignatie na Batavia, word onderworpen aan de kondietsien door ons voorgesteld, bij onzen nedrigen brief aan Hun Hoog Edelheeden van den 28e Januarij 1792 §. 71, zoude de Komp : ter gunste van de Ceilonsche dienaaren en ingezeetenen, ook nu zo wel als eertijds dat kunnen en naar mijn nedrig inzien, ook behooren toetestaan, op den van ouds gewoonen voet.

186. Het is niet te ontkennen dat de Komp : wanneer de assignaatsien op Europa worden betaald half in zilver of goud geld, dat thans duur kan worden verkogt of anders met 50 p. ct. advans, daar op aanmerkelijk wint, en dat ze ook aan merkelijk winnen kan, wanneer de Assignaatsien na Batavia getrokken worden op den voorsz : voet, en daar op zelfe gaande weg meer winnen zal, na maate dat het verschil tusschen de goude en zilvere geld specien en de krediet brieven, te Batavia af, en hier toeneemd.

187. Doch als men daar en teegen bedenkt, dat de Komp : op de koopere munt genooten heeft en noch dagelijks geniet een goed voordeel, dat de Komp : met de krediet brieven zeedert dat ze in ge bruik zijn, alle huisselijk uitgavens heeft afbetaald, en zelfs heeft afbetaald alle opgenoomene gelden, en dat de Komp : met gaande weg, na maate dat het geleegen komt, een partij zilver geld te doen verkoopen, bij voortduuring noch een goede som winnen kan, diende wel haar Edele naar mijn nedrig inzien, zich daar meede te vreeden te houden.

188. Maar behalven deeze konsideraatsien, en dat de Komp : als Heer van den lande toch ook voor het wel zijn van haare Dienaaren en ingezeetenen eenigzints diend te zorgen, zal de Komp : ook daar door vorderen, haar eigen en waare belangen.

189. Alles kan overdreeven worden, en wanneer de krediet brieven en de koopere munt de daar aan geregte waarde verliezen, zoude dat de Kompenie zelve groote ongelegentheid voort brengen, die niet te vreezen is wanneer de Komp : blijft meede worken, om de krediet brieven en de koopere munt de maintineeren bij de waarde, waar voor ze dezelfde heeft uitgegeeven, toen ze zijn in omloop gebragt.

190. Dit doende kan de Komp : wanneer het haar niet geleegen komt duiten uit te stuuren, de winsten op het aanslaan van koopere munt blijven genieten. Ze kan te gelijken tijd dat ze de gemeente daarmeede dienst doet, tot dat Ceilon door het meerder voortbrengen van producten de ballans in zijn voordeel krijgt, blijven genieten de voordeelen op het verkoopen van goude en zilver Speetsien, die zeer aanmerkelijk zijn, en de krediet brieven kunnen aan haar Ed. bij voortduuring maaken een vrij groot kapitaal, dat ze gebruiken kan tot alle huislijke uitgavens, en tot alle onderneemingen en verbeeteringen van dit goede land, zonder ooit om geld verleegen te zijn, en zonder dat het haar een duit kost.

191. Op deeze gronden hoop ik dat Huune Hoog Edelheeden bij nadere reflectie ter gunste van de Ceilonsche Dienaaren en ingezeetenen hoogst geneight zullen toestaan, dat de assignaatsien na Nederland, mits ze blijven binnen de van ouds bepaalde som, even gelijk eertijds moogen worden geteld in koopere munt, dan wel in krediet, en dat de assignaatsien op Batavia mits ze blijven onderworpen aan de kondietsien door ons voorgesteld en waar van § . 185 gesprooken is, moogen worden getrokken op den ouden voet met een agio alleen van 4 per cent.

192. Met aftezien van de order om de assignaatsien op Nederland te betaalen half in zilver of anders met 50 p. ct. opgeld, en dat de assignaatsien op Batavia moeten worden getrokken op den voorsz : onoreusen voet, zal de Komp : eigentlijk gesprooken niets verliezen, die ze niet genieten kan dan ten koste van haare Dienaaren en ingezeetenen in dit Gouvernement, die buiten dien door de schaarsheid van goude en zilver Spetsien reeds zeer gedrukt zijn.

193. Reedelijker dan daar van te willen profiteeren zoude het naar mijn nedrig inzien zijn, dat de assignaatsien naar Nederland in steede van met een rabat van 10$\frac{10}{11}$ p. ct. wierden geteld in Nederlandsch geld, dat is dat voor elke 66 stuivers die in Nederland betaald worden, hier worden betaald 80 stuivers indias.

194. Daar tegen denk ik, dat niemand met billijkheid iets hebben kan, en dit zoude wanneer het over geheel Indien wierde gemeen gemaakt, misschien daar van kunnen zijn een ruim equivalent.

5. Ceylon Plakaats.

JOHN GERARD van ANGELBEEK, Raad Ordinair van Nederlandsch India, Goeverneur en Direkteur van het Eiland Ceilon, met dies onderhoorigheeden en de Raad.

Allen den geenen die deezen zullen zien of hooren leezen, Salut ! doen teweeten :

Nademaal ens te vooren gekoomen is, dat onder de goede Ingezeetenen in de tegenwoordige tyds gesteldheid bedenking nopens de waarde van 's Komps : Krediet-brieven gereezen is, inzonderheid wegens de onzeekere uitkomst van de beleegering waarmede deeze vesting gedreigd word. Zoo hebben wy noodig geoordeld, tot gerust stelling van dezelven, by deezen opentlyk bekend te maaken :

Dat wy, in een welgegrond vertrouwen op de sterkte onzer vesting, op de getrouwigheid van ons talryk garnisoen en op den ruimen voorraad van artillery ammunietsie en provisie, geensins twyfelen, of ons genoomen besluit tot een standvastige defensie zal als dan met eene gelukkige uitkomst bekroond worden.

Dat volgens berichten by de Engelsche nieuwspapieren, die te eerder geloof verdienen, wyl zy tot ons voordeel en tot nadeel van hunne Naatsie strekken, onze staat met Frankryk een traktaat van vreede en alliance geslooten heeft, waar by de onafhankelykheid en souverainiteit van onze Republiek erkend en gegarandeerd word.

Dat beide Republieken zich by een of- en defensif traktaat verbonden hebben, dat d'eene geen vreede met Groot brittannien zal maaken, zonder toestemming van de andere.

Dat de Superioriteit van Frankryk boven England in deezen Oorlog in Europa reets voor het sluiten van de alliance gedecideerd was, en door de accessie van onze Republiek een nieuw overwigt bekomen heeft, en men dus met reede verwachten mag, dat England by den aanstaande vreede genoodzaakt zal worden, alle veroverde vestingen, Schepen en goederen terug te geeven, en alle schaade te vergoeden, en eindelyk, dat de Heeren Majores noch jongst eerst by hunne hier in extrakt ontvangene missive van den 2 Januari 1794. § 282. aan de Hooge Indiasche Regeering erkend hebben.

Dat de Kompanie het kapitaal van de onder de Gemeente roulleerende krediet brieven schuldig is en te eeniger tyd zal moeten betaalen. Waar van de spoedige vervulling thans met reeden verwacht mag worden, wyl onze Republiek nu de rampzalige tweedragt en scheuring die tot dus verre in dezelve heeft plaats gehad, en als de eenigste bronader van alle onze rampen beschouwd moet worden, door de alsins gelukkige revoluutsie en hervorming gedempt, en de eensgezindheid hersteld is, krachtige middelen beraamen zal, om haare kolonien in Oost-indien in haaren voorige bloeienden staat te herstellen, en dus ook vooral de Krediet-brieven te realiseeren.

Dat dewyl te zelver tyd by ons in aanmerking genomen is, dat, zoo wanneer de aanvangs gemelde beduchting by zommige Ingezeetenen zoo verre mogt toeneemen, dat zy weigerden, de krediet-brieven in betaaling te accepteeren, de Komp : niet alleen maar ook de goede Gemeente selve in de uiterste verleegenheid zoude gebragt worden, door dien als dan by gebrek van goud-en zilver-geld, en schaarsheid van Koper munt, alle betaaling, handel en wandel soude moeten stilstaan : zoo hebben wy, tot voorkooming van de funeste gevolgen van dien, goedgevonden te statueeren, gelyk wy statueeren by deezen.

1. Dat de geenen, die betaaling te pretendeeren hebben voor goederen, welke met zilver-of goud-geld ingekocht zyn, krediet-brieven in betaaling zullen moeten akcepteeren met zoodanig opgeld, als ten dage, dat de betaaling aangeboden word, plaats zal hebben.

2. Dat in alle verdere handel en wandel de krediet-brieven voor de waarde, waar voor zy uitgegeeven zyn, zullen moeten aangenoomen worden en dat de geenen, die dezelven weigeren in betaaling te akcepteeren, hunne pretentsie verliezen en verbeuren zullen ten voordeele van de Diakony.

3. Dat in alle handel en wandel geen onderscheid gemaakt zal worden tusschen het koper-geld en krediet-brieven, maar dat beide steets eenerly waarde zullen hebben en behouden, en het aan de vrye keuze van den uitgeever of betaaler zal staan, of hy zyn schuld of reekening met krediet-brieven dan wel met koper geld betaalen wil.

4. Dat niemand eenig kopergeld voor de krediet-brieven met opgeld zal moogen verwisselen, op poene van konfiskaatsie zoo wel van de krediet-brieven als van het kopergeld het welk met opgeld verwisseld is, te verbeuren de eene helfte voor den fiskaal en d'andere voor den aanbrenger.

5. Dat wy, uit aanmerking, dat de thans rouleerende krediet-brieven te groot zyn om tot kleene uitgaven gebruikt te worden, en dus uit het verbod by artikel 4 Somwylen eenige ongeleegenheid zoude kunnen onstaan, tot gemak van de Gemeente beslooten hebben, kas-briefjes of nooten van een, twee, drie, vier, vyf en tien ryxdaalders te kreeeren, en uittegeeven voor reekening en ten laste van de Komp : om door haar Edele even zodanig als de bevoorens gekreeerde krediet brieven in der tyd gerealiseerd te worden en die dus even als de krediet-brieven koers houden zullen, met dat onderscheid, dat de zelven niet zullen getransporteerd, maar van den een aan den anderen in betaaling gegeeven worden, weshalven dezelven in een zeer kleen formaat gedrukt zyn onder de handteekeningen van de Heeren van Angelbeek en Samlant ; met zulke voorzorge echter, dat ze niet kunnen nagemaakt worden, waar van de volgende Schemas hier ingelyft worden te weeten van een en twee ryxds : by het Nederduitsche, van drie en vier ryxds : by 't Singaleesche en van vyf en tien by 't Malabaarsch exemplaar.

6. Dat deeze kas nooten zullen uitgegeeven worden in betaaling van alle posten, speciaal ook voor gasie kostgeld en alle vordere emolumenten, die minder dan 25 ryxds : bedraagen ; Doch dat, tot gerief van de mindere Dienaaren die f 30 en daar beneeden winnen, als Boekhouders, en andere Pennisten, Serjants, Korporaals en Gemeene militairen en Artilleristen, de Inlanders daaronder begreepen, voorts van de Chirurgie en winkels, &c., aan dezelven de gasie en 't kostgeld half met deeze nooten en half met doedoes doch de 50 per ct: douceur op het kostgeld met doedoes alleen voldaan zal worden en eindelyk,

7. Dat de geenen, dat deeze kas nooten inwisselen en na verloop van ses maanden weder aan de Komp : overgegeeven willen, daar voor ordinaire krediet-brieven met drie pr: ct: opgeld, dan wel obligaatsies op de Komp : met een half pr : ct: 's maands, beginnende met primo Januari 1796, naar hunne keuze ontvangen kunnen mits de sommen te zaamen niet minder dan vyf honderd ryxdaalders bedraagen.

Gegeeven in 't Kasteel KOLUMBO op 't Eiland Ceilon den 18 December 1795.

JOHN GERARD van ANGELBEEK.

Ter Ordonnantsie
Gem : zyn
Acht : en den

(L.S.)

Van wel
Wel Edele Groot
Raad

B.L. van Zitter, Sekretaris.

APPENDIX G.

1. Extracts from the Jaffna Diary, 1803.

January 8th. Mint. Signed the following Receipts to the Commanding Officer of Jafanapatam for Brass Ordnance.

Received from Lieutenant Colonel Burton Gage Barbut Commanding Jafanapatam the following pieces of Brass Ordnance on account of Government to wit:—

	Nos.	Calibre.	Weight.	Remarks.
	1	Six 6 Pounder	2164 lbs.	
	1	Three 3 Pounder	572 lbs.	
	1	Two 2 Pounder	526 lbs.	
	1	Two 2 Pounder	408 lbs.	
	1	Two 2 Pounder	252 lbs.	
	17	of Different Calibres	2680½ lbs.	Six Chambres are included and 13 .... of Iron weighing 3 lbs. each Deducted.
Total	22	Total	6602½ lbs.	

Jafanapatam 8th of January 1803

s/d B. G. Barbut
Comt. Agt. of Reve. & Come.
for the Nn. Districts.

March 14. Bill for Copper for Mint. Rix Dollars 853. 6. 3½.

April 26. No: 371. To William Boyde Esquire, Vice Treasurer have brought RDr. 842. 10. 1 being the amount paid for copper purchased for the Mint to the Debit of General Treasury in pursuance of directions from the Board of Revenue and Commerce.

April 29. No: 389. from Mr: Hicken Mint Master enclosing a petition to His Excellency the Governor which he requests may be forwarded.

No: 390. to Mr: Chief Secretary Arbuthnot forwarding the petition of Mr: Hicken to His Excellency the Governor praying that he may continue to be supplied with metal to carry on the business he has undertaken for the support of his family. All the brass ordnance ordered to be coined has been delivered to Mr: Hicken for that purpose.

No: 391. To Mr: J. A. Hicken have forwarded his petition to His Excellency the Governor.

2. Council Proceedings.

(Undated, but apparently of September 27, 1811).

Minute by His Honor the Lieutenant Governor.

His Honor the Lieutenant Governor has before had occasion to submit to the consideration of Council the great scarcity of Copper Coin and to move a Regulation which was accordingly passed for preventing the further decrease of that Currency in so far as might have been occasioned by exportation. But further measures appear urgently necessary to supply the place of what has already disappeared at the same time that the expense of repairing the public buildings in different parts of the Island putting the Outposts in a state of defence and other necessary disbursements have anticipated the means of any purchase of metal for the purpose of Coinage.

Under these circumstances the attention of the Lieutenant Governor has been called to a number of condemned Brass Guns which have long been lying at different stations totally unserviceable and without any chance of the means to send them home. Had that been practicable it would no doubt long since have been done, but it is obvious that masses of such weight can only be stowed in the bottom of a ship before her cargo is on board, an opportunity which never can happen on this Island.

The important object of relieving the trading inhabitants from those difficulties at present experienced for want of Copper Coin and the further consideration of this supply being effected without burthen to the Treasury in the present moment of heavily increased contingencies will His Honor trusts appear to His Majesty's Ministers a satisfactory reason for breaking up these Guns and converting them into Pices, which under that consideration he moves may be done.

His Honor takes the opportunity of recording his thanks to Mr. Bertolacci who by his knowledge in this branch has been able to render a material benefit to the public service by taking charge of the intended work. This he has voluntarily offered without any remuneration whatever, requesting only that a Commission of Audit may be appointed for the Accounts instead of the usual course through his own office of Auditor General.

The return of the unserviceable Guns and several statements and calculations made by Mr. Bertolacci are herewith delivered in for the information of Council by which it appears that a Coinage will be effected to the value of Rix Dollars 54904-2 0 and that the charges will amount to about R.Drs. 5215-10 3 being not more than 9½ pr Cent or one half the usual expense, a saving which results partly from Government being enabled by Mr. Bertolacci's assistance to dispense altogether with a Contract and partly from the superior accuracy of the operation under his charge and the particular attention he has paid to economy in the Establishment.

Inclosures.

The Honorable John Rodney,
Chief Secretary to Government,
Colombo.

Sir,

In obedience to the desire expressed by His Honor the Lieutenant Governor I transmit you to be laid before him the undermentioned papers relative to the Coinage of Copper Money Vizt :—

No. 1. A copy of the Minute in Council dated 6th May, 1801 upon which Mr. Blumes first Contract was made.

No. 2. An estimate given by Mr. Boulton and transmitted to the Government of Ceylon by Mr. Huskisson in his letter of 10th October, 1803.

No. 3. A copy of Mr. Blumes Second Contract dated 9th February, 1805.

No. 4. A copy of Chinna Tamby's Contract dated 5th June, 1805.

No. 5. A statement of the charges attending the Coinage of Copper Money in the manner in which it is now carried on including some notes relative to the weight of the Coin, &c, &c.

No. 6. A statement containing the expenses incurred for establishing the New Mint.

No. 7. An Inventory of the Articles now belonging to the Mint.*

His Honor will note a considerable diminution of the expenses by conducting the Coinage according to the New Establishment and I need not add how much more eligible it is on grounds of prudence that the Government should have a Mint under its immediate management and control.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most Obedt Servant,
(*Signed*) A. Bertolacci.

Colombo,
27th Sept 1811.

No. 1.

Mr. Blumes first Contract 6th May, 1801.

Minute by the Governor.

The considerable and increasing deficiency which has lately appeared in the circulating Medium of these settlements which as it consists entirely of Copper cannot be attributed to any sudden call for it in the neighbouring Presidency makes it highly advisable that an increased quantity of that metal should be thrown into circulation.

It happens that a quantity of Jappan Copper and of Plate Copper has been lying in the Company's Godown for some years without any offer having been made for the purchase of any considerable part of it.

The coining of this copper (of which upwards of 1000 Cwt remains now in store) into Stivers would undoubtedly be beneficial to the Country and a relief to the Treasury could it be accomplished on moderate terms.

The least onerous terms which have been offered are those of Adrian Pieter Blume as follows, Vizt. to receive the Copper from the Stores by weight, and to coin the same into Stivers at 48 to a Rix Dollar as usual according to a die to be approved of by Government and to deliver into the Treasury Twenty nine such Stivers for every Dutch pound of Copper he should receive allowing however a further deduction of five per Cent as wastage in the manufacture of Stivers.

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* Also a statement No. 8 of the quantity of Copper Money to be coined out of the Ordnance to be delivered to the Mint.

A. B.

Although these are by no means what I consider as advantageous to Government, for the produce will be but equal to the Invoice price of the Copper that is Star Pagodas 15–13 pr Cent * I am induced to accept them at present in the uncertainty of what the expense would be of undertaking the business in announce (*sic.* read: "aumanie") and of finding on the Island any intelligent and confident person to conduct it.

The Copper in the Godown is at this moment a dead stock and the obtaining of the Current Money is an object of great importance.

In the course of a few months a more economical mode of obtaining both those ends may present itself at the same time must be considered the little comparative value of the Metal coined with the labor of Coinage and the consequent necessity of wanting a great recompense of that operation.

No. 2.

Estimate sent by Mr. Huskisson Agent of the Island under cover of his Letter dated 1st October 1803.

Pro forma Estimate of 100,000 lbs of Copper coined into Stivers, half and quarter Do: to deliver at the East India Company's Wharf of London.

Tough Cake Copper supposing it can be bought at £138 pr Ton.

		T	Cwt	Q	lbs		
Weight		44	12	3	12	....	£6160–14– 3

Rolling the Copper, cutting out the blanks, melting the Srat (*sic.* query: "sweep") and waste, rounding the edges, forging and engraving the dies &c.

		T	Cwt.	Q	lb		
Stivers	50 pr lb	26	15	12	24	at £45–10	1218–15– –
Half Do	100 pr lb	8	18	2	8	at 50–10	450–17–10
Quarter Do	200 pr Do:	8	18	2	8	at 55–10	495–10– 8
Casks and preparing in Rouleau						at 1–10	66–19– 3

Freight to London to be delivered at the East India Company's Wharf
T Cwt lb
gross weight 46– 6– 2 at £2–10 .... 115–16– 3

£8508–13– –

Wharfage &c at the Company's Wharf to be paid by you.
(Errors excepted.)

(*Signed*) Mattw: Boulton.

N. B.
The total of charges exclusive of freight is £2347–19 are for coining 100,000 lb. of Copper into R. Drs. 104,166 fs 8.

The proportion of Stivers, half Do: and Quarter Do: is

In Stivers	60,000
In half Do:	20,000
In quarter Do: ..	20,000
	100,000

* N B.—Agreeable to this rate at the time that 4 Rix Drs were equivalent to 1 Star Pagoda Government received 61 R.Drs 1 fanam for every 105 lb of Copper delivered to Mr. Blume. The weight of the Copper Money coined upon that contract is not mentioned here, it is however ascertained by weighing those Stivers, Double Stivers and fanams, that thirty six Stivers weigh one English pound, and therefore Mr. Blume received seven Stivers upon every twenty nine that were delivered to Govt. which makes a charge of 24¼ upon every one hundred exclusive of the allowance of wastage.

No. 3.

Mr. Blumes Second Contract.

Read the following agreement between the Ceylon Government and Mr. A. P. Blume.

Articles of Agreement between the Ceylon Government on the one part and Adrian Pieter Blume of Colombo on the other part.

1st. The said Government will cause to be delivered to the said A. P. Blume a quantity of old copper and brass unserviceable Ordnance which he will compound in the proportion of eight pounds weight of copper to one hundred pounds of brass, and afterwards coin the said compound metal into Stivers of 48 to One Rix Dollar according to a Die to be approved of by the said Government.

2nd. The said A.P. Blume engages to make the Stiver so to be coined of the due weight of fifty to each English Pound of Metal, of which fifty Stivers, forty two shall be delivered to the said Government, and the remaining eight shall go to the said A. P. Blume as the expenses of coinage.

3rd. The said Government agrees that the said A. P. Blume shall over and above the said allowance of eight Stivers from each pound weight to be coined, be also allowed to deduct in name of wastage ten pounds from every one hundred pounds of old copper and Brass Ordnance to be delivered to him.

In witness whereof the Secretary to Government on behalf of Government on the one part and the said A. P. Blume on the other part have to two parts hereof interchangeable set their hands.

Colombo,
February 9th 1805

(*Signed*) Rob: Arbuthnot,
Chief Secty to Govt:

" A. P. Blume.

I Ian Hendrick Demmer do hereby engage myself as security for the performance of the above Agreement on the part of Adrian Pieter Blume. Witness my hand at Colombo the day and year above written.

In presence of

(*Signed*) I. H. Demmer.

(*Signed*) Herbert Beaver

" W. Boyd.

No. 4.

Chinna Tamby's Contract.

Articles of agreement between George Lusignan Esqr Agent of Revenue and Commerce for the District of Jaffnapatam on behalf of the Government of Ceylon on the one part and Chinna Tamby Chitty Sheveshanaranam Chitty of Wannarponne on the other part.

1st. The said George Lusignan will cause to be delivered to the said Chinna Tamby Chitty Sheveshanaranam Chitty a quantity of old Copper and brass unserviceable Ordnance which he would compound in the proportion of ten pounds weight of copper to one hundred pounds of brass and afterwards coin the said Compound Metal into Stivers of 48 to One Rix Dollar, according to a Die to be approved of by the said Govt.

2nd. The said Chinna Tamby Chitty Sheveshanaranam Chitty engages to make the Stivers so to be coined of the due weight of forty eight to each Dutch pound of Metal of which forty eight Stivers, thirty eight shall be delivered to the said Government, and the remaining ten shall go to the said Chinna Tamby Chitty Sheveshanaranam as the expense of coinage.

3rd. The said Government agrees that the said Chinna Tamby Shetty Sheveshanaranam Chitty shall over and above the said allowance of Ten Stivers from each pound weight to be coined be also allowed to deduct in name of wastage six pounds from every one hundred and ten pounds of old Copper and Brass Ordnance so to be delivered to him.

In witness whereof the said George Lusignan Esquire in behalf of the Government of Ceylon on the one part and Chinna Tamby Chitty Sheveshanaranam Chitty on the other part have signed to two parts of this Agreement dated at Jaffnapatam the 5th June 1805.

(*Signed*) G. Lusignan.

No. 5.

Statement of the Charges attending the Coinage of Copper Money independent of the expenses incurred for the first Establishment of the Mint.

			Expenses in Cash. R Drs:	F.	P.	Wastage upon 100 lbs of Metal.
For melting & casting Metal to the amount of 100 Rix Dollars			1	11	—	2
For cutting fanams ½ fs: & ¼ fs: to the amount of Do:			1	10	—	½
For flattening the same			—	10	—	½
For cleaning Do:			—	2	—	—
For stamping Do:			—	6	2	—
Charcoal for Do:			—	8	—	—
	pr. m.					
Conicopaly	25 - -	Supposing that 5000 R.Drs be coined in one month	2	2	2	
Stamp Cutter	25 - -					
For repair of tools	25 - -					
House Rent	35 - -					
Total Charges in Cash upon 100 R.Drs:			8	2	—	Total Wastage allowed 3

N.B. 2 lb English of Metal Averdupoise is coined in 100 pice or 25 fanams, of every 100 fanams 60 are coined in whole fanams

Do:	in half Do:	20
Do:	in Quarter Do:	20
		100

When old guns are delivered to the Mint the Charges for breaking them are at the rate of R.Drs: 1 fanams 4 for every 100 lb weight including Workmen and Charcoal. The wastage experienced in the 4 Old Guns which have lately been broken has proved to be only 1 pr Cent. I have not been able to ascertain the exact Charges that were formerly incurred for the breakage of the old Guns, but Mr. Blume has stated to me that they were considerable and also so the wastage. Government was at the charge of both and the contracts between Government and Mr. Blume began only after the Metal was broken in small pieces and delivered to him by weight.

No. 6.

Statement of Expences incurred for establishing the Mint consisting of sums paid or to be paid for Articles received from the Quarter Master General's Department for Articles purchased from Individuals and for work done.

		R.Drs.	F.	P.
Recd: from Qr: Mr: Genls: Dept:	1 Standing Vice	25	—	—
	2 Bencher Do:	14	—	—
	6 Sledge Hammers	41	2	2
	6 Hand Do:	8	9	—
	4 Files of Sorts	5	6	—
	3 Anvils	274	5	3
	1 Bellows	110	—	—
	111 Pound of Iron	27	9	—
	35 Do: of Steel	12	8	—
	112 Do: of Lead	56	—	—
	4 Do: of Sheeting Copper	6	—	—
		581	4	1

	Continuation of No. 6.	*R.Drs.*	*F.*	*P.*
		581	*4*	*1*
Paid to Individuals.	1 pair of Scales	20	—	—
	4 Cast Iron Bars	20	—	—
	1 large Tub	10	—	—
	1 wooden water bucket	2	—	—
	4 Padlocks	8	—	—
	1 Bench for the use of the Smith	10	—	—
	55 Pounds of Iron	17	7	2
	To Perera for two forms & attendance of Workmen	58	—	—
	To Ian Blacksmith for 2 forms Do: Do: ..	33	—	—
	2 Blocks	10	—	—
	Paid to a Bricklayer for erecting 2 forges	12	—	—
	To Melting Man for trying Metal	14	—	—
	To Carpenter for work done	4	—	—
	For coolies and other small charges	8	—	—
	To Blacksmith for making 19 pair of dies at 3 each	57	—	—
	To the Silversmith Perera for cutting several of the said dies previous to his being employed monthly	25	—	
	To Mathes Gomes Conicoply for attendance previous to his being employed monthly	20	—	—
	Total R.Drs: ..	919.	11.	3

No. 7.

Inventory of Articles belonging to the Mint.

1 Standing Vice
2 Bench Do:
6 Large Hammers
6 Small Do:
4 Files
3 Anvils
1 Bellows
Iron weighing lbs 163
1 pair of Scales
35 lbs Steel
10 pairs of Dies for fanams
6 pairs of Dies for ½ Do :
3 pairs of Dies for ¼ Do :
2 large forms
2 Small Do :
4 Cast Iron Bars
4 Padlocks
2 Small Tongs
2 Large Do : to hold the Die
1 large Tub
1 wooden water bucket
3 large Chissels
1 Bench for the use of the Smith
5 Small Chissels
112 lbs of Lead made into the following weights viz.

1 of 50 pounds
1 — 25 Do
1 — 10 Do
1 — 5 Do
1 — 4 Do
1 — 3 Do
1 — 2 Do
1 — 1 Do
1 — ½ Do
1 — ¼ Do

No. 8.

Statement of the Quantity of Copper Money to be coined out of the Ordnance hereunder mentioned.

		Tons.	Cwt.	lbs.
Weight of Old Ordnance, part delivered and part to be delivered to the Mint agreeable to a statement given by Lieut Col. Wilson	..	23	18	24
Add a 9 pounder to be received from Jaffnapatam and not included in the above statement supposed to weigh		—	12	—
		24	10	24
Making Pounds		54,904		
Deduct 1 pr Cent wastage in breaking the Guns and three pr Cent wastage in Coining..		2,196		
		52,708		
At the rate of 50 pice per one English Pound Avoirdupois and 48 pice per Rix Dollar the said 52,708 pounds of Metal will produce	R. Drs.	54,904–	2–	—
Deduct Charges at the rate of 1½ per Cent for breaking the Guns & 8½ per cent for stamping according to the details here annexed	..	5,215–	10–	3
Clear Produce	R. Drs.	49,688–	3–	1

Colombo,
1st October 1811.

(*Signed*) A. BERTOLACCI

3. MR. BERTOLACCI'S MEMORANDUM ON THE COINAGE OF CEYLON, NO. 36.

WHEN Mr. North came to Ceylon the Rix Dollar was not a silver Coin in circulation, but a nominal currency equivalent to 48 pice of Copper Coin, of such a weight, that 36 of them made 1 lb. Dutch: the difference between that weight and the English being at the rate of 109 English to 100 Dutch.

In 1803 a new Copper Coin was issued lighter than the former. The weight of it was such, that 50 Pice made 1 lb. English, instead of 36 of them making 1 lb. Dutch.*

But although the intrinsic value of the Copper Coin had thus been diminished, the Rix Dollar still continued to be considered equivalent to 48 Pice: without making the least distinction, whether they were of the old Copper Coin or the new.

Nearly at the same time, a silver Rix Dollar was coined. The silver composing it was, precisely, of the same standard with the Spanish Dollar, and its weight such, that 3 Ceylon Rix Dollars were equal to 1 Spanish Dollar.

A Paper Currency in Rix Dollars was also brought into circulation.

The Silver Rix Dollar & the Paper Rix Dollar were issued for the same amount, namely 48 Pice in Copper, but the Rix Dollar could no longer be considered a nominal Currency, since there was silver Coin of that denomination to represent it.

The relative value abovementioned between the silver Rix Dollar and the Copper Coin, either in common transactions of Trade, or in the publick Expenditure of Ceylon, has never altered.

It is quite the contrary with regard to the value of the Ceylon Rix Dollars, taken either in Silver, Copper or Treasury Notes, if to be changed for the Star Pagoda, the Pound Sterling, or any other Currency.

For several years past great loss has been experienced in making this Exchange. The value of the Rix Dollar in silver or its equivalent in Copper having fallen considerably below the amount, for which they were issued by Government.

This depreciation however, was not apparent at so early a period as it would have been, if not prevented by certain measures, which Mr. North adopted, and which will be explained hereafter.

The period alluded to is that, when our Coin was for the first time deteriorated.

* Some Copper Coin sent from England in 1802 weighed at the rate of 46 or 47 Pice for 1 lb English.

In the Copper Money this change was effected, as I have already stated, in the year 1803, by coining 50 Pice out of 1 lb of Copper English Weight, instead of 36 Pice from 1 lb Dutch.

In regard to the Silver, the relative Exchange between the Pound Sterling and the Rix Dollar had been fixed by Mr North at 9⅜ RDs. for £1 Sterling; but the Rix Dollars were so light in weight, that three of them were equivalent to one Spanish Dollar.

In order to render 9⅜ RDs. in Silver really worth 1 £ sterling, they should have been heavier: In what proportion shall be examined; but in the mean time, it is proper it should, for the sake of clearness, be stated the grounds, upon which 9⅜ Rix Dolls. were established as equal to a Pound sterling.

The Rix Dollar has always been divided into 12 Ceylon Fanams; the Madras Star Pagoda being equal to 45 Fanams.

The Madras Fanam is divided in a manner different from the fanam of Ceylon. The former into 80 Cash, the latter into 4 Pice, and their subdivisions of half and Quarter Pice. But the quantity of Copper contained in the Madras Fanam was very nearly, if not precisely, equal to that in the Ceylon Fanam of the old Coinage.

For this reason the Exchange between Ceylon and Madras was originally established at 45 Ceylon Fanams for 1 Star Pagoda.

In the years 1801, 2 and 3 the Exchange at Madras remained fixed at 2½ Star Pagodas or 112½ Fanams, for 1 £ Sterling. The Ceylon and Madras Fanam being then the same, and 112½ Fanams making Rix Dollars 9⅜– that standard was taken for the rate of Exchange between England and Ceylon.

About this time, the Spanish Dollar was worth in England 4*s.* 8*d.* or there abouts, and therefore 4 & $\frac{2}{7}$ of a Spanish Dollar were required to make 1 £ sterlg.

The Ceylon Rix Dollar having been coined with Silver of the same standard with the Spanish Dollar, and of the exact weight of 3 Rds. to 1 Spanish Dollar, it will appear from calculation, that had Ceylon Rix Dollars been carried to England, and offered in Exchange there for the Pound Sterling no less than Rds. 12 & 10 Fanams & $\frac{2}{7}$ of a Fanam would have been demanded for 1 £ sterling.

The reason for it is simple. We have seen that at 4*s.* & 8*d.* per Spanish Dollar, 4 & $\frac{2}{7}$ of a Spanish Dollar were required to obtain 1 £ sterling, and in Rds. 12.10$\frac{2}{7}$ of those coined under Mr. North's Government there was *precisely* the same quantity of pure Silver, as in 4 & $\frac{2}{7}$ Spanish Dollars.

I need not say a word respecting the Ceylon Government Notes, which not being convertible at the Treasury into any Coin, but the Rix Dollar in Silver or Copper, must inevitably be subject to all the changes and fluctuations, to which those Coins are liable.

It is true, that in the event of a sufficiency of Coin not being forthcoming at the Treasury, to exchange these Notes, when presented for payment, then a further depreciation in the value of them would be experienced—A depreciation, which would effect the value of the Paper Currency, without altering that of the Coin.

But this Circumstance is not at present under consideration; and, as long as the credit of Government stands good in this Island, every calculation that is made, with a view to compare the value of the Pound Sterlg. with the Ceylon Rix Dollar in Silver or in Copper, applies with equal propriety to the Rix Dollar in paper Currency.

Thus much being promised I shall state that the fall of Exchange against the Ceylon Currency ought, naturally, to have begun in 1803, when both the Copper Coin and the Silver Coin were issued for a greater value than they actually possessed.

Yet such was not the case for the following reason. The Government Treasury was, at that time, always open to receive Rix Dollars and give in exchange for them Bills at 9⅜ for 1 £ Sterling or at Rds. 3¾ for Star Pagodas.

Although Mr. North had issued a Copper Coin and a Silver Rix Dollar that were below the weight of the value fixed upon them: Yet by receiving them back at all times, and giving in exchange other Coins, or Bills payable in other Coins at the same rate as he had issued those Rds., he actually gave to the Ceylon Currency a value, which in reality it did not possess.

What the circumstances were, which enabled, or probably, compelled, Mr. North to draw so largely on England, or on the Presidencies of India, as to answer the demand there then was for Bills, is a matter foreign to the present enquiry.

But it is important to remark that such was the fact—and the effects it produced were, that, notwithstanding the deterioration of the Coin and Currency, the pay of all Publick Servants, Civil and Military given to them in Rix Dollars at 9⅜ was fully equal in its value to the amount allowed to them in Pounds Sterling.

Matters remained in this way until Mr. North was succeeded in the Government by General Maitland.

An entire change of System then took place. The Ceylon Rix Dollars were no longer received at the Treasury in exchange for Pounds Sterling, or Star Pagodas at the same rate at which the Rd^s. had been issued.

The Exchange was allowed to fluctuate. Bills on the Presidencies of India were sold at Publick Auction, and those on England were sent to Agents at those Presidencies to be sold there, to establish a fund, which could be drawn upon from Ceylon.

Here let us pause and ask any person at all conversant in matters relating to Coin and exchange, what consequences were likely to ensue from such a change. The answer must be this: that as our Coin was in reality of less value than what it had been issued for, and as Government refused to take it back at that value, so also no person would receive it except for the value of the pure Silver & Copper that it actually contained.

This is precisely what happened at the end of the year 1805. The Exchange then fell considerably against the currency of this Island. Government had the Monopoly of Bills for remittances; for it can be proved in 1806 7 & 8, the value of our Imports exceeded the Exports by Rd^s. 1,200,000 yearly.

This large Balance was all to be paid by Bills: the demand then was very pressing, and the amount drawn by Government, unfortunately for the Merchants, was not so large as it had been in former years.

Government, on the other hand, wished to have the highest possible price for its Bills, and they became both dear and Scarse.

General Maitland suspected then, that some of the Ceylon Silver Coin was, or would soon be exported.

It is doubted whether, at that time, there was a sufficient reason for this apprehension: had it really been so, this inference ought to have been drawn, namely, the necessity of keeping the exchange within bounds so moderate, as not to make it profitable for Merchants to export our Silver Coin.

Unfortunately a different step was taken, and Government having received a supply of Silver for Coinage to the extent of about 900,000 Rd^s., General Maitland ordered, that the weight of the new Rix Dollars should be made the same as of those coined under Mr. North, namely 3 Rd^s. to 1 Spanish Dollar; But, with a view to prevent the Exportation of this new Coin directed, that an additional 10 per Cent alloy should be mixed with the Silver, being in the increased proportion of 20, instead of 10 lb as before, of Jappan Copper to 100 lb of pure Silver.

The immediate effect of this Measure was, that the value of Bills on Madras purchased with this new Coin rose still higher, and all the Silver Rix Dollars coined under Mr. North having less alloy than the new and affording a better remittance than Bills, together with the old heavy Copper Coin were immediately exported.

The addition of 10 per Cent alloy in the new Rix Dollar, instead of keeping the Coin in the Island, drove the good and heavy out of it, and deteriorated the whole Currency by 10 per Cent below what it was before.

When Genl. Maitland left Ceylon, and for some time previous to it, none of the good Silver Rix D^s. were to be obtained, and those in circulation were all of the new Coinage.

After what has been said, it will appear unaccountable how it could have been stated to His Majesty's Ministers that 2 & ⅝ Ceylon Rix Dollars are equal in their intrinsic value to 1 Spanish Dollar, and how this proportion could have been made the ground of a Regulation by which it was intended to settle the Exchange of the Currency of this Island, and to grant to its Civil and Military Servants in that Currency the real equivalent of their pay and Salary in Pounds Sterling.

Yet the truth of what has been asserted may easily be shewn by the actual weighing and assaying of the Ceylon Rix Dollar and the Spanish Dollar; an experiment which has been frequently tried; and may also be ascertained by reference to the Contracts for Silver Coinage, entered into by Mr. North and General Maitland with Mr. Blume the Mint Master, and which are annexed.*

But however erroneous the grounds upon which the late Exchange for the pay of Publick Servants has been calculated, It cannot be doubted but that the intention was, to fix the Exchange upon the most correct understanding of the intrinsic value of the Ceylon Rix Dollar, and that His Majesty's Civil and Military Servants employed in Ceylon should receive their Salaries, according to the proportion of 4*s*. 8*d*. for 1 Spanish Dollar, and that for each Spanish Dollar they should be paid as many Rix Dollars, as are actually equivalent to that Spanish Dollar.

* N.B. This Statement was written from memory without reference to the Contracts themselves. Upon examining them it appears that in 1803 two Contracts were made One in February the Other in June. The Proportion of the weight of the Rix Dollars was altered from 50 RD^{rs}. for 1 Dutch pound, to 50 RD^{rs}. for 1 lb English. Copies of both Contracts are here annexed with such elucidations as will prove that the Statement & Calculations here given are Correct. The tenor of these Contracts will point out that those who framed them were not very well informed in matters relative to Coinage.

If a calculation is to be made upon this data, the value which has been already given to the Rix Dollars coined in 1802, 3 & 4 will be found correct: namely that to make 1 £ Sterling, it requires $4\frac{2}{7}$ of a Spanish Dollar, or Rd^s^. 12 f^s^. $10\frac{4}{7}$

But, as the Ceylon Rix Dollars, which were coined under General Maitland's Government, and which are those only that have been in Circulation since the year 1808 & 9 contain 10 per Cent alloy more than what was mixed with the former Rix Dollars, and more than there is in the Spanish Dollars; so, in order to have the real intrinsic value of $4\frac{2}{7}$ Spanish Dollars (which are equal to 1 £ Sterling) Rd^s^. 14 f^s^. 1 & $\frac{3}{4}$ are now required instead of Rd^s^. $11\frac{4}{7}$ This Exchange being at the rate of 1*s*. 5*d*. for 1 Rix Dollar instead of 1*s*. 9*d*. as stated in Regulation dated 11th March 1812, and in Lord Liverpool's Letter of 5th Novr. 1811.

In examining, however, the Correctness of these Calculations, I request that two points may always be kept in view:

First, that they are made upon the supposition of the relative value of the Spanish Dollar to the £ Sterling being at the rate of 4*s*. 8*d*. for one Spanish Dollar. If this proportion should vary the relative value of the Ceylon Rix Dollar to the English Pound Sterling must also change.

2dly. That the price at which a Bill in Pounds Sterling will sell, does not only depend upon the intrinsic value of the Rix Dollar; but also on the supply of Bills that Government have to dispose of, on the extent of the demand for remittances, the quantity of Silver Coin circulating in the market at the time, and many other circumstances, which occasionally affect the Exchange. Notwithstanding, it may be taken for granted, that such fluctuations will always remedy themselves, & finally tend to bring back the Exchange to its level, namely the intrinsic value of the Ceylon Silver Coin, which must be the case while any Silver Coin remains in the Island, and which it must always be the business of Government to take measures for ensuring.

Colombo
May 29th
1813.

A. Bertolacci.

---

1. Contract for Silver Coinage.

Articles of Agreement between the British Government of Ceylon On the One Part and Adrian Pieter Blume of Colombo on the Other Part.

1st. The said Government will from time to time cause quantities of silver of different qualities to be delivered from the Treasury to the said A. P. Blume, which he is to bring to the standard of Ten,* or what is generally known at Colombo by the term klyne keur.

2^d^. The silver being thus brought to the above standard Mr. Blume will within a reasonable time Coin the same into Rix Dollars according to a Die approved of by Government each to weigh one fiftieth ($\frac{1}{50}$) of a Dutch Pound, that is One Dutch Pound of silver is to produce Fifty Rix Dollars.

3^d^. Mr. Blume is to bear the whole Charges of the Coinage and be allowed thereof at the rate of Two Rix Dollars for each pound of silver so coined & One half P^r^. C^t^. on the amount for wastage.

In Testimony whereof the Chief Secretary to Government On behalf thereof On the One Part & the said A. P. Blume have to two Parts hereof set their hands & seals at Colombo this fourth day of February One thousand Eight hundred & Three.

(*signed*) A. P. Blume.

I Carrolus Gerrard do hereby engage myself as security for the Performance of the above agreement on the Part of Adrian Pieter Blume. Witness my hand at Colombo the day and Year above written.

(*signed*) J. C. Gerrard.†

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* This is erroneously stated the standard of ten. Pure silver is divided into twelve parts, called Penny weights: a Mixture where 11 Parts are silver & 1 Copper or other Metal is said to be of 11 penny weight. When 10 are silver & 2 of other Metal is called of 10 penny weight—& it is equal to 20 P^r^. C^t^. alloy. The Coinage that was made under this Contract Contained 11 parts of silver & 1 of Copper, it ought therefore to have been denominated the standard of eleven, instead of ten. This is the same standard with the generality of the Spanish Doll^rs^. It will be seen in the Contract passed a few Months after, that the standard of the Ceylon Coinage at those times was really equal to that of the Sp^s^. Doll^rs^. for by the 2^d^. Contract Sp^s^. Doll^rs^. were Coined into Rix D^s^. without adding any alloy.

† This Contract was passed on the 4th. of February 1803. Very few Rix D^s^. were Coined according to this weight: It will be seen in the next Contract dated the 8th. of June of the same year, that the weight was lowered at the rate of 50 RD^s^. to 1 lb English.

2. Contract for Silver Coinage.

Articles of Agreement between the British Government of Ceylon On the One Part and Adrian Pieter Blume On the Other Part.

1st. The said Government will from time to time, cause quantities of silver in Spanish Dollars to be delivered from the Treasury to the said A. P. Blume, which he is to coin into Rix Dollars & half Rix Dollars, according to the Die approved of by Government: each Rix Dollar to weigh One fiftieth ($\frac{1}{50}$) and each half Rix Dollar to weigh $\frac{1}{100}$ part of an English pound that is, One English pound of silver (or 17 Spanish Dollars) is to produce Fifty Rix Dollrs. or One Hundred half Rix Dollars.*

2d. Mr. Blume is to bear the whole Charges of the Coinage and be allowed therefore at the rate of Two Rix Dollars for each Pound of silver so Coined and One per Cent on the amount for wastage.

In Testimony whereof the Chief Secretary to Government on behalf thereof on the One Part and the said A. P. Blume on the Other Part have [to] two Parts hereof set their hands at Colombo the Eight day of June One Thousand Eight Hundred & Three.

(*signed*) Rt. Arbuthnot
Chief Secy. to Govt.
A. P. Blume.

I Jan Hendrik Demmer do hereby engage myself as security for the Performance of the above agreement on the part of Adriaan Pieter Blume. Witness my hand at Colombo the day & year above written.

(*signed*) J. H. Demmer
A True Copy.
(*signed*) R. Plasket.

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3. Contract for Silver Coinage.

It is agreed between the Vice Treasurer at Colombo on the behalf of the Ceylon Government on the One Part and Adriaan Pieter Blume on the Other Part as follows

1st. That the Vice Treasurer shall from time to time deliver or cause to be delivered from the General Treasury to the said Adriaan Pieter Blume quantities of Silver which he shall reduce to the standard of Ten or what is generally known at Colombo by the term of klyne keer.†

2dly. That the Silver being brought to the above mentioned Standard the said Adriaan Pieter Blume shall coin the same into Rix Dollars according to a Die approved of by Government each Rix Dollar so coined weighing One Fiftieth of an English Pound—That is One English Pound of Pure Silver and One Fifth§ of alloy of Japan Copper added thereto shall produce to Government sixty Rix Dollars RDrs. 60.

3dly. That Adriaan Pieter Blume shall bear all and every charge of Coinage and be allowed thereof Four per Cent on the amount coined and delivered into the General Treasury including wastage.

Given in Duplicate under our hand and Seals at Colombo the seventeenth Day of February One Thousand Eight Hundred & Eight.

In presence of
(*Signed*) F. Smith
A. Baryn

(*signed*) R. Boyd
A. P. Blume

We the undersigned Johan Hendrik Demmer and Balthazar Anthony Moens of Colombo do hereby bind ourselves Heirs and Executors Jointly and Severally as Securities for the due performance of the aforesaid Contract.

Colombo February 17th. 1808.
In Presence of
(*signed*) F. Smith
A. Baryn

(*signed*) J. H. Demmer
B. A. Moens

---

* Being at the rate of Spanish Dolls. 1 and $\frac{1}{50}$ to 3 Rix Drs. The Rix Dollars having now been some time in Circulation the proportion of 3 Rix Drs. to 1 Spanish Doll.s when new will be found Correct.

† This is properly stated the standard of ten (and it) will be noticed from the following . . . . at the place marked § that . . . . pr. Cent alloy.

SUPPLEMENT.

In addition to the gentlemen mentioned in the Preface, I am also greatly indebted to Mr. E. Reimers, the present Government Archivist, for much new material supplied while this book was in the press, and for his kindness in reading the proofs of the Dutch documents reproduced.

CHAPTER I.

P. 1, section 1. The Syriac qárúshá is modern.

P. 3, section 8. For *bonduc* read : *bonducella.*

P. 3, note 3. According to the " Report of the Weights and Measures Committee, 1913–14 " (Simla, 1914), p. 42, the " kalanji " is used for weighing corals and diamonds at Salem and Tanjore respectively, and at Vizagapatam in the Telugu country is a weight for coral equal to 12 *mañjáḍis* or apparently 67·2 grains.

Note 4. Weight of the *mañjáḍi* (*ib.*, pp. 42, 55) :—

Tanjore	..	5·4	gr. for diamonds.	
Vizagapatam	..	5·6	.. .. pearls.	
Chittur	..	4·9	.. .. diamonds.	
Coimbatore	..	8·8	.. .. do.	(? a double *mañjáḍi*).
Do.	..	4·6		
Madras	..	4·5	.. .. silver.	
N. Kanara	..	3·75		

In Godavari the *aḍḍiga* and *cinnamu* are also called *rati* and *mañjáḍi* respectively (*ib.*, p. 42). If this is reported correctly, these weights are a double *guñjá* and *mañjáḍi*.

P. 4, line 7. The Malabar *ṣáṇam is* ¾ *kaḷañcu.*

P. 5, section 16. In the Panjab at Amritsar and Lahore the " tank " equals 24 large *ratis* or 67·5 grains ; in the United Provinces, 24 *ratis* (*ib.*, pp. 50, 32). In Bellary pearls and sapphires are weighed by a " tak " of 24 " rattals," each of 2·95 grains (*ib.*, p. 42). With the *tańkam* compare the Vizagapatam " kalanji " of 12 *mañjáḍis*.

P. 7, line 6. The pagoda weight in the following districts is (*ib.*, p. 42) :—

		Gr.			Gr.
Tanjore	..	55·6, 55	Ramnad ..	..	56·4
Salem	..	56·4, 57·6	Vizagapatam	..	61·5

According to the " Manual of Tanjore District " of 1883 it is 54 grains.

Line 18. In South Konkan (Mangalore) the table is : 36 gurgunji = 18 manjuti = 9 dám = 1 tuk or varah-tuk, the dám being 30¾ to the tola or 5·6 grains, and the manjuti 2·8 grains.

P. 10, section 26. At the Ceylon pearl fishery in 1858 the mean weight of the *mañjáḍi* was 3·35 grains ; the *kaḷañju*, a brass weight, therefore equalled 67 grains (The Pearl Fisheries of Ceylon, G. Vane, J.R.A.S., C. B., Vol. X., No. 34). The *kaḷaňda* occasionally is reckoned as of 24 *maḍeṭa* seeds. This is a combination of the heavy so-called *Madura kaḷaňda* with the light Kandyan *maḍeṭa* seed of about 3·6 grains. *Cf.* Davy, p. 243.

P. 10, note 2. The Malabar *káṇam* = 2 *mañcáḍis.*

CHAPTER II.

P. 11, last line. See also Supplement to p. 80.

P. 14, section 8. According to the fifteenth century Ying-yai-shêng-lan in Cochin 15 silver tares, each of 4 li or cash, made one gold fanam of 12 li. The ratio between silver and gold, therefore, was 5 to 1.

P. 15, section 10. In some districts of Bihar and Orissa the "terms karisa, pal and bisa are used in connection with the sale of articles in retail trade . . . . A pal is generally 4 karisas. It may be equal to 2, 4 and 6 tolas" (Report of the Weights and Measures Committee, p. 47). Here the karisa is the *karsha*, and the pal the *pala*.

Note 1. With Skt. *kṛsh*, "draw; drag, pull," should be compared ἕλκω, (i) "draw, drag:" (ii.) in late Greek, "draw" or "hold up scales to weigh with" (ἕλκειν σταθμόν, "draw down the balance"); "weigh" (intrans.): and with *karsha* ὁλκή, used commonly in late Greek for the drachma weight (F. Hultsch, Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiæ, p. 207 *pass.*). The transition of meaning from "draw," "pull," to "carry" is illustrated by the English "draw," "drag" and the cognate Teutonic and Scandinavian words (Skeat's Etymological Dictionary):—Icel. Swed. draga, Dan. drage, Goth. dragan, Germ. tragen, "to pull along," "to carry;" Dutch, Danish dragt, Germ. Tracht, "load." From "carry" the change to "weigh" is common, *cf.* Skt. *dhṛ, dhāraṇa*.

The modern Persian kashidan also has the sense of "hang (on a gibbet)." The meaning "weigh" appears to be colloquial (Wollaston, English-Persian Dictionary, 1894; Phillott, Colloquial English-Persian Dictionary, Calcutta, 1914), though "carry" is classical.

P. 15, section 12. Mr. E. J. Thomas has drawn my attention to the fact that Skt. *utkarshati* equals Pali *ukkaṁsati*, and compares the change with Skt. *darśana* = Jain *daṁsaṇa*. Childers also was of opinion that *kaṁsa* was a derivative from or a dialectic variety of *karsha* (Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon, p. 7); his Dictionary gives *ukkaṁso*=*utkarsha*. Mr. Thomas' proposal to translate the passage in the Brahmajala-sutta; tulákúṭa-kaṁsakúṭa-mánakúṭá paṭivirato by "refraining from cheating with balances, coins, and measures" is supported by the Kaṅkhávitaraṇí: túlakúṭa mánakúṭa kúṭa kahápaṇádíhi vá vañcetvá (Colombo ed. 1912, p. 31).

CHAPTER III.

P. 16, section 2. For the significance of the various punch marks the Visuddhimagga, quoted in Appendix A, 33, should be consulted. The silver coins therein described agree with the eldlings rather than with any later issues, and the whole passage may well have been embodied by Buddhaghosa from tradition or from some much older book, just as his own works were copied without acknowledgment by latter commentators.

For evidence to the effect that the punch marks on the obverse of the eldlings of all classes were put on by one authority rather than at different times; see D. B. Spooner, Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1905–6, p. 150; R. D. Bhandarkar, *ibid.*, 1913–4, pp. 210–213, 220–226; E. H.C. Walsh, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1919, pp. 16 ff. and 463 ff. It is possible that the regular groups of punch marks preceded a State coinage and were impressed by the issuing merchant guild or other body. The reverse mark on Loventhal's eldlings (*op. cit.*, Pl. I., Nos. 4, 5, 6) is the dynastic Páṇḍyan fish. These perhaps were royal coins, but the mark of the controlling authority in this position may have been no novelty. For the diagrammatic fish, see p. 19.

P. 21. Elephant and *Svastika* Type. Add new section 11A:—

III. Two coins found in the Kalmunai division of Batticaloa District form a distinct sub-class by themselves. The type is normal but with the addition of a new symbol on either side. This symbol in its simplest form consists of a horizontal line; at a point about a quarter of the entire length from the left end a short line projects from the lower side diagonally to the left, while opposite to it is a loop sloping upwards in the same direction. On coin No. i. this symbol is placed on the obverse in a slanting position over and parallel to symbol No. 2, which is much reduced in size: on the reverse it appears with its head to the right between the railed *svastika* and the *caitya*. On No. ii. the new symbol appears on either side with its head to the left, but in a more elaborate form. In both coins the elephant is large: on the reverse the horns of the Nandipada symbol do not touch the circle, but are joined thereto by a triangular projection on either side; in symbol No. 6 the triangles are of equal size (*cf.* C. C. A., p. clxxvi.).

(i.)	Diam. 1·22 in.	Weight, 153·2 gr.	Slightly broken; worn.	Sinnamukattuvaram. **Suppl. Pl. 1.**
(ii.)	1·3—1·4 in.	111·8 gr.	Thin; good.	Nindavur. **Suppl. Pl. 2.**

P. 24, section 17. Rectangular Bull Type.

(viii.) Obv.: Within square frame with irregular dots outside, bull standing r., flower-vase in front.

Rev.: Within double square frame enclosing irregular dots, a circle with dot in centre.

Size: ·59 × ·66 in. Weight: 27·3 gr. From Mannar District.

P. 26, section 20. The thin Nindavur coin stands by itself and its low weight may be accidental.

P. 30, Appendix, section 7. For the seated Lakshmí *cf.* the Buddhist votive tablet No. V., described in J. R. A. S., 1900, p. 433, and figured in the annexed plate. Both this and the standing figure given in J.R. A. S., 1914, p. 402, date from the sixth or seventh century.

CHAPTER IV.

P. 33, line 6. Ridiyagama, Hambantota District. 18 to 20 coins dug up at the foundation of the sluice, Walawe Left Bank Scheme, 3 or 4 feet from the surface. One with emperor on horseback (Arcadius or Honorius).

P. 33, section 5. Mr. H. Mattingly suggests that the local imitation of the Roman " third brass " may be due to the fact that very few of this species of coin were issued by the Roman mints after the reign of Theodosius II. The Indo-Roman series thus would commence in the second half of the fifth century.

P. 37, section 8. Add:—

Maximian Hercules, A.D. 286–305.

Obv.: Bust of Emperor; r.

ΑΚΜΑ ΟΥΑ ΜΑΞΙΜΙΑΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ.

Rev.: Draped figure of Elpis, standing l., with flower in r. hand, between L B (A.D. 286/7).
G. C. H. C., 1,127.

Probus, A.D. 277–282.

Obv.: Wreathed bust of Emperor, paludated, r.; bead circle:

ΑΚΜ ΑΥΡ ΠΡΟΒΟΣ ΣΕΒ.

Rev.: Eagle with wings closed and wreath in beak, standing l. and looking back, between L B; bead circle.
AE. G. C. H. C., No. 1,053.

Section 9. According to " Roman Coins found in Ceylon " by D. Ferguson (J. R. A. S., 1905, p. 156 ff.) among 28 silver coins found at Panadure the most legible was a denarius of Tiberius. The description is of the coin in the text.

P. 36, section 7.

M. Baebius Q. f. Tampilus, c. B.C. 144.

Obv.: Head of Rome with winged helmet to l. (In front, X); behind, TAMPIL

Rev.: Apollo in quadriga galloping r.; he holds in r. hand branch and in l. reins, bow, and arrow. Below horses,

ROMA

Exergue, M BAEBI Q (F)
AR. Denarius. Grueber, I., No. 935, p. 133.

M. Calidius, Q. Metellus, and Cn.Fulvius, B.C. 108.

Obv.: Head of Rome, r., with winged helmet. Behind, ROMA; under chin numeral of value.

Rev.: Victory in biga galloping r., in r. hand wreath and in l. reins. Below horses,

M. CALID

Exergue, Q. METE (monogram) CN. FL (monogram).
AR. Denarius.

Lucius Calpurnius Piso L. f. Frugi, B.C. 89.

(1) Obv.: Head of Apollo to r., laureated, hair in ringlets. Below chin, C; behind, O.
Rev.: Naked horseman with palm-branch galloping r. Above, O; below, L PISO FRVGI
AR. Denarius. Grueber, I., No. 2,070, p. 270 ff.

(2) As (1), but obv. below chin P and behind head a trident. Rev.: above, trident, and below legend R.
AR. Denarius.

Tiberius Claudius Tiberii f. Appii Nepos, B.C. 84.

Obv.: Bust of Diana r., with quiver and bow over her shoulder: under chin, S.C
Rev.: Victory in biga, r.; under horses, A. CI
Exergue, TI.CLAVD. TI.F.AP. N
AR. Denarius, serrated.

L. Scribonius Libo, B.C. 54.

Obv.: Diademed and veiled head of Concord, r.
PAVLLVS LEPIDVS CONCORD
Rev.: The Scribonian well.
PVTEAL·SCRIBON
Exergue, LIBO
AR. Denarius. Grueber, p. 419.

Titus Carisius, B.C. 49.

Obv.: Head of the Aphrodisian Sibyl r.
Rev.: Winged sphinx seated r.; before it,
(T.) CARISIVS
Exergue, III VIR

P. 38 ff.

Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 140–180.

Obv.: Bearded head of Emperor, laureated, r.
M ANTONINVS AVG TR P XXVIII.
Rev.: Mercury, cloaked, standing with head l.; in left hand caduceus, patera in extended r. hand.
(RE)LIG·AVG IMP VII COS III
AR. Denarius, *cf.* Cohen, 530.

Faustina the Younger, ob. A.D. 175.

(1) Obv.: Bust of Empress, r.
FAVSTINA AVGVSTA
Rev.: Pulvinar, on which the twins Commodus and Antoninus are at play.
SAECVLI FELICIT
AR. Denarius. C., 190.

(2) Obv.: Bust of Empress, r.
FAVSTINAE AVG PII AVG (FI)L
Rev.: Venus standing l., in l. hand rudder resting on dove or dolphin, in extended r. hand an apple.
VENVS
AR. Denarius. C., 261 or 266.

Commodus, A.D. 175–192.

Obv.: Bearded head of Emperor, laureated, r.
M COMM ANT P FEL AVG BRIT
Rev.: Jupiter, nude, standing l. cloaked l. arm, spear in l. hand, in raised r. hand thunderbolt.
(IOV) IVVEN P M TR P XIIII COS (V PP)
AR. Denarius. C., 259.

Philip the Elder, A.D. 244–249.

Stag standing r.

SAECVLARES AVGG

Exergue, V

AR. Antoninianus, issued to commemorate the thousandth year of the City. C., 182.

Arcadius, A.D. 395–408.

Obv.: Bust of Emperor, full-face, helmed and paludated, spear over r. shoulder, and shield on l. arm.

D N ARCADIVS P F AVG

Rev.: Rome seated helmed, face r., spear in r. hand, Victoriola in l.

CONCORDIA AVGG S

Exergue, CONOB

AV. Solidus. Tolstoï, 8.

Theodosius II., A.D. 408–450.

Obv.: As last. D N THEODOSIVS·P·F·AVG

Rev.: Rome throned l., shield at side, in r. hand orb. In l. field in front of knee a star.

IMP. XXXXII COS·XVII·P·P·

Exergue, CONOB

AV. Solidus. T., 23.

Leo. I., A.D. 457–474.

Obv: Bust of Emperor, diademed, r.

D N LEO PERPET AVG

Rev.: Victory advancing r., in l. hand orb, in r. wreath. Star in r. field.

VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM

Exergue, CONOB

AV. Tremissis. T., 19–21.

Zeno, A.D. 474–476, 477–491.

Obv.: As solidus of Arcadius. D N ZENO PERP AVG

Rev.: Winged Victory l., holding long cross; in field to r. a star.

VICTORIA AVGGG I

Exergue, CONOB

AV. Solidus. T., 24.

Justinian I., A.D. 527–565.

Obv.: Bust of Emperor, diademed, r.

D N IVSTINIANVS PP AVG

Rev.: Victory advancing, in l. hand orb, in r. wreath. Star in r. field.

Exergue, CONOB

AV. Tremissis. Imp. Byz. Coins. pl. IV., 14.

The following 18 coins were bought from one man in Colombo and may or may not have been found in Ceylon. They appear to have formed one hoard, but the coin of Titus is difficult to account for. They are solidi, unless otherwise noted.

Constantius II.

(1) GLORIA REIPVBLICAE. Rome and Constantinople, seated and holding a shield, on which VOT XX MVLT XXX. Exergue, SMAN (I); SMNA; SMNC. *Cf.* C., 108.

(2) Full-face bust. Rev.: as last, but VOT XXX MVLT XXXX. Exergue, SMAN (.).

Valentinian I.

RESTITVTOR REIPVBLICAE; as Valens (1) in text. Exergue, ANTE and ANT (Z). *Cf.* C., 25.

Valens.

As (1) in text; exergue, ANTE; TR; RQ with palm branch.

Honorius.

Emperor, holding labarum in r. hand and Victoriola in l., standing r. and trampling on captive, all between M D

VICTORIA AVGGG

Exergue, COMOB .. .. .. C., 44. Three specimens.

Theodosius II.

As (1) in text, but CONCORDIA AVGG A .. .. T., 1.

Anastasius.

As last, but AVGGG A; exergue, COMOB .. .. *Cf.* T., 86.

Justinian I.

(1) Obv.: Bust, r. DN IVSTINIANVS PP AVG

Rev.: Victory seated, r., writing on shield; monogram of Christ to r., star to l.

VICTORIA AVGGG

Exergue, CONOB

Semissis. Imp. Byz. Coins, No. 19.

(2) Tremissis, as above p. 252.

Maurice Tiberius, A.D. 582–602.

Obv.: Bust full-face, helmed, orb in hand.

D N MAVRC TIB PP AVG

Rev.: Winged Victory standing full-face, in r. hand staff surmounted by monogram of Christ, in l. orb.

VICTORIA AVGG B

Exergue, CONOB. Imp. Byz. Coins, No. 3.

Titus, A.D. 79–81.

As of Eagle type, "restoration" of Augustus. Obv. A; Rev. a, legend 3 of H. Mattingly's "The Restored Coins of Titus, Domitian and Nerva" (Numismatic Chronicle, 1920, p. 190).

P. 44. The solidus attributed in the text to Anastasius more probably was issued by Basiliscus, A.D. 476–477.

P. 50. Two more silver coins of the peacock type, attributed in the text to the Guptas, have been bought in Colombo. The legend is as already given but ends: ṣrí Ṣiládit(ya) [divaṁ jayati]. Accordingly the second "ṣrí" in the text should read "ṣi."

All three coins are of King Ṣiláditya, almost certainly Harshavardhana of Thanesar and Kanauj who was crowned in A.D. 606.

CHAPTER V.

P. 54, end of section 7. The *akā* is the commonest of the mediæval gold coins, and possibly its minting may have continued after the tenth century. It was still current in 1432 (v. p. 81, note 1 and Supplement).

P. 57. Add to section 9.

(5) Flower and *Aḍahaňda*.

Obv.: As (3), but in l. hand a flower, shown as a vertical line enclosed in an irregular parallelogram open at the top.

Rev.: As (3); *āsaṇa* long, three or four cross lines.

1
Legend: 2
3
45

Diameter: ·80 in. Weight: 67·2 gr. From Kurukkalmadam, Kalmunai, E. P. **Suppl. Pl. 5.**

CHAPTER VI.

P. 74, l. 5 and note 1. If the original *Īḷak-kásu* was intended for the *Níla-kahápaṇa*, half of gold and half of alloy, as indicated by the specific gravity, *Īḷam* can have no reference to the coin.

P. 80, section 23. In chapter XXVIII of the Pújávaliya, a work completed in A.D. 1266/7, occurs the following :—

> Mesé soḷos dahasak níla-karshápaṇa saṅkhyáta-vú ran dí......... bevahára ranin vissek īḷam níla-karshápaṇayen ekek veyi tun laksha visi dahasak masuran dennáhu.
>
> Thus having given gold reckoned at 16,000 *níla-karshápaṇas* ....At the rate of 20 of the current coin to one *níla-karshápaṇa*, they gave 320,000 *masuran*.

The identity of the coin equal to a *mañjáḍi* of alloyed gold is obscure. The author of the Pújávaliya may have based his calculation on the fact that the *másaka* weight was the *mañjáḍi* (*cf.* App. A, 12); or, reasoning on the same lines as his successors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he may have identified the *másaka* coin of the Commentaries with the current *massa* of the time, regardless of its metal and weight. But even so his *masuran* must have been of gold and not of base metal, as was the case some forty years later (App. A, 32*b*). That these *masuran* were much of the same value as fanams is shown by the Paricchédaya, a Sinhalese work dating not later than the fifteenth century, in which with reference to the *níla-kahápaṇa* the following occurs :—

> ek karshápaṇayek nam dẹn pavatiná Laṅkávé paṇamin pas-vissak ho tisak ho aganéya.
>
> One karshápaṇa is worth 25 or 30 of the Ceylon fanams now in use.

A variant reads : dẹn Laṅkávé pavatiná paṇamin, " fanams now in use in Ceylon " (Avaváda-paricchédaya).

In the Pújávaliya account of the copying of the Buddhist Scriptures at the instance of Vijaya Báhu III. the word *masuran* again is used : the Pali Hatthavanagalla Vihára-vaṁsa speaks of *kahápaṇas*, while the Mahávaṁsa (App. B, 17), giving more details, states that the king paid one *soṇṇa-kahápaṇa*, "gold kahápaṇa," for each *dhammaskhandha* or division of the Tipiṭaka. Now these divisions are short, sometimes consisting only of a few lines, and the payment of a gold *kahápaṇa* of 20 *mañjáḍis* would be excessive, even taking into account the royal munificence. It seems probable, therefore, that *soṇṇa-kahápaṇa* is merely a translation of *masuran*, and that the history of the *masuran* in Ceylon was parallel with that of the *kásu* in South India. If this be so, we have a copper *kahavaṇuva* side by side, at least for some time, with a gold coin of the same name divided into *akas* (App. A, 20). The larger gold coin doubtless grew more and more rare and ultimately disappeared, perhaps already before the accession of Vijaya Báhu III. At that time the term *masuran* was applied par excellence, though not exclusively, to its eighth part, the commonest gold coin in use ; by the fourteenth century, when the *aka* seems to have taken the Tamil name of fanam, it had become confined to the copper money. Support is lent to this theory by the equation in the Mahávaṁsa Ṭíká (App. B, 5) of the *hirañña* with 8 *kahápaṇas*, if, as stated by Geiger, this work was " not composed till between 1000 and 1250 A.D." ; the *hirañña* will be the *ran* or *kahavaṇuva* of 20 *mañjáḍis*, and the *kahápaṇa* the *aka*.

That the fourteenth century *kahavaṇuva* was of little value is shown not only in Appendix A, 32*b*, but also by the regulation prescribed for the temple of the Tooth Relic in the Daḷadá Sirita :—

> Daḷadá-gen kahavaṇuvak vicarakut Rája-geṭa no gaṇnáva isá
>
> Not even a *kahavaṇuva* shall be taken from the Tooth Relic House to the Royal Palace.

The fifteenth century Kávyaṣekhara, XII., 38, equates *kahavaṇu* with *ran*.

Upham on page 136 of his translation of the Rájaratnákaraya with reference to " the coin called caroo shawpa, which was then current " has the note : " In value equal to about a pice and a half."

P. 81, Note 1. The Ying-yai-shêng-lan for Cochin mentions the gold fa-nan (fanam) and the silver ta-'rh (tare), weighing according to the official standard 1 candareen 2 cash and 4 cash respectively. The values of the candareen given in the note under reference yield a fanam far too heavy. As this coin is about 5·8 grains, the Ceylon gold piece of 1 candareen 6 cash will weigh 7·7 grains, and must be the *aka*. The " fanam " of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries presumably includes this coin as well as the Indian coin of the name.

CHAPTER VIII.

P. 94, section 12. For " pardau cruysado " perhaps should be read " cruysado," as in a duplicate of the Resolution of the Galle Council dated April 19, 1655, a comma is inserted between " pardaus " and " cruysados " (App. F, 1).

P. 95, section 15. De Queiroz in Book II., chapter 21, foll. 136, 137, speaking of the beginnings of the Portuguese city of Colombo, states that its name was a corruption of the Sinhalese " Caleambe " (*Koḷamba*), which he erroneously translates " leaf of a mango tree," " pr. causa de hũa aruore deste nome, q' estaua na ponta

de S. Lourenço ; Inuocação (como jâ dissemos) da Ermida, q' D. Lourenço de Almeyda alî edificou ; dando lhe então este apelido, e p^{r}. armas as grelhas do Santo. A fortaleza retinha o m^{mo}. nome, q' Lopo Soarez lhe deu, de N. Snr^{a}. das Virtudes." The document of March 26, 1600, referred to in foot-note 1, as translated into Dutch, was written " te deser stadt, ende fortresse St. Laurens van Colombo."

The gridiron being the arms of the city, the mint letters on the 1640 tanga (sections 21, 28) should be interpreted " Columbo " rather than " Ceilão."

P. 97, line 51. The patacão was not peculiar to Ceylon. In the Documentos Remettidos (ed. Lisbon, 1880) certain sums at Bassein are given in patacões, larins, and reis (Letter of Jan. 31, 1613) thus :—

19418 patacões, 1 larin, 55 reis.
3333 do. 1 do. 30 do.

and at Chaul in patacões and also in larins (Letter of Jan. 14, 1613).

In 1554 according to Nunes the most common coin at Chaul was the pardáo d'ouro, worth 360 reis, that is the pagoda ; at Bassein the pardáo equal to 5 tangas de prata or larins, also 360 reis in value, was in use.

The Tombo do Estado da India, of the same year, gives the yield of three rents at Chaul for 1547, viz.—(1) that of " sarrafagem " or the exchange of coin, 940 pardáos ; (2) that of opium, bhang and soap, 520 pardáos ; and (3) that of the bazar, 150 pardáos, in all 1610 pardáos. In 1608 it is stated that these rents used to fetch a sum of 1500 patacões yearly, and in 1610 that the second rent was worth 500 and 600 patacões each year, while in 1612 it had been reported to the King that the Governor Manuel de Sousa Coutinho (1588–1591) had given all three to a relative for a term of three lives on a payment, presumably annual, of 530 pardáos of 4 larins each, elsewhere simply called pardáos (Doc. Rem. I., pp. 192, 313 ; II., p. 197 ; III., p. 217). In this last transaction the pagoda of account of 360 reis was reckoned as equal to 4 larins, and we have seen (p. 97) that the same practice was observed at Chaul in the receipt of a certain tribute of 7,000 pardáos d'ouro (Doc. Rem. I., p. 409 ; II., p.335). And Do Couto in Decade VII., ii., 3 (1554–1565) in connection with the customs of the port of Diu speaks of a sum of 100,000 Madrafaris (Madrafaxões), each of 2 silver larins, which equalled 50,000 patacões. This rating of 4 larins for the patacão presumably was that prevalent about 1602–4, when the Decade in question was written. The valuation of the larin at 90 reis continued except in the case of Persian coins at least until 1624.

The silver patacão issued in 1550 for 360 reis, the original of our patacão of account (p. 92), ceased to be struck in 1566 and not long afterwards was ordered to pass as bullion, except at Malacca. Here no change was effected, and Balbi relates that in 1586 the coin was then struck at that place, where it was current for 6 tangas or 360 reis (capp. XLIII., XLVII.). In 1630 a silver coin of the same name and value was issued at Goa by the Conde de Linhares.

From the appearance of the denomination at Chaul and Bassein in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, it may be surmised that the coin had survived locally as a money of account, equal from about 1590 to 4 larins or 360 reis. And it seems probable that the silver patacão of 1630 was merely a materialization of this coin of account.

As in the second decade of the century in Ceylon the patacão of account also was equal to 4 larins, but to 400 local reis, it may be presumed that the factor then determining its value was the larin and not any given number of reis ; it will be remembered that about this time the debased silver xerafim also was rated popularly at 3 larins. The equation with 4 larins did not exist about 1580 at Goa, as Balbi gives that sum as the value of the silver xerafim. We are left, therefore, with a valuation in reis for the coin of account before 1590, and this almost certainly must have been 360, the rating of the silver coins of the name at Goa and Malacca. The patacão, therefore, was identical with the pardáo of 4 larins and with the pardáo d'ouro of account. The last named was employed at Goa only in the horse trade and in trafficking in gold, silver, pearls and gems ; in other transactions the pardáo xerafim was in use. The patacão seems to have been a survival in certain Portuguese settlements outside the capital. The word *pattákku* in Malayalam meant either the gold ducat or the silver dollar.

P. 98. For a xerafim of 360 reis *cf.* De la Boullaye-le Gouz, " Monnoyes courantes à Goa " in 1653, in Hobson-Jobson, s. v. Xerafine.

Note 2. The Shooly fanam is attributed to Kilakkarai in Supplementary Appendix F. 14.

P. 101, end of section 22.

(i.) Anchor-cross and sphere type :—

Of copper. Obv. : Within bead circle Latin cross ending at bottom in an anchor, Rev. : Within similar circle armillary sphere.

Diameter : ·37 in. Weight : 11·6 gr.
·27 5·5

Both from Arippu. A coin of the larger size from Mantota is figured in Prinsep's Essays, Vol., I., pl. xxxv., 22.

P. 102, line 39. The strength of the argument in the text is impaired by the discovery of a solitary Malacca tanga dated 1631. The known history of the tanga at Malacca is as follows :—

1587 Balbi refers to a tanga of account, the patacão being the only silver coin struck locally.

— Tanga with R F (see p. 103, line 5) of the usual late Malacca weight.

1629 The tanga struck by Botelho for the purpose of paying his troops on raising the siege of Malacca at the end of this year.

1630 March 31. Resolution, in view of the indebtedness of Malacca owing to the siege, to send thither 15,000 xerafins in tangas " do toque e peso das que em Malaca se fazem." The City of Goa, as head of all others in India and as agent for all, to supervise the coinage. The tangas to be made of pataca silver, at 8½ patacas the mark, with 5 oitavas 10 grãos alloy per mark.

1631 August 27. Further money required for Malacca, the tangas " que o anno passado forão pera a dita fortaleza " having been carried away by the Chinese. The coins to be isued to be " tangas de Malaca dos cunhos que o anno passado pera lá forão," and " do toque das tangas que correm em Malaca que he de prata mais baixa." The alloy was 7 oitavas per mark, and the tangas made " pelos cunhos do anno passado."

1631-1640 Dated single, double, and quadruple tangas.

There seems to be no doubt in spite of the equivocal language used in these documents that the coins of 1630 and 1631 were struck at Goa, and that in those years the Malacca mint was not working. The whole question is complicated by the use in Ceylon of the so-called " Malacca Type " (p. 100, section 22).

Line 47. Malacca fell into the hands of the Dutch on January 14, 1641, after a prolonged siege. In the same year there was struck at Goa a tanga, exactly like the dated Malacca coins, but with the mint letters G A ; the weight is 32·1 grains as usual with the Goa tangas of the period, and the diameter ·62 inch. The date is unmistakably (16)41. This tanga, which apparently is unique, is the link between the Malacca coinage proper and the Ceylon D S series, which begins in 1642. **Suppl. Pl. 11.**

P. 103, line 14. Malacca Type. Before " 1632 " add : 1631.

P. 104. Under " Saint Type " add the following gold S. Thomés of the reign of John III. (A.D. 1521–1557) :—

(1) Obv. : Within bead and line circles crowned arms of Portugal between I surmounted by a small O and C.
Rev. : Within similar circles St. Thomas with carpenter's square over shoulder, seated r. on a seat decorated with the quinas, between S T. The left hand is raised, and the nimbus is over the inner circle.
Diameter : ·74 in. Weight : 51·8 gr. Execution rough.

(2) Obv : Within beads enclosed within two line circles, arms as above between I surmounted as before and C.
Rev. : Within similar circles St. Thomas standing r., with carpenter's square over shoulder, between S (reversed) and T. The carpenter's square ends in a long staff ; the nimbus cuts the inner line circle.
Ringed.

Gold was ordered to be struck at Cochin in 1568 ; in the following year the S. Thomé was to be coined only at Goa (Aragão, Docts. 8, 9). In the first-named year there was at Cochin a moneyer, who presumably made the bazarucos coined there since 1545 (*ib.*, Doct. 8 and p. 102 ; Correia, Lendas da India, tom. IV., p. 337). But in 1554 the Tombo do Estado da India seems to show that gold was coined at Cochin as well as at Goa (Suppl. App. E); in that year the emoluments of the mint masters at Goa, Cochin, and Malacca were 22,200, 30,000, and 27,600 reis respectively. Gold coin was not issued at Malacca after 1511 until the captaincy of Francisco da Costa about 1572, when according to Balbi cruzados of 360 reis were struck.

Our S. Thomé (2) is somewhat similar to Aragão's No. 9 ; the G (reversed) in his plate is shown as C in the text. And as the Grogan Catalogue No. 1505 has in the corresponding place St. Catharine's wheel as the Goa mint-mark, it is possible that our two S. Thomés as well as Aragão's No. 9 were struck at Cochin.

Also insert under the same heading the following silver coin :—

Obv. : Within bead circle crowned arms of Portugal between G A.

Rev. : Within line and bead circle St. Thomas standing l., carpenter's square over shoulder, r. arm raised, between S T.

Diameter : 1·33 in. Weight : 363·1 gr. Patacão of the later issue, see p. 92, section 5.

The above three coins are unique and are in the cabinet of Mr. Leslie de Saram.

P. 105, section 29. In the Documentos Remettidos the pardáo de larins or de 5 larins appears to have been proper to Diu and Hormuz, and the pardáo de reales to China and the Far East.

In the table showing the Pedigree of the Pardáo the pardáo of 4 larins should be affiliated to the pardáo d'ouro patacão of 1530–1566. Delete "Ceylon patacão of 400 Ceylon reis" and in its place read : Patacão of 4 larins (Chaul, Bassein, Ceylon).

CHAPTER IX.

P. 109, last line. In obedience to the orders of the Indian Government as to the valuation of the coin (presumably those dated May 4, 1652), the local authorities issued a plakaat shortly before June 25 of that year touching "the abolition and reduction of Holland species and Goa coins" (het afsetten en verminderen van Hollantse specien als Goase muncte). To calm the ensuing public clamour the local Government registered all the coins producing loss then in private hands provided that the sum held by any one person was not less than 50 reals, and, after reference to Batavia, gave compensation in kind (Resolutions of the Galle Council, June 25, 1652, and the incomplete resolution immediately preceding it ; also Dec. 10, 1652 ; Suppl. App. F). The Portuguese coin cannot have been treated as bullion as required by the Batavian plakaat of May 4, as in 1655 we find pieces of 10, 6, and 5 stuivers current ; these ratings presumably represent the reductions effected in 1652.

P. 110, line 2. Delete "the gold, nor."

Section 8. The sum of 137,200 'abbásís was diverted and put into circulation in Ceylon to meet the local scarcity of silver, with which Coromandel was well provided.

P. 110, section 9. On October 23, 1660, the Council discussed the question of "the Goa and other local Portuguese coin, which circulates here among the people and which is found to increase daily more and more." This for a long time had been allowed to pass, notably that stamped with the Company's mark, but very many unstamped pieces of the Goa coinage were found to be inferior both in fineness and in worth, and it was supposed that these were imported from overseas by the Moors or by the Portuguese half-castes remaining in Ceylon. Grave suspicion, however, was entertained that these coins actually were forged by the half-castes in the jungles of the Island, as not less than 1,000 had been discovered at Galle. Accordingly it was resolved that within eight days of the publication of the plakaat the Company should change at Colombo, at Galle, and elsewhere if necessary, all such Portuguese coins as had hitherto been current, named "tientjes," "vyfjes," and "sessjes," &c., provided that they were stamped with the Company's mark, and that the rest should be declared bullion (Suppl. App. F, 4). The Portuguese and other demonetized coin, which, as will appear from the next paragraph, consisted of Peruvian reals and paternosters, was sent from Colombo to Bengal, and Van Goens' Council in August, 1661, advised Ceylon to replace it by Persian and Surat money (*ib.*, 5).

The English translation of the Instructions to the Dessave of Matara (Colombo. 1908) is incorrect and defective in the sentence given in section 9, which should run : "The coin in the Island of Ceylon is to be kept on the footing, to which it has been now brought, without tolerating in any way any Portuguese coin, Peruvian reals, paternosters, or also any Indian coin, such as rupees, abaesys, pagodas, fanums, &c., unless stamped before with the Company's mark, the existing collected paternosters and Peruvian reals as well as the abolished Portuguese coin being sent to Bengal" (Suppl. App. F, 6). The provision for countermarking the coins must apply to the Indian denominations only.

P. 111, end of section 9. In the Council Proceedings of September 11, 1659 (Resol : Council, Vol. II.) mention is made of a consignment to Mannar of 48,000 cassiens, in value fl. 168.

P. 111, section 10. In 1664 the Company bought 8,175 pagodas in Coromandel for 84 stuivers each, and 5,000 rupees in Bengal for 24 stuivers. The pagodas were put into circulation in Jaffna for the elephant trade at 120 stuivers apiece, and the 5,000 rupees for RD. 2,272¾ (Colombo Archives, 3 D, Aug. 2, 1664).

P. 112, line 10. The old rating of the pagoda on the Coromandel Coast, treated as distinct from Negapatam, was 105 stuivers. According to Mossel's "Advys" of 1739 (see below) this was raised in 1680 to 120 light or 96 heavy stuivers; for purposes of remittance, however, it remained at 105.

P. 112, lines 25–27. The translation is from a printed text. The original manuscript (1028 D) has:—het stempelen op nieuw is mede van grooten nadacht, het affsetten kan sonder emportabele schade niet geschieden, noch oock het verminderen, synde die munt in den coers van reeckening na by eens soo hoogh dan de waerde van 't cooper kan uytbrengen, van dit poinct sal ik Haer Edelens H.A. tot Batavia ampelder bericht geven, om U.E. dan nader te connen dienen, mogende geen meer geslagen werden. "Re-coinage also requires weighty consideration; demonetization cannot be carried out without serious loss nor again can reduction (in rating), the coin in the course of reckoning being higher by nearly double than what the value of the copper can fetch. On this point I shall report more fully to their Honours at Batavia in order to be able to serve you further, since it is not possible for any more to be struck." The amount in the Treasury was RD. 65,120 or fl. 195,360.

P. 113, end of section 16. Japanese gold kobangs marked with the Company's stamp were put into circulation in Ceylon at RD. 10½ by plakaat dated July 11, 1690. At Batavia by resolution of June 8 and plakaat of July 24 of this year gold kobangs and itsiboes, marked with a lion facing left, were rated at RD. 10 and 2½ respectively, those unmarked not being current.

P. 116, section 24. Tammekassen (Tamil *tampakkásu, tampaṅkásu,* = Sinh. *tam̆ba-kási*, "copper coin") appear in a list of butcher's prices fixed for Colombo by Government on September 22, 1704 (Colombo Archives, 3 D).

"Atacassi." The form *aṭṭakásu* used to be current in Colombo in the expression "not worth an *aṭṭakásu*"; this may be Tamil *aṭṭaikkásu*, a "little coin." The "cacassi" was supplanted by the half duit from the Company's mints in Europe; this is the "new quarter" of the Sinhalese. *alukkála, v.*, p. 153).

P. 117, section 28. The history of the Madura fanam is given in three volumes of the Colombo Archives: 977 D, van Imhoff's "Consideratien over den Lywaat handel ter Madureeschen Custe," prepared for Council and dated November 22, 1738; 2639 D, the "Advys" or comments on the last document by Jacob Mossel, Governor of the Coromandel Coast, dated September 12, 1739; and 1046 D, containing correspondence between van Imhoff and Johan Busch, Opperhoofd at Tuticorin, upon which the former's "Consideratien" were based.

From these it appears that, when the Dutch mint at Negapatam was opened, fanams were struck identical in fineness and design with those of Madura, so that they actually were regarded as Madura fanams; the coinage, however, did not prosper as the fanam cost more than 6 stuivers. This was in 1675. Shortly afterwards the Commandeur Marten Huysman in 1677 took up the question of a mint at Tuticorin. He obtained the verbal consent of the Madura Court, and the moneyers and mint officials were sent down from Trichinopoly to carry on the work, only to find that no gold was available. They then were sent to Tinnevelly in order to avoid a stay in the low-country at the Company's charges, but the opportunity had passed; the Court changed its mind, and in 1678 the matter was quietly dropped. The only occasion on which fanams were coined on the Company's account seems to have been in 1700, when, the Court being favourable for the moment, gold, silver, and copper were sent for the purpose to Tinnevelly. A statement showing the fineness of the fanam, dated November 20, 1687, gives charges varying with the situation of the mint at Tinnevelly, Madura or Trichinopoly. For some time before 1738 it was at the last named place and was farmed out to the highest bidder who recouped himself by debasing the coinage. Madura had been captured by the Muhammadans in 1736, Mahratta incursions took place between 1740 and 1743, and no work was carried on at the Trichinopoly mint in the ensuing disturbed state of the country. The Company thus was troubled by (1) the lack of fanams consequent on the closing of the mint, and (2) the progressive debasement of the coinage. Busch states that "the whole Madura course of exchange consists simply in fetching fanams from the mint for ducats, pagodas, silver bullion and bar gold." Hence contracts with the changers as to the number of fanams to the ducat. That of Cornelis Joan Simons, dated September 22, 1706, bound them to deliver fanams of $4\frac{1}{16}$ mat fineness and not more than $21\frac{1}{4}$ of these to the ducat; but later the number rose to 22, $22\frac{1}{2}$, 23, $23\frac{1}{2}$, and in 1738 even to 24, the alleged cause being the debasement of the coin, which is said by van Imhoff to have begun about 1700 or the last years of the seventeenth century.

According to the Tuticorin assay as shown in the statement of 1687, $649\frac{1}{6}$ fanams went to the mark; each coin weighed $1\frac{4}{35}$ *mañjáḍi*, was of $4\frac{1}{16}$ mat or $9\frac{3}{4}$ carats fineness, and was worth 6 st. $1\frac{8343}{17481}$ penn. light money or at the most $6\frac{1}{8}$ stuivers, while 18 went to the ducat. In 1659 and 1660 the heavy reaal of 60 light stuivers equalled 10 fanams and this rating of 6 light stuivers the fanam continued until 1680, when by letters from Batavia dated October 2 and November 19 it was raised to $6\frac{3}{4}$. Yet in 1687 the Pulicat pagoda was reckoned at Tuticorin at 105 light stuivers or 18 fanams, each of which thus should have been $4\frac{2}{3}$ heavy or $5\frac{5}{6}$ light stuivers;

and in 1738 at Tinnevelly and Trichinopoly the exchange value for all nations was not higher than 5½–5¾ light stuivers, 24 being given for a ducat fixed at 132½ stuivers. In this year according to Busch the Madura fanam was hardly 3 mat (7½ carats) in fineness or 4 st. 1 penn. light money in value, though some older coins were 4 mat (9⅝ carats) or 5⅝ light stuivers. The accuracy of the Tuticorin figures is open to question, as Mossel gives 8 carats 8¼ grains (over 3½ mat) as the fineness of the actual Madura fanams sent him for assay, but his intrinsic value of 5 st. 4⅛ penn. light money (Suppl. App. F, 9) was based on the mark of fine gold being worth fl. 467·6 against the Tuticorin reckoning of fl. 355.

In order to obtain uniformity in fineness and weight, van Imhoff was anxious to secure for the Company from the Court of Madura the concession of a mint at Tuticorin as a monopoly, even if need be in the name of the Prince, or at least a separate one on the Company's account, saving the mint at Trichinopoly ; and inquired of Busch in 1738 whether there was any possibility of obtaining this and whether it was worth while opening negotiations. Madura then was in a state of anarchy, and Busch was of opinion that the Company should strike fanams indistinguishable from those of Madura, a trial being made first with a sum of 1,000 pardaus, on which much loss would not be felt, in order to find out whether they could be put quietly into circulation, and so a right would be acquired with time. As an alternative he proposed coining fanams one half mat or 1–1¼ stuiver better than the existing Madura fanams, on the ground that they would be sought after and melted down for recoinage into the native fanams ; thus the Company's coin probably would enjoy undisputed use for four, six, or even eight years, and so a right insensibly would accrue, when fanams could be minted of the same touch as those of Madura. This alternative advice eventually was followed. By letter dated July 6, 1739, the Indian Government gave instructions for ridding the Tuticorin treasury of the base Madura fanams, the receipt of which was forbidden ; the order was repeated by letter of October 30 of the same year, by which the Ceylon Government was authorized to carry out Busch's suggestion, " when affairs were bad." The sum of 1,000 pardaus is that of 10,013 fanams mentioned in the text (Suppl. App. F, 10). The experiment was a failure as far as the circulation of the Company's fanams was concerned. The Memoir of Governor van Gollenesse, dated February 28, 1751, states that the fanams " at present coined and circulated by the Company itself " were current only in those places which belonged to the Dutch, and that the Indian Government had sanctioned a present of RD. 3,000 or 4,000 to the Chief of that Coast, in order that they might be introduced more easily everywhere. Two paragraphs later the Governor mentions the necessity of obtaining leave to coin fanams at any price owing to the continual loss on the pagodas, " as this small coin is the only one upon which nothing is lost."

The question of the rating of the fanam was one which affected the Company's books, the profit at home being diminished by high ratings. As van Imhoff states in his letter to Busch dated April 2, 1738, " Europ is de vrage." Basing his argument on the figures supplied by Tuticorin, he wished to rate the fanam at 4 heavy or 5 light stuivers provisionally until it could be seen how it fared with the unsettled state of Madura and the fluctuations of its coin, when, if necessary, a further reform could be affected. By this rating the Madura fanam would be of the same value as the Negapatam, of which 12 went to the rix-dollar and 24 to the pagoda. The Indian Government, however, followed Mossel and in 1740 fixed the fanam at 6 light or 4⅘ heavy stuivers.

P. 118, line 7. The letter of the Indian Government dated November 5, 1743, speaks of the Madraspatnam and Arialoer (sic) pagodas, made current " gelykstandig met de Nagapatnamse, Paliacatse, en Portonovose, in welkers verschil wy ons niet eens willen inlaten " (Register op de Positive en Circulaire Ordres, 1736–1745, p. 254). Prinsep mentions an Arialur fanam, as struck near Tanjore (Useful Tables, I., 40).

P. 119, note 8. The two coins were the Turkish piastre and zolota of 40 and 30 paras respectively.

P. 120, section 35. " Blue Stuivers." The adjective is applied also in Dutch to guilders, " blauwe gulden," in the sense of " false," " not of full weight." In the present case the second sense may be intended. The identification with the Wreath series coinage clearly is wrong. This was based on the assumption that the old Netherlands payement actually was demonetized, but the extract from " Diverse Ordres " (Suppl. App. F, 14) shows that it was still current between 1759 and 1768. In the returns of the " Liberal Gift " (*v.*, p. 127) " blue stuivers " are given separate from copper and lead coin, and the fact that they were silver explain the scruples, which arose from the ratings fixed on December 26, 1756. The " blue stuivers," therefore, were the old clipped silver stuivers, now become tokens worth 1 heavy stuiver each ; the silver stuiver of the new Holland payement, of course, ran for 1¼ stuiver.

P. 121, line 1. By a letter from the Indian Government, dated June 10, 1759, the Governor and Council at Colombo were authorized to send certain gold remitted to them to Tuticorin to have it minted there into pagodas of 8 mat fineness with the New Negapatam die, this and other appliances as well as the services of an assayer to be requisitioned from Negapatam. The first but unsuccessful coinage of pagodas took place in 1760. At that time Andries van Nes was mintmaster and F. Damman assayer (Secret Resolution of Council, June 23, 1760, D 242).

CHAPTER X.

P. 124, section 8. The Ceylon Government reserved to itself the right so to lower the fineness of the fanam that the Company should suffer no loss on the coinage (Letter to Batavia, September 16, 1789). This coincides with the first change in the fineness (*v.*, p. 142).

P. 129, section 21. The duits, tammekassen and fanams appear in the Tamil Tombos of Jaffna under the names of *sinnam*, *kásu*, and *panam*. The duit, $\frac{1}{10}$ of the fanam, must be the $\frac{1}{10}$ stuiver coin mentioned in Supplementary Appendix F, 14, as current in Jaffna, but I am unable to identify it unless it be the 1 cash piece of Pulicat. Jaffna deeds of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries usually give the purchase amount of lands in *Kalipanam* or in *Kalipana-iraiyál*, " *Kali* fanam-reals " or "-rix-dollars."

P. 130, section 26, line 16. Add: Double Ducat, 1691, of Utrecht, countermarked with the Company's monogram surmounted by C (Colombo).

P. 134, section 28. Duits coined under Resolution of May 19, 1789.

A hoard consisting of 150 duits dated 1789 and 1790, as well as of 2 " boezeroeken " of 1786, has been examined recently. The duits without exception are of type (*b*). All the genuine coins seem to have been struck on previously cast blanks, which are fairly thick in many cases; those of 1790 in particular frequently are cracked. The average weight of 77 is about 93 grains. The forged coins, which form about a moiety of the hoard, are distinguished by carelessness of execution, on one dated 1790 the second line of the legend being reversed and upside down, and also by lightness of weight, the average of 62 being about 69 grains.

The coins already described as variants of (*b*) undoubtedly are false; the dot is the mark left by the compasses used for tracing the enclosing circle. (*a*), Grogan's 580, probably has been inadequately described and is identical with (*b*). By its type, (*c*), Grogan's 582, belongs to (*d*), the issue of March 3, 1792; the last cipher of the date either is in error on the original or more probably has been misread.

P. 137, section 32. *Pulicat.* The fanam was brought to account in the Company's books at 5 stuivers; thus 24 went to the pagoda, but the number usually exceeded this (Mossel, "Advys," p. 25). For the weight, fineness, and intrinsic value, see Supplementary Appendix F, 9.

An annexure to Mossel's " Advys," p. 112, states that the rupee of this mint weighed $7\frac{1}{256}$ engels and contained 11 penn. 14 gr. silver, which with the cost of coinage made its value fl. 1.10.$2\frac{1}{4}$. It was left to find its own level in the market. A new coinage of rupees " van den nieuwen Palliacatsen stempel " is mentioned in letters from Coromandel to Batavia, dated August 20, 1726, and May 17, 1727 (Colombo Archives, 1046 D).

P. 138, section 33. *Negapatam.* According to Mossel's " Advys " of 1739 the pagoda was " stamped with an idol " and apparently was the same as the coin struck at Pulicat. The fanams were reckoned in the books at 5 stuivers each or 24 to the pagoda, but the usual number was 23 more or less. For the details of this coin, see Supplementary Appendix F, 9. By contract with the Prince the silver in the pagoda was 9 penn. $14\frac{2}{3}$ gr. fine (Mossel, pp. 17, 22, 23).

P. 139, section 34. *Malabar* (*Cochin*). Mossel (" Advys," p. 70) gives the following coins as current in Malabar in 1739:—

Ducat	fl. 6·16·14
Spanish real	3· 7· 8
Rupee	1·10· 0
Ducatoon	4· 2· 8
Cochin fanam	— 1·14
Ikkéri pagoda	4·10· 0

Details of the pagoda and fanam are given in Supplementary Appendix F, 9.

P. 143. To the issues of Kredit Brieven add:—

15/11/1793 RD. 50 (15).

CHAPTER XII.

P. 158. Add under *'Abbásid*:

Al-Mansúr, A.H. 136–158 (A.D. 754–775).

AV. A.H. 157 (A.D. 773/4). B.M.C., I., No. 22.

Ar-Rashíd, A.H. 170–193 (A.D. 786–809).

AV. A.H. 176 (A.D. 792/3). Beneath rev. area an obliterated word.

A.H. 186 (A.D. 802). Rev. as B.M.C., I., No. 141, except for date.

Al-Mamún, A.H. 198–218 (A.D. 813–833).
AV. A.H. 198 (A.D. 813/4). Rev. area as B.M.C., I., No. 232.

Al-Mut'aṣim, A.H. 218–227 (A.D. 833–842).
AV. A.H. 219 (A.D. 834/5). B.M.C., I., No. 302.

Al-Muqtafí, A.H. 530–555 (A.D. 1136–1160).
AV. As B.M.C., IX., p. 83, No. 478t, but date illegible.

Al-Mustanjid, A.H. 555–566 (A.D. 1160–1170).
AV. Similar to B.M.C., I., No. 479 of al-Mustaḍí, but with change of name and date, A.H. 558 (A.D. 1162/3). Legend on obv. in six lines; rev. area in bead circle.

Al-Mustaḍí, A.H. 566–575 (A.D. 1170–1180).
AV. Baghdad, A.H. 569 (A.D. 1173/4). Obv. as B.M.C., I., No. 479, but legend in five lines; rev. as No. 479, but the formula ends in a fifth line as in No. 503.

An-Náṣir, A.H. 575–622 (A.D. 1180–1225).
AV. *Cf.* B.M.C., I., No. 480, but date 577 (A.D. 1181/2).

P. 158, bottom of page, add to *Ayyúbid*:

Al-'Ádil Sayfu'd-dín Abú Bakr I., A.H. 596–615 (A.D. 1199–1218).
AV. *Cf.* B. M. C., IV., 342. Mint illegible; date not read. From Hendala.

P. 159. Add under *Baḥrí Mamlúk*:

Al-Manṣúr Ḥusámu'd-dín Lájín, A.H. 696–698 (A.D. 1296–1299).
AV. B.M.C., IX., p. 345, No. 497t. Cairo. Date illegible.

Persian Mongol.

Abú Sa'íd, A.H. 716–736 (A.D. 1316–1335).
AV. *Cf.* B.M.C., VI., No. 174, but date 729 (A.D. 1328/9) and mint Yezd.

Add to section 3:—

Buwayhid.

'Izzu'd-dawlah, A.H. 356–367 (A.D. 967–977).
AV. Baghdad, A.H. 369 *sic* (for 367). *Cf.* B.M.C., IX., p. 260, No. 653h.

Great Seljuks.

Bargiyáruq, A.H. 487–492 (A.D. 1094–1098).
AV. Baghdad, A.H. 492 (A.D. 1098). B.M.C., III., No. 66.

Seljuks of 'Iráq.

Mas'úd, A.H. 527–547 (A.D. 1132–1152).
AV. Baghdad, A.H. 538 (A.D. 1143/4). B.M.C., IX., p. 281, No. 87c.

All the above are in the cabinet of Mr. Leslie de Saram.

Ḥafṣid of Tunis.

Abú Zakaryá Yaḥyá I., A.H. 625–647 (A.D. 1228–1249).
AV. Obv.: as B.M.C., V., 220, but third line of area as 162. Rev.: Area as 220; margin as 158. *Cf.* Description des Monnaies Espagnoles et des Monnaies Étrangères de Don José Garcia de la Torre, Madrid, 1852, No. 6641.

Pp. 159, 160, section 4.

Sultans of Dehli.

Fíróz II. The coin I.M.C., 183, may be of Jalálu'd-dín Aḥsan Sháh of Madura, A.H. 735–740 (Hultzsch, No. 9).

Shér Sháh. Rupee similar to I.M.C., 676, but date 949 and the obv. and rev. marginal legends differently disposed. In rev. area ornament No. 7 in lieu of star.

Madura.

Jalálu'd-dín Aḥsan Sháh, A.H. 735–740 (A.D. 1334/5—1339/40).
AE. Hultzsch, No. 6.

P. 161, section 6. *Hormuz*. Add under Salghar Sháh a gold xerafim dated 947 (A.D. 1540/1), the property of Mr. Leslie de Saram. It is ringed.

P. 162, section 7. Probably of the same find is another sequin of Sulaimán the Magnificent, struck at Cairo. It was with the xerafim just recorded.

For the Turkish piastre and zolota in 1752, see p. 119 and Supplement to the same.

P. 165, section 18. The year 1742 cannot mark the beginning of the Madras rupee, coined by the English East India Company, as its officials had the custody of the rupee dies for a number of years before 1726 (Letter of Governor of Coromandel to Batavia, August 20, 1726, Colombo Archives, 1046 D). The coin is mentioned by Salmon in the Dutch translation "Tegenwoordige Staat van alle Volkeren," Amsterdam, 1730, as weighing 7 dwt. 11 gr., and also by van Imhoff in 1738. Mossel's "Advys" in 1739 gives :—

367½ Madras rupees	=	100 Negapatam pagodas.		
342½ Arkadoese do.	=	100	do.	do.
330 Do. do.	=	100 Porto Novo		do.

The "Arkadoese" rupee is the Arcot.

CHAPTER XIII.

P. 168. *Chinese : Southern Sung Dynasty.*

Kuang Tsung, A.D. 1190–1195.
Period : Shao Hsi, 1190.
Legend : Shao Hsi Yüan Pao.
C. F. E., 411. First year of reign. Neighbourhood of Mannar.

P. 169, section 5. *Venetian*. Mr. Leslie de Saram has acquired recently one sequin of Antonio Venier, A.D. 1382–1400. It is the earliest Venetian recorded in Ceylon.

P. 170, section 7. *Spanish*. A letter from Coromandel to Batavia, dated August 20, 1726, mentions "Colom realen" or pillar-dollars (Colombo Archives, 1046 D).

P. 172, section 14. *Pagodas and fanams*. A hoard of 179 Elephant pagodas was discovered in 1922 at Allaippiddi in Jaffna District.

P. 173, section 15 (1). The types of the fanams current on the West coast of India and in Ceylon, of whatever name and fineness, clearly are derived from one original, *i.e.*, the "Ceylon type."

Of the Travancore gold coins the *Kali* or *Kaliyaṇ* (the so-called "Gallioon") fanam was issued in 1744/5, and is said by Mateer to be identical with Tufnell's 30·5 (p. 138, section 15 (1) (*c*)), though in his plate he gives an obverse like that of the silver *cakram* ; the "Madura vella" fanam, very similar to it, is Tuffnell's 30·8 (*ib.*, (1) (*d*) ; S. Mateer, "Coinage of Travancore," Madras Journal of Literature and Science, 1889–94). The type of both seems to be later than that of the *Rási* fanam (C. S. I., pl. IV., No. 192), so called from the 12 dots on the reverse being taken for the signs of the Zodiac, and reputed the earliest of the Malabar coins. This practically is identical in type, though not in fineness, with the *Víra ráya* gold fanam, the design on some of which, *e.g.*, the obverse of Elliot's No. 191, may be somewhat older, and also with the Sinhalese silver fanam, the history of which goes back to the sixteenth century at least. The public accounts of Travancore and Malabar at one time were kept in *Víra ráya* fanams.

The Travancore "Madura vella" fanam presumably was copied from an original in Madura. Here before the Muhammadan conquest in 1736 the *poṇ* was equal to 10 *Kali-paṇam*, 16½ of which went to the Star pagoda (Gazetteer of Madura District, 1906, p. 153), and it may also be presumed from the likeness of the Travancore "Madura vella" to the *Kali* fanam that its original was the local *Kali* fanam of Madura. Whether this actually was current in the middle of the eighteenth century or merely survived in accounts is not clear. But in 1554 Nunes mentions a fanão galeão, worth 22½ reis, as the coin of Caille or Káyal on the Madura Coast ; in the same year at the neighbouring Kilakkarai Pearl Fishery 10 fanams went to the xerafim (Tombo do Estado da India, fol. 206), each fanam thus being of the same value as that current on the opposite shore in Ceylon. Now, in the Jaffna deeds of the years before and after 1800 the consideration almost invariably is given in *Kali-paṇam*

and pardáos of the same (pp. 110, 114, 260), and the *Kaliyugaráman* pagoda is of frequent occurrence in the Tamil documents of Puttalam. In spite, therefore, of the discrepancy in value between the galeão of Caille and the fanam of the Pearl Fishery and North Ceylon, doubtless due to the vagaries of local princes, it seems likely that the fanams current in the Island and on the mainland were of the same general type, which prevailed also on the south-west coast of India, and that all were descended from the *Kaliyugaráman* fanam of the late Pándyans of Tinnevelly (p. 81). The sole difficulty lies in the name "chocrão" occasionally applied to fanams in Ceylon in the sixteenth century, and by Nunes only to those of Negapatam and Pulicat, which approximate in value to those of North Ceylon. But we find in "Diverse Ordres" (Suppl. App. F, 14) a Cape Comorin or Sacaramse fanam, which consisted of 4 poetangs or *puttan* and which from its rating in stuivers must have been gold; in 1738 the coin is mentioned in connection with Travancore by Busch (Colombo Archives, 1046 D); and the name is now applied to Travancore silver coins, which certainly come from the same original type as the *Kali* fanam. Elliot treats the *Vira ráya* fanams as variants of the *Kali* (C. S. I., p. 137), but does not connect them with the Pándyan country.

Coins of Tufnell's types 30·4, 30·8, and 30·9 are found in the South Arcot, Tinnevelly, and Tanjore Districts respectively.

P. 173, section 15 (2). The fanams supposed to be those of Pulicat are stated by the Madras Museum to have been issued at Jinji in South Arcot between 1677 and 1690 by Ram Raja, the second son of Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta empire.

P. 173. Add to section 15:—Mossel's "Advys" of 1739, in addition to the pagodas of Pulicat and Negapatam, deals with:—

(1) The Porto Novo fanam (pp. 23, 24), reckoned by the Company at 16 to the pagoda or 7 st. 8 penn. each; but "through the cunning of the ruler of the country, who receives his tolls therein and hinders the coinage, it has risen to 13 to the Negapatam pagoda more or less."

(2) The Sadraspatnam or Alemgier fanam (p. 24), counted in the Company's books as equal to the Porto Novo, though usually 15 went to the pagoda more or less. The best sort weighed 7⅜ a-en.

Details of these appear in Supplementary Appendix F, 9.

CHAPTER XIV.

Page 175, line 13:—In addition to the reckonings of 16, 12, and 8 *tuttu* as equal to a *ridí*, given in the text, the deeds from the south-western portion of Kurunegala District also occasionally give 14 and 7. The reckoning 12 seems to be confined to Munnessaram Pattu.

Section 2 (6):—*Ridí.*—In the Tamil deeds of Puttalam and Kurunegala Districts the consideration is computed occasionally in pagodas, but more generally in *velli*, identical in meaning with the Sinhalese *ridí*, "silver." The following terms occur: (a) *velli, periya* ("large") *velli*; (b) *tanka velli, periya tanka velli*; (c) *madakku* ("bent") *velli, periya madakku velli*. In a Puttalam District deed No. 345 of Saka 1557 (A.D. 1636), 25 *madakku velli* and 25 *tanka velli* make 50 *velli*; the names, therefore, refer to coins, the "bent silver" obviously being the larin. The expression *tanka velli*, in Tamil literally "golden silver," cannot be taken grammatically as meaning "gold and silver" and as the equivalent of the *ran ridí* of the Sinhalese deeds. It is always of the same value as the *madakku* and as the *velli*, and must be the Portuguese double tanga, which was considered equal to the larin, that is the "tangom massa" of Knox. The adjective "large" in each case qualifies not *madakku* and *tanka* but the following word *velli*, and must be used in opposition to the small silver fanam.

In a considerable number of Tamil deeds from the same Districts from A.D. 1774 onwards, the *tanka velli* is qualified by the word *áluruva*, literally "man's face." It appears to correspond with the specification of the coin paid, which we find in Sinhalese deeds, and sometimes in Tamil, e.g, *sallik-kásu periya velli 10*, "10 large silver in challies." From the dates the word cannot refer to the British copper coin with the King's head, and it seems probable that the Dutch duit is meant. If the reverse type of the Venetian sequin could be supposed popularly to represent a toddy drawer climbing a palm tree, imagination might have seen a human face in the Dutch Company's monogram; the Sinhalese saw in it a pair of clubs, the coin being known as *sinhayá polla*, "lion and clubs." Our name seems to have been confined to the Moors.

Úsikkánta velli, so frequent in deeds, is not the name of a coin, but of the fee paid to the writer for his trouble (Puttalam Deeds, Nos. 1229, 1264).

In Sinhalese deeds of the Anuradhapura, Puttalam, and Kurunegala Districts the computations nearly always are in *ridí*, preceded by the word " current " and by an enumeration of the coin actually or theoretically paid. Thus :—

Ran ridí mudalen ridí 10	.. In gold and silver money, *ridí* 10.
Ran ridí taṁba milen 10	.. In gold, silver, and copper money, 10.
Ridí taṁba milen 10	.. In silver and copper money, 10.
Taṁba milen 10	.. In copper money, 10.
Ran ridiyen ridí 10	.. In gold and silver, *ridí* 10.
Ran ridí 10	.. Gold and silver, 10.
Ridí ran 10	.. Silver and gold, 10.
Ridiyen ridí 10	.. In silver, *ridí* 10.
Ridí 10	.. *Ridí* 10,

all have the simple meaning of " 10 *ridí*." A deed of the early seventeenth century (Puttalam No. 370) is more explicit : *ratranen ridí pananvalin*, " in gold and in silver fanams." In two deeds (Anuradhapura, Nos. 110, 203) the consideration is stated to be *sudu ridiyen*, " in white silver," with which should be compared Knox's account of the testing of the larin on page 164 of his book.

In a comparatively small number of deeds from the same Districts we again find the name *maḍakku* :—

(1) maḍakku 10, (2) maḍakku ran 10, (3) maḍakku ran ridí 10, (4) maḍakku ran ridiyen 10, (5) maḍakku ran ridiyen ridí 10, (6) maḍakku ran ridí mudalen 10, (7) ran ridiyen maḍakku ran 10, each meaning nothing more than " 10 *ridí*." The variants (3), (4), (5), and (6) may be rendered by " in larins, gold and silver." But (7) clearly shows that the larin was styled not only *maḍakku*, but also *maḍakku ran*, where the last word simply means " coin," " money " (*cf.* p. 80).

Section 2 (7) :—Pagodas.—The pagoda occurring in the Tamil deeds of Puttalam District is the *Kaliyugarámaṉ Putu-miṉṉal varákaṉ*, " *Kaliyugarámaṉ* New lightning pagoda." What this coin was is not clear, but presumably it is to be connected with the *Kaliyugarámaṉ* fanam ; possibly it was a pagoda of account. The name very occasionally is found alone ; usually it is qualified by the insertion of *Náka* before *varákaṉ*. In two deeds of A.D. 1727 and 1732 it is said to be equal to 10 *veḷḷi*. Occasionally the coin is styled simply *Náka varákaṉ*.

The Porto Novo pagoda appears only in later deeds, apparently not being mentioned before A.D. 1815. It is either styled *Paraṅkipeḍḍai varákaṉ*, *Paraṅkipeḍḍai Vaḍḍa varákaṉ*, or more commonly *Kaliyugarámaṉ Putu-miṉṉal Paraṅki varákaṉ*.

In Sinhalese deeds pagodas are rarely mentioned, and no distinction between different kinds is made. In a Kurunegala District deed of Ṣaka 1731 (A.D. 1809) 10 *ridí* are said to be equal to one pagoda (No. 5,465).

SUPPLEMENTARY APPENDIX E.

1. Tombo do Estado da India (1554).

Cochin.

Fol. 24 v. Tem elRey noso senhor na dita çidade os direitos da moeda d'ouro, a qual Renda não he çerta e Rende huns anos mais e outros menos.

Fol. 27. E ao mestre da Moeda trinta mill reis d'ordenado.

Goa.

Fol. 50. E tem mais elRey noso senhor na dita cidade de guoa os direitos da moeda d'ouro, que se laura em san' tomés ás partes que ho mandão lavrar, a qual não he contia çerta : Renderá huns anos pelos outros de setecentos athé oytoçentos pardaos d'ouro.

Fol. 57 v. E ao mestre da moeda quinze mill reis d'crdenado e seysçentos reis de mantimento, que soma vinte e dous mill e duzentos reis por ano.

Malacca.

Fol. 95 v. E ao moedeiro da ffortaleza dezoyto mil reis d'ordenado, e oyto centos reis de mantimento por mês, que tudo vaal por ano vinte sete mil e seyscentos reis.

2. Livro Terceiro dc tombo, 1615.

Fol. 161. Hicârue.

E dosasseis ortas q'pessuẽ dozasseis naturaes anilacareas em q' hâ duzentas E des palmeiras os q^{es}. pagão ao senhorio dez l^{es}. amtiguos.

Fol. 216. Denauaca agrâ.

Putequiriam durua possue dez amanões de sementr^{a}. com hũa orta, em que hâ tres palm^{as}. com seu arecal, o q^{l}. paga a elRey cada anno dez l^{es}. amtigos de decum, e ao uidana das agrâs dous larīs e ao camgane dez fanões.

SUPPLEMENTARY APPENDIX F.

1. Resolution of the Galle Council (? May 2), 1652.

...... Wyders achtervolgens Haer Edelens ordre gelet hebbende, op de valuatie der silvere Portuguese specien alhier gangbaer die haer wel gedachte Edelens gelasten so veel doenlyck also in de waerdye te veel is verschillende te redresseren, so is mede goet gevonden ende vast gestelt dat van nu voortaen d'inhoude van onderstaende placcaet sal naer gecomen ende de gelden op sodanigen prys als daer is gereduceert sullen uytgegeven werden.

NOTA 't placcaet can in't placcaetboec op bovengeschreven actum beoogt ende gelesen werden.

Aldus gedaen gearresteert ende geresolveert inde Stad Gale ten Jaere maende ende dagen als voren onderstonden Jacob van Kittensteyn, Jan Croon, B. Cocqx, Sybrand Groes, Eduart Hauw, Jean Keetlaer, ende Jan de Vogel Secretaris.

2. The Same, June 25, 1652.

Gemerct met het afsetten en verminderen van Hollantse specien als Goase muncte uyt last ende expresse ordre der Heeren Gouverneur Generael ende raden van India uyt Batavia onlangs alhier gedaen, van vele Compagnies dienaeren Burgeren Ingeseten over het verlies die op hare penningen sullen moeten missen ons dagelycks vele en onlydelyck clachten en dolear tien voorcomen sustinerende 'tzelve op gelt ofte wel verlies behoorde vande Compagnie die voorgeven de specie so hoogh ingestelt te hebben vergoet te worden gelyck verstaen op Batavia, soude syn geschiet, dat niet wel connen aennemen, dewyle voornoemde Heeren ons diesaengaende egene de minste last daartoe namentlyck tot vergoedingo der schade hebben gelieven te geven, echter om de dcleanten so veel doenlyck te stillen en contentement te doen is goet gevonden ende gearresteert te ordonneren dat binnen seker gepretigeerden tyt de lieden eenich verlies gevend gelt in hun cassa hebbende deselve binnen voorschreeven tyt van dato tot 15den aenstaende maends in Compagnies cassa sullen hebben te brengen dat door den cassier van specie tot specie en van stucs tot stucs sal worden aengetekent, doch niet minder als 50 realen tegelyck in te brengen, en dat naer expireren van voorschreeven tyt een yder syn gelt weder zal connen laten halen, ende aengetekent blyven, totter tyt en wyle ordre tot goet doen van't verlies gevend gelt van haer Edelens uyt Batavia sullen becomen......Aldus gedaen, enz, was get: Jacob van Kittensteyn, Jan Croon, B. Cocqx, Sybrand Groes, Eduart Hauw, Jean Keetlaer, ende Jan de Vogel, Secretaris.

3. The Same, December 10, 1652.

......Ende dewyle de Edele Heeren op Batavia voornoemt ons per 't jacht de Leeuw hebben gelieven te ordonneeren dat de particulieren wegens hare pretentie, over het verlies gevend— ende afgesette gelden, souden worden voldaen,'t sy in cleden, ofte wel andere coopman-schappen, waer by de Compagnie minst g'interesseert soude connen wesen, is mede goet gevonden het selve alhier gelyck op Batavia geschiet is te laten effect sorteeren, in goede sorteeringe cleeden ofte wel groove caneel, waer by de Compagnie noch behouden sal blyven. Aldus gedaen, enz, onderstont, Jacob van Kittensteyn, Jan Croon, Reynier Serooskerk, Eduart Hauw, Jean Keetlaer, ende Jan de Vogel, Secretaris.

4. Resolution of the Political Council, October 23, 1660, Vol. II.

Soo heeft oock den gemelten superintendent met den Raadt reflectie gemaackt op de quantiteyt Goase ende andere inlandtse Portugeeze munt, die hier onder de gemeente omgaet, ende welke bevonden wert dagelyx meer en meer aentewassen door dien booven degeene die voordezen om reedenen verstaen was hier voor een tydt langh telaaten gelden, en kenlyk zy by 'sComps: bymerk daer opgestempelt, zeer veel ongemerkte penningen van voorz: Goase Munt gesien werden die noch van Aloy noch waerde zoo goet zyn ende tot praejuditie des gemeenen beste en deze colonie of van over zee by de mooren, of door die hier overgebleeve Portugeze toepassen aengebracht werden. Maar ten principaelsten gesuspecteert zyn door eenige der gemelte Toepassen in de bossen op dit Eylandt, van slechtere en minwaerde specie nageslagen werden, ende zodanigh onder de man gebracht zyn, geevende aen deeze suspicie een krachtige indicie, dat men dese toepassen generalyk ziet leedigh gaen, ende zonder eenighe hanteringh aen kost ende kleederen koomen, in een tydt daer de Rys en andere leevensmiddelen zoo dier zyn, ende oock wyl den superintendent ende dezen Raadt, door't bericht van een eerlyk ende principael burger in Colombo verseekert syn geworden, dat zeeker Toepas in zyn praesentie, een stierman aengebooden hadde te verkoopen, een roozewater Vlessje met kanneel oly, ende hem daervoor gepresenteert zy twintigh Ryxdaalders zonder dat den verkoop voortgingh zynde buyten allen twyffel int bosch gedistilleert, waer niet min deeze valsche munt kan geslagen weezen. Daarvan op Gale alreede ondervonden ende achterhaelt zyn, niet min dan duysent stuks van die munt valsch van Alloy ende trouwelooselyk nagemaakt, Om welke pernicieuze schadelyke ende hooghstrafbare valsheyt, voor eerst in de munt tzy oock waer ze vandaen koome, te weeren stutten, en deesen staedt daervan te zuyveren, is in dezen Rade beslooten dat d. E. Compagnie sal inwisselen alle zoodanige portugeeze penningen gelyk die tot nu toe gegolden hebben, genaemt tienties, vyf jes, sessies, etca, ende als in't Placaet specialyk staen uytgedruckt te werden mitz dat ze bygemerkt syn met 'sComps: stempel, ende dat de andere, als d. E. Comp: oneygen de gemeente schadelyk ende hier ongepermitteert zullen verklaart werden billion ende onganghbaer op dit gansche Eylandt waer derselfs gebiedt streckt, ende dat daervan zal werden gedaen Notificatie, alhier, op Gale ende waert verder noodigh zy, met insinuatie by placate dat die binnen den tydt van acht dagen na de publicatie naelaetigh blyft dusdanighe geteykende Portugeesse munt in 'sComps: Casse te brengen, dezelve zal moeten 't zynen 43-21

laste houden, ende als ongeldigh die niet vermogen op dit Eylandt uyt te geeven, veel min van buyten eenige aenbrengen, op Paene van lyff en goet, om als valsche munters gestraft te werden. Besluytende daerneevens voortaan, door 't allerbeste ende bedektste middel zoodanighe ordre allomme te stellen, dat der Toepassen handel ende wandel ontdeckt werde, ende de schuldige aen't muntslaen ende branden der Canneel Olye uytgevonden ende gestraft zynde, de meditatien genomen over 't uytsetten dezer Canaillie te eerder bevordert ende uytgevoert moge werden.

5. THE SAME, VOL. II., POLITIQUE RESOLUTIE GENOMEN OP PALIACATTA DEN 26STEN EN 27STEN AUGUSTI ANNO 1661.

Dat d'jachten Schelvis, Zeehont, en 't Wapen van Colombo, na Bengalen zullen gaan, benevens d'100000 Ropias van Suratta becomen, en 't onganckbaere gelt van Ceylon.

. . . .

Den Commissaris stelt voor off het Eylant Ceylon van hier met eenich capitael zoude connen geadsisteert worden, om te suppleeren d'onganckbare ende portugese gelden van daer na Bengalen gesonden, is bevonden dat het gantsche capitael alhier tot de Negotie zal vereyst worden, ende dat men na Ceylon zal adviseren, zy hen daer zullen mogen van de Persiaenze ende Suratze contanten, naer vereys van zaeken hebben te dienen.

6. INSTRUCTIE VOOR DEN DESSAVE VAN MATURE, JUNE, 1661. COLOMBO ARCHIVES, 108 D.

Dat de munt op 't Eiland Ceylon werde gehouden op den voet daerop 't nu gebragt zy zonder eenigsints te gedoogen eenige portugeze munt peruse Realen paternosters ofte ook eenige Indiaense munt als zyn Ropias abaesys pagoden fanums &ca zonder alvooren met 'sComps : stempel geteekent syn versendende de aenweesende ingezamelde paternosters en peruse realen mitsgaders de afgezette portugeze munt na bengale.

7. BATAVIA LETTER TO THE MALABAR COAST, DATED AUGUST 26, 1687. COLOMBO ARCHIVES, 2256 D.

Om dan voor eerst te spreeken wegens de reductie der gelt specien, op ider plaats gebruykelyk ende gangbaar zynde, soo is't dat de zelve om by de boeken in guldens uytgetrocken te kunnen werden altyt syn geschat geworden na een nederlandsen ryx : ofte standpenning van vyftig sware of 60 ligte stuyvers, dog verscheydentlyk de eene tyt nader aan de regte innerlyke waardye van de zelve Inlandse munten ofte geldspetien, de andere tyt weder hooger ende verder van derzelver regte waardye afwykende, en dat om sodanige redenen als in der tyt daartoe gelegen hebben, en wy onnodig agten in dezen te expresseren, stellende alleenlyk ten reguarde van de jongste verhoging der pagoden van 105 tot 120 ligte stuyvers, en der ropia in Suratte ende Bengalen van 28 ligt stuyvers of liever 27½ stuyvers dewyle 22 swaare maar 27½ ligte stuyvers uytmaken tot 30 ligte stuyvers dit voor afseggen dat hetselve al een groot verlies maakt, te weeten dat van de pagoden bedragende 14$\frac{2}{7}$ ende dat van de ropia 9 $\frac{1}{11}$ per cento, 't gene soo als dat de Edele heeren onse principalen seer wel begrypen, ende by ons ook al meermalen in consideratien getrocken is op dezelve plaatsen daar die geld specien sodanig boven hare vorige valeur verhoogt zyn de winsten veel groter dan zy inderdaad en waarheyt zyn doet schynen. Ende dezelve wederom op andere plaatsen seer vermindert op sodanige goederen als daar van d'eerstgem : plaatsen gesonden of aangebragt werden.

Wel is waar dat de zake van buyten aangemerkt werdende gemeent zoude kunnen werden dat d'E. Comp : niet verscheelen konde op wat plaatsen haar de winsten goed gedaan wierden, maar egter wanneer 't werk in syn binnenst doorgrond werd sal men bevinden dat in de regte en eygentlyke reductie der gelden een groot poinct voor den dienst van de Comp : resideert om in't bestier van den handel de regte en beste mesures te kunnen nemen, specialyk in het doen der eysschen van alle plaatsen waar van het dryven van den handel zyn eerst begin neemt, ende in welcke eysschen te formeeren geen poinct meer in consideratie komt dan een regte wetenschap van de waare winsten die sodanigen goederen komen te geeven, als 't welcke eenige ende uyterste oogmerk van den handel is, ende waar omtrent de heeren meesters met groot regt zeggen dat haar H. E. ter oorsaake van die groote verhoging der pagoden voor 105 tot 120 stuyvers dikwyls in grote twyffeling geweest zyn . . . . .

Uyt alle de welcke dan notoirlyk komt te blyken dat het een noodwendige zaake is alle de Inlandse gelt specien op ider comptor inde negotie boeken niet hoger uyttetreckken dan na derselver innerlyke waardye gerekent tegen den voorm : standpenning van den nederlandsen ryx :, ende dat om deze volgende oorsaaken eerstel : om dat des te beter narigt ende versekerheyt in't formeeren der eysschen by de boeken te kunnen zien de ware inkoops pryzen der goederen, ten anderen om daar door te kunnen weeten wat ware winsten eygentl : op ider verkogte sorteering in't byzonder en op ider Compt : in't geheel gevallen zyn . . . . .

Dog ten reguarde der Mallabaarse pagoda by onse missives a 1683 en 1684 derwaarts gesz : gedicideert geworden zyn, gelyk wy ook al verleden jaar wegens de Cormandelse pagoda na dat gouvernement geordonneert hebben deselve niet hoger in de wissel uyttetrecken dan tegen 105 ligte stuyvers ofte 1¾ rds : gelyk dat selve de intentie der heeren principaalen by haar hoog E. generale missive van den 8 October 1685 geweest was.

Wy hebben daarom alle de voorververhaalde redenen, ende insonderheyt om't respect voor de beveelen van H. gem : onse heeren principalen niet kunnen ledig staan soo ras het by te brengen zy, over geheel Indien een nette reductie van alle de gelt specien op alle de respective comptoiren gebruykt werdende uit te voeren.

8. Plakaat touching Japanese Kobangs.

LOURENS PYL, Raad ordinaris van India, gouverneur en directeur des eylants Ceylon, de Custen Madure, Inchiado, &a., mitsgaders den Raad tot Colombo, allen den genen die desen zullen zien, ofte hooren lesen, Saluyt, doen te weten, dat nademael d'hoogh Edele Heer Ccmmissaris Hendrick Adriaan van Rheede tot drakesteyn, heere van Mydreght, &a., ons hebbende gelieven te qualificeeren de goude Japanse Coubangs, met 'sCompagnies Stempel gemerct zynde, onder dit gouvernement te mogen gangbaar maacken tegens thien en een halve Rijksdaalder, soo werd alle en een igelyck daar van advertentie by desen gedaen, en dat geen andre Coubangs dan die zoodanigh gechiapt zullen wesen voor thien en een halve Rijksdaalder zullen werden g'accepteerd, nog uytgegeven, 't welck cock alleen onder dit gouvernement maer geen andre plaats stant of plaats zal hebben, waer naer een ider sigh zal hebben te Reguleeren.

Aldus gedaan, g'arresteert, en geresolveerd int Casteel Colombo den 11den July, 1690, mitsgaders gepubliceerd en g'affigeerd den 19den daer aen volgende.

(get :) Lourens Pyl

L. S.

Ter ordonnantie van d' E. H. gouverneur
en raad voormelt
(get :) J. Berghuysen
ges : Clercq

9. Advys van Jacob Mossel, Gouverneur en Directeur ter Custe Chormandel....over de Consideratien van den Edelen Heer Gustaaf Willem van Imhoff....rakende den lywaat handel, Negapatam, September 12, 1739. Colombo Archives, 2639 d.

Berekening van Goud, Silver, en eenige geld Spetien.

1 Staav Goud N.° 36 weegd marq : 75.7.17.16 houd in eff : 23 car : 10 gryn a.° 1729 met het schip Boekenroode van Amsterdam, en vervolgens met Staaffen alhier aangebragt, nader te b'oogen by factuur van den 17 January, 1736, uyt Bengalen komt te kosten f. 35261.6.8. boven gezegde mark : tot fyn gemaakt zoo komt 't mark fyn f. 467.6.—.—rm

Een mark Fyn Silver kost volgens aanreekening van a.° 1739	..	f.	32. 6. 5
Een Nagapatnamse pagood wegende 71$\frac{3}{4}$ per mark van alloy 20.8.$\frac{2}{5}$.			
kost na bovenstaande reecq : van f. 467.6.—.—r 't mark fyn	..	„	5.12. 5 —r
1$\frac{1}{2}$ per Cento munts geregtigheyt en ongelden ..	..	„	—. 1.11.—
Teld	..	f.	5.14.—.—

Een Nagapatnamse fanum weegd 7$\frac{7}{32}$. asen,				
car : 7.11 goud 't mark fyn f. 467.6.—	..	..	f.	—. 4.5.$\frac{1}{2}$
penn : 6.12. zilver „ „ 32.6.5	..	..	„	—. —.8.—
„ 1.13$\frac{1}{2}$. koper lb. „ 1.6.—	..	..	„	—. — —$\frac{3}{64}$
2$\frac{1}{2}$ pr Cto. munts ongelden ..	..	..	„	—. —.1 $\frac{61}{64}$
	Maakt	..	f.	—. 4.15$\frac{1}{2}$

Een Portonovose fanum weegt 7$\frac{15}{16}$ azen				
car.t 10. 9.$\frac{3}{5}$. goud 't marq : fyn f. 467.6.—	..	..	f.	—. 6.8.$\frac{1}{4}$
penn : 3.18 —zilver „ „ „ 32.6.5	..	..	„	—. —.5.—
„ 1.15$\frac{3}{5}$. koper 't lb. „ „ 1.6.—	..	..	„	—. —.—$\frac{3}{64}$
2$\frac{1}{4}$ pr Cto munts ongelden ..	..	..	„	—. —. 2$\frac{13}{64}$
	komt	..	f.	—. 7.—.—

Een Sadraspatnamse fanum weegd 7$\frac{3}{8}$. azen				
car.t 10. 2$\frac{1}{2}$ goud 't mark fyn f. 467.6.—.	..	..	f.	—. 5.11$\frac{5}{8}$
penn : 3.10$\frac{3}{4}$. zilver 't mq : fyn „ 32.6.5	..	..	„	—. 4. 4$\frac{1}{2}$
„ 3.10$\frac{3}{4}$. koper 't lb. „ 1.6.—	..	..	„	—. —.—$\frac{3}{32}$
2$\frac{1}{2}$ per Cto munts ongelden ..	..	..	„	—. —. 2$\frac{13}{32}$
	Sommeert	..	f.	—. .6. 2$\frac{5}{8}$

Een Palliacatse fanum weegd 7 15/16 azen		
caraten 6.11.¼ goud 't mq : fyn f. 467.6.—	..	f. —. 4. 3—
penn : 6.20.—zilver „ „ „ 32.6.5	..	„ —. —. 9⅛
„ 1.16¾. koper 't lb. „ 1.6.—	..	„ —. —.—3/64
2½ pr Cento munts ongelden	..	„ —. —. 1 4/8 3/4
	Somma ..	f. —. 4.14—
Een Madurese fanum weegd 7⅓ azen		
caraten 8. 8.¼ goud 't mq : fyn f. 467.6.—	..	f. —. 4.13 1/3 7/2
penn : 3. 3½ zilver „ „ 32.6.5	..	„ —. —. 4—
„ 4.12¼ koper 't lb. „ 1.6.—	..	„ —. —.—⅛
3 per Cto munts ongelden	..	„ —. —. 2 1/3 5/2
	Maakt ..	f. —. 5. 4⅛
Een pagood Ikeri weegd Engs. 2.7½		
car : 20.6.½	..	f. 5. 11.11. 2/8 1/4
1½ per Cento ongelden	..	„ —. 1.10. 13/16
	Addeert ..	f. 5. 13. 6. 9/64
Een Cochimse fanum weegd 7 11/16 azen		
car : 2. 3⅗. goud..	..	f. —. 1. 5½
penn : 5. 9⅗. zilver..	..	„ —. —. 7
„ 5.10⅕. koper..	..	„ —. —.—. 9/64
4 per Cto ongelden ..	..	„ —. —. 1 9/64
	Sommeert ..	f. —. 1.13 2/3 5/2

Nagapatnam in 't casteel den 29 augº 1739 (was getekend) Pr. D' Wint narekenaar.

Aanwysinghe der geld spetien in een bondeltje dese annex

Het mark fyn Goud gerekend tegens f. 467.6r. en het fyn Zilver tegens f. 32.6.5.

Nº. 1. Drie Nagapatnamse Goude pagoden wegende ider marcq : —.—.2.7.½. van alloy.

cart. 20.8.⅖. goud	..	f. 5.12. 5.
munts ongelden	..	„—. 1.11
waardig	..	f. 5. 14.— loopt by de boeken f. 6.— —.

„ 2. Vier Nagapatnamse fanums wegende ider 7.7/32. azen van alloy

cart. 7.11.—. goud	..	f.—. 4. 5.½.
penn : 6.12.—. zilver	..	„—.—. 8.—.
„ 1.13½. koper	..	„—.—.—.3/64
munts ongelden	..	„—.—. 1.8/8 1/4
waardig	..	f.—. 4.15.½. loopt by de boeken f. —.5.—

„ 3. Vier Portonovose fanums wegende ider 7 1/16 7/8. azen van alloy

car : 10.9.⅔ goud	..	f.—. 6.8.¼.
penn : 3.18.— zilver	..	„—.—.5.—.
„ 1.15.¾ koper	..	„—.—.—.3/64
munts ongelden	..	„—.—. 2½
waardig	..	f.—. 7.—.—.St loopt by de boeken f. —.7.8.

„ 4. Vier Sadraspatnamse fanums wegende ider 7⅜ azen van alloy

car : 10.2½ Goud	..	f.—. 5.11.⅝.
penn : 3.10¾ zilver	..	„—.—. 4½.
„ 3.10¾ koper	..	„—.—.—3/32
munts ongelden	..	„—.— . 2 1/3 5/2
waardig	..	f.—. 6. 2⅝. loopt by de boeken f. —.7.8.

No. 5. Drie Palliacatse ropyen wegende ider $7\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{8}$ eng^{s}. van alloy

penn : 11.14.—. zilver	..	f. 1. 8.15$\frac{3}{4}$.
munts ongelden	..	„—. 1. 2$\frac{1}{2}$.
waardig	..	f. 1.10. 2$\frac{1}{4}$.

dezelve loopt hier niet by de boeken, maar reyst en daalt in prys.

6. Vier Palliacatse fanums wegende ider $7\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}$. azen van alloy

car : 6.11$\frac{1}{4}$ goud	..	f.—. 4. 3.—.
penn : 6.20.— zilver	..	„—.—. 9$\frac{1}{8}$.
„ 1.16$\frac{3}{4}$. koper	..	„—.—.—$\frac{3}{8}\frac{1}{4}$.
munts ongelden	..	„—.—. 1$\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{4}$.
waardig	..	f.—. 4.44.— (sic) loopt by de boeken f. —.5.—.

Op Noorder Chormandel is geen ander geld als pagoden en ropyen, welke reysen en dalen na de wisselcours.

By de vreemde Europeese natien hier ter Custe zyn gangbaar de goude pagoden die hier ter Custe gemunt werden en de zilvere fanums die de Engelse france en deenen ter haarer residentien stempelen.

Nagapatnam in 't Casteel den 12 September anno 1739 (was getekend) A. Velge Sec^{s}.

10. Register op de Positive en Circulaire Ordres, 1736–1745. Colombo Archives 171 D.

P. 120. Missive, October 30, 1739.

Fanums Muntery, op die voor uytzigten worden U. E. by dezen gequalificeert wanneer de zaken slegts eenigzints daar na geschikt zyn, eens van de muntery der fanums op Tutucoryn met de vereyschte omsigtigheyd een proof te doen nemen, al was 't maar na de propositie van den opperkoopman Busch (onder wiens bestier ten Madurese Cust men ook wel de best verwagting van dit werk scheynd temogen hebben) voor eerst met een kleen bedragen van 1000 parduas.

P. 304. Missive, October 24, 1744.

Geldspecien. En ten belange van de geldspecien diend dat het placcaat van den 23 : may 1735 mede ten vollen betrecking heeft tot U. E. gouvernement mits dat de goede wigtige Scuratse R^{o}/$_{as}$ alleen ontfangen werden tot 30 sw : stv^{s}. ende rest prorato haare waarde.

11. Plakaat touching the New Netherlands payement.

Willem Maurits Bruynink,

Afgaande Gouverneur en Directeur van 't Eyland Ceylon, en dies Onder horigheden, en

Daniel Overbeek.

g'eligeert pro interim Gouverneur des gemelten Eylands, nevens den Raad.

Allen den genen die dezen zullen zien ofte, horen lezen, Salut ! doen te weten :

Dat wy zo tot gemak, en gerief van de gemeente hier te lande in de dagelykse traficque, en neeringe, als om andere goede redenen, in onzen Rade op den 12 October passato hebben goed gevonden, en gearresteert het nieuwe Nederlandsch payement, dat sedert eenigen tyd herwaarts, genoegsaam is gesuprimeerd geweest, wederom als bevorens uyt 'sCompagnies Cassa te laten verstrecken, en zo by de Compagnie zelve, als by Particulieren, in den handel te doen rouleeren, tegens de jongst gefixeerde prysen, by Placcate van Haar Hoog Edelhedens den Gouverneur Generaal. en Raden van India, van dato 23 May, 1735, namentlyk :

Een enkeldo stuyver, tegens een en een quart sware stuyver, of 5 duyten ;

Een dubbelde stuyver, tegens twee en een halve sware stuyvers, of 10 duyten ; en

Een schelling, tegens zeven en een halve gelyke stuyvers, of 30 duyten :

Gelastende over zulx, allen en een iegelyk onzer goede ingezetenen, van wat staat of conditie zy zouden mogen wezen, de voormelte munt-specien, invoegen voorsch. wederom den een van den anderen, in betaling zo van koopmanschappen, als andersints, zonder tegenspreken te accepteren ; behoudens dat de quantiteyt daar van telkens, niet kome te excederen, den taxt by opgemelten Placcate van onze Hoge Indische gebiederen gereguleert :

Interdicerende, en verbiedende wyders wel expresselyk, alle dienaren der Generale Maatschappye, zo wel als alle burgers, en andere ingezetenen, onder onse Commissie sorterende, mitsgaders alle vreemdelingen van andere Plaatsen hier, of elders, ten desen Eylande overkomende, zonder onderscheyt, gelyk wy alle deselve op het aldernadruckelykste geinterdiceert, en verboden willen hebben by dezen, zig in geenderhande manieren te verstouten, om eenige geldspecien, en inzonderheyt niet het voorsch.Nederlandsch payement, te besnoeyen, ofte verligten, hoe weynig of gering het ook zoude mogen wezen ; op poene dat de genen die aan dat verfoeyelyk, en goddeloos gedoente schuldig werden bevonden, daar over, naar den teneur der Placcaten, en Ordonnantien, op dat stuk, van tyd, tot tyd gemaakt, en g'emaneert, ten allerrigoureusten, en zonder conniventie zullen werden gestraft :

Ende op dat wy des te beter ons goede oogmerk hier omtrent mogen bereyken, en het voorsch. quaad te eerder, en facielder kan werden geweert, en tegen gegaan; willen en begeeren wy mede wel expresselyk, dat niemand onzer goede ingezetenen gehouden zal wezen, van wie het ook zoude mogen zyn, eenig besnoeyt geld, hoe weynig ook besnoeyt, te ontfangen, ofte accepteren; maar daarentegen, dat een iegelyk zal vermogen, ja verpligt zal zyn, indien hem eenig besnoeyd geld in betaling van verkogte goederen, als andersints werd aangeboden, het selve by den Fiscaal te brengen, en zyn beklag daar over te doen, om door den selven buyten forme van proces, aanstonds a uzo geconfisqueert, en den eygenaar bekend zynde, naar behoren te regt gesteld te werden; ordonnerende en bevelende derhalven alle Dessaves, en Fiscaals, onder onse commissie gehorende, en voorts allen anderen, die zulx eenigsints mogte aangaan, naauw reguard op het gunt voorsch. staat te neemen, en doen neemen, mitsgaders tegens de Contraventeurs van desen onsen Placcate, zonder eenige dissimulatie, ookluykinge, of verdrag te procedeeren; dewyl wy het een, en ander, voor den dienst der Maatschappye, en tot welstand der gemeente zodanig oordeelen te behoren.

Gegeven in het Casteel Colombo op het Eyland Ceylon, den 2 November, 1741.

Ter Ordonn: van welgemelte
Heeren Gouverneurs en
den Raad.

12. Resolution of the Political Council, April 21, 1749, Vol. XCV.

Den heere Gouverneur voorgekomen zynde dat ertussen de barquiers en andere Inlanders alhier dikwils verschillen ontstaan over het uitgeeven van de boeseroeken, welke veele weigeren te ontfangen in betaling voor verkogte wharen en behoeften in het kleene, en dus veele moeyte veroorzaken; Zo wierd tot voorkoming van diergelyke questien op zyn Ed^{s}. voorstel althans met eenparigheid van stemmen goedgevonden en besloten, by een nader billiet dies deugdzaamheid nogmaals aantedringen en tegelasten, dat deselve zonder tegenspreeken voortaan zullen ontfangen en uitgegeeven worden, bepaaldlyk zo ver de somme niet loopt boven een Pagood en ook tot afbetaling van alle gedeeltens van rds; schellingen &a. in grotere sommas, die men onder den anderen uittegeeven en te ontfangen heeft.

13. Extract from letter dated June 10, 1759, from the Governor-General and Council, Batavia, to the Governor and Council, Colombo. Colombo Archives, 1200 d.

Aangezien w' in onse byeenkomst van den 8 dezer, met relatie tot de door U. E. gepetitioneerde vier thon aan Pagoden hebben g'arresteert U. E. direct en over Nagapatnam te laten toekomen, twee thon van dat mineraal; Zo werd U. E. daarvan by deezen zo wel de nodige kennisse gegeven, als dat w' ter gem: sessie op fundament van de door Tansjours vorst aan ons gecedeerde voorregten hebben goed gevonden U. E. te qualificeeren om van dat goud te Tutucoryn pagoden van 8 mat te laten slaan met de Nagapatnamse nieuwe stempel die U. E. ten fine voorschreeve met de alverder benodigde gereedschappen en des noods een Essayeur van dat Ministerium kunnen eysschen, onder deezen verstande dat de bereekening der munts lasten die van Nagapatnam niet zullen mogen surpasseeren maar wel zo veel minder als d'arbeyds loonen ginter zullen te bedingen zyn.

14. Diverse Ordres Reglementen en Extracten, undated but about A.D. 1759–1768. Colombo Archives.

Memorie van zodanige Maaten Gewigten en Munten als ten desen Eilande in gebruik zyn gereduceert naar t Nederlands Gewigt, waarde en Prys als:

Op Kolombo.

		Nederlandsche Reductie.
1 P^{s}.	Goude Dukaat	f. 6. 12 —
1 „	do. Pagoot	4. 10 —
	By 's Komps. boeken, maar in de gemeene wandeling gaat de Pagood zonder onderscheid van munt voor 2 rds. of f. 4.16.— en doet nog meestendeel en meestentyds 2 . 3 . 4 . tot 6 en meer stuyvers opgeld naar dat se meer of min gesogt worden, en hier omtrent hebben de nieuwe Nagapatmse (*sic*) en Tutukorypse pagooden den voorkeur boven andere.	
1 P^{s}.	nieuwe gekartelde Silvere Dukaton	4. — —
1 „	Silvere Suratsche Ropy	1. 10 —
1 „	Oude Dukaton	3. 18 —
1 „	Spaanse Reaal	3. — —
1 „	Nieuwe Schelling	— 7½
1 „	Oude do.	— 6 —
1 „	Nieuwe dubbelde Stuyver	— 2½

Op Jafnapatnam.

Munten.

1	Monster pagood	f.	4.	16 —
1	do. do.		4.	10 —
1	Dukaton		3.	18 —
1	Ropy Sourats		1.	10 —
1	Nieuwe Nagapatnamse pagood		4.	10 —

Kopere Munt.

1	Van 6 ligte Stuyvers, Reduceert	f.	—	$4\frac{4}{5}$
1	„ 2 „ do. „		—	$1\frac{3}{5}$
1	„ 1 „ do.		—	—$\frac{4}{5}$
1	„ $\frac{1}{2}$ „ do.		—	—$\frac{2}{5}$
1	„ $\frac{1}{4}$ „ do.		—	—$\frac{1}{5}$
1	„ $\frac{1}{8}$ „ do.		—	—$\frac{1}{10}$
1	„ $\frac{1}{16}$ „ do.		—	—$\frac{1}{20}$
1	Hollandse duyt		—	—$\frac{1}{4}$

Op Manaar.

Munten.

1	Goude pagood, houd $22\frac{1}{2}$ fanums of	f.	4.	10 —
1	fanum „ 16 duyten		—	4 —
1	Ropy houd $7\frac{1}{2}$ fanums of		1.	10 —
1	Oude hollandsche Schelling houd $1\frac{1}{2}$ fanum of		—	6 —
1	„ do. Dubbelde Stuyver houd $\frac{1}{2}$ fanum		—	2 —
1	„ do. Enkelde do. „ $\frac{1}{4}$ do.		—	1 —

Ter Custe Madure.

Geld Spetien.

1	Pagoot doet $18\frac{3}{4}$ fanums 's Komps. of	f.	4.	10 —
1	fanum 's Komps. te Tutukoryn gestempeld		—	$4\frac{4}{5}$
1	do. Madurees, of van weegen den land-heer gestempeld doet		—	6 —
1	Kaapkommoryns of Sacaramse fanum bereekend		—	$4\frac{2}{7}$
1	Kilkarese of Choely fanum		—	$3\frac{6}{11}$
1	Tutukorynsche fanum houd 64 kasjes en waar van ider bereekend		—	$\frac{3}{40}$
1	Sacaramse fanum doet 4 Poetangs, en ieder Poetang reekend		—	—$\frac{1}{14}$ (sic)
1	Oude of Madureese fanum 40 Casjes, en ieder der laaste genaamd poelem		—	—$\frac{3}{20}$
1	Choly fanum 19 Casjes of		—	—$\frac{45}{247}$

Op Trinconomaele en Kalpetty omtrent alles gelyk reeds van Kolombo is geschreeven.

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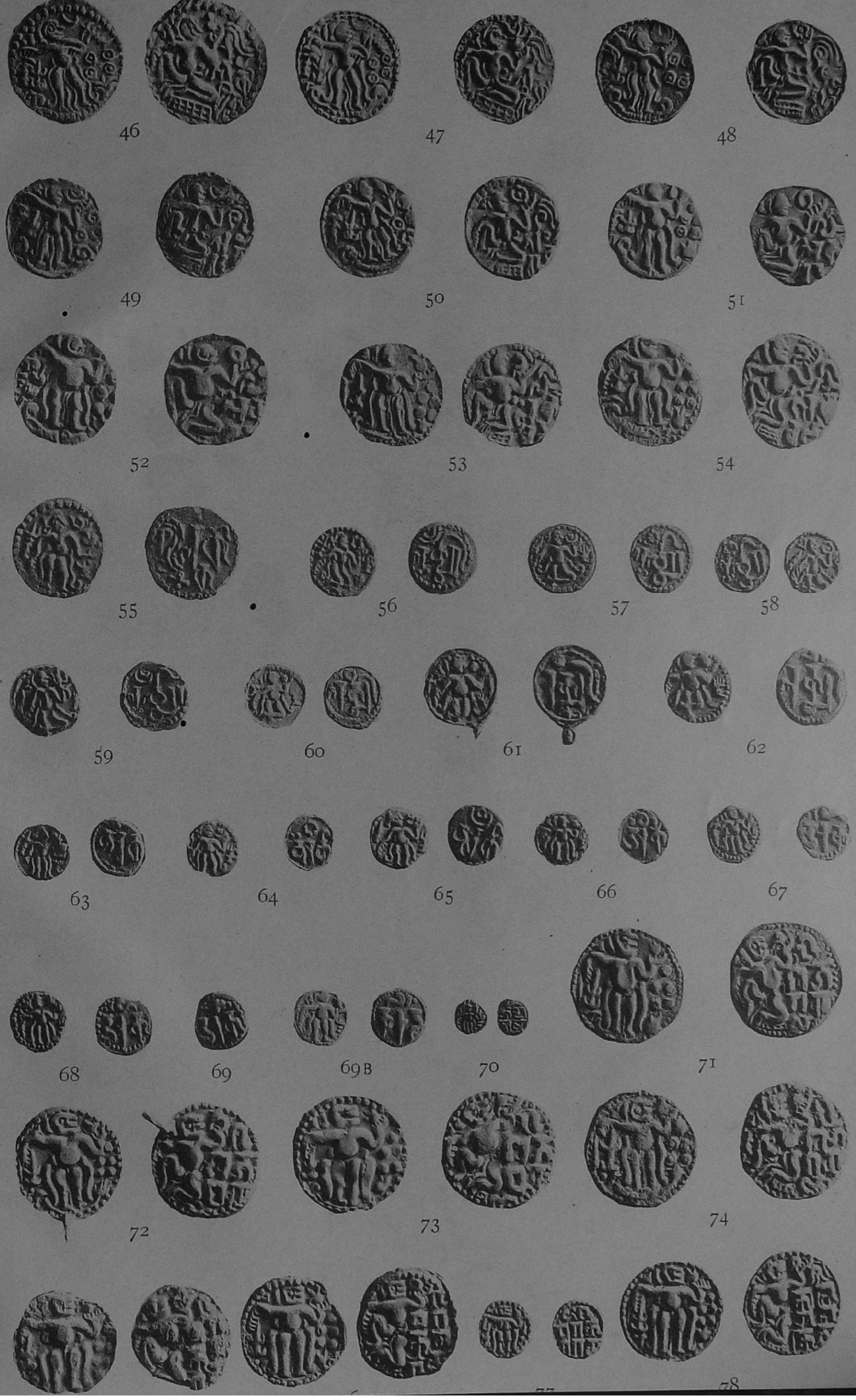
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1. « Elephant and *Svastika* ». Supplement. Sinnamukattuvaram coin.
2. Do. Do. Nindavur coin.
3. Indo-Roman. Eudoxia. GLORIA ROMANORVM. Chapter IV, section 11, type 3 iii.
4. Medieaval Ceylon. *Kahavanuva*, « Lotus and *Adahanda* ». Chapter V, type II, 1 (RD 3). Diameter, .66 inch; weight, 67.4 grains.
5. Do. Do. « Flower and *Adahanda* ». Ibid. type II, 5. Supplement.
6. Do. *Pala*. Type I «Vase ».
7. Do. *Aka*. Type II, 1 « Lotus and *Adahanda* ».
8. Do. Do. Type III, 2, variant ii, « Jessamine flower and chank ». Chank and legend reversed.

9, 10. Pandyans of Tinnevelly. Chapter VII, section 11, Ceylon type.

11. Portuguese. Tanga of the Malacca type. Goa mint. Supplement.
12. Dutch. Colombo Duit, 1789, coined under Resolution of May 19, 1789. Chapter X, section 28, and Supplement.
13. Pagoda, possibly of the Tuticorin mint. Chapter XIII, section 11.